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PRESENTED BY
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI
OF UTTARAKHARA.

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1813.

No. XLIII.

ART. I. *Theorie des Peines et des Recompenses.* Par M. Jérémie Bentham, Jurisconsulte Anglois. Redigée en François d'après les Manuscrits, par M. Et. Dumont de Gêrève. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 800. à Londres, Dalau, 1811.

WE have already had occasion to mention this very interesting work, and to express our regret at the accidents which more than once interfered with the design of laying its contents before our readers. We are at length enabled to accomplish this purpose; and the delay which has occurred, by affording additional time for meditating upon the subject, has only confirmed the conviction originally entertained, of the essential services rendered to the most important branch of legislation by this promulgation of Mr Bentham's doctrines.

It is to Mr Dumont, upon the present as on a former occasion, that we are indebted for a knowledge of these valuable speculations. The greater part of them had been completed, as far as their author did complete them, above 30 years before the date of the present publication. During that long period they had lain in his repositories neglected by him, or considered as materials for a branch of his great work on Legislation, into which they might enter at some future time—or perhaps only regarded as notes amassed for his own use, in the course of his private studies. Had not the same zealous and friendly hand interposed, to which we owe the '*Traité de Legislation*,'* this treatise, although almost complete in itself, and perfectly capable of being separated from the vast system of practical ethics to which it naturally belongs, would in all probability have been withheld till the period at which that work may be finished, with the still

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* See our account of this admirable work in Vol. IV. Ed. Rev.

greater chance of its entire suppression, owing to the extreme fastidiousness of Mr Bentham upon the subject of his own compositions. Happily, Mr Dumont prevailed upon him to confide the materials to his care; and, notwithstanding almost every disadvantage under which a work of this nature can be undertaken, he has so thoroughly entered into his author's spirit, is so conversant in the topics discussed, and writes with such admirable precision, as well as liveliness and elegance, that but for the information conveyed in the title-page and preface, it would be difficult to imagine that the work did not contain the author's own statement of his principles.

So great being Mr Dumont's merits; so large indeed being his share in the *execution* of the work, it is only rendering him a just tribute, if we stop for a moment to dispute the title of *Redacteur*, which his modesty inclines him to assume. He much more nearly resembles an adept, delivering to the world the doctrines of the school of philosophy to which he belongs. The materials put into his hands were frequently extremely imperfect, although much more bulky than the work, in which he has rather embodied their spirit than disposed themselves. They often presented to him different essays on the same points, which he was to seize or collect, and to illustrate himself, or accompany with the author's illustrations, according to circumstances. In some chapters, he had nothing but a few marginal notes for his guidance. One whole book was formed out of scattered fragments, which had not only to be collected and arranged, but connected and extended. The important discussion on capital punishments was left unfinished. In treating such branches as these, it is plain that Mr Dumont had an office to perform nearly resembling that of the restorers of the ancient Geometry, who, from the precious reliicks in Pappus—sometimes an enunciation without the analysis or construction—sometimes a proposition without demonstration—sometimes a few propositions prefatory to the lost investigations—frequently an obscure remark or hint,* referring to the lost books, and darkly shadowing out their contents—have, by their exquisite skill and taste, been enabled to give the modern world the most refined speculations of the ancient, in a state of perfection, probably somewhat higher than they originally attained in the hands of their illustrious authors.

Mr Dumont was enabled to supply the blanks left in other parts of his materials, from some of the former publications of

* See especially Dr Simson's restorations of Appollonius's *Loci Plani*, and Euclid's *Porisms*. See too Professor Playfair's *Inquiries*, in the *Edin. Trans*.

Mr Bentham ; and in his selections from these, and his manner of incorporating them, so as to preserve the unity of the design, he has exhibited his accustomed skill. Although, however, in this, as in the performance of his task generally, he has been forced to take a range very different from that of ordinary editors—translating or commenting, abridging or filling up, according to the nature of the case—he reminds his reader, as he did upon the former occasion, that the details or execution alone rest upon him, and that, after all, it is Mr Bentham's work, and not his own, which he presents to the public as faithfully as circumstances permit. That Mr Bentham was satisfied with the fidelity of his last publication, he infers from the confidence again reposed in him ; but he adds, that Mr Bentham has in nowise interfered with the execution of the present work, and has even refused to look at it during its progress. Retaining indeed the same opinions which he held when he originally prepared the materials, but pursued by the fastidiousness that made him suppress them, he could not have satisfied himself with the form in which he had disposed them ; and had he touched them again, it must have been to compose them anew. ‘ Que M. Bentham (says his friend) trop difficile sur ses productions ne crut pas celle-ci digne des regards publics, c'est ce qui n'étonnera point ceux qui savent tout ce qu'il exige de lui-même, et les idées qu'il se forme d'un ouvrage achevé.’

We could not, in justice to Mr Dumont, omit alluding to these particulars ; for the labours of those who, with ample capacity for original speculation, devote themselves to expound the systems of others, rarely meet the applause so justly their due ; and it is still more rare that such commentators share so largely in the merits of the original author. Before proceeding to the work itself, we have to mention, with real satisfaction, the notice contained in the preface, respecting the success of the former treatise. Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which it came out, and the subsequent convulsions of the Continent where it was chiefly destined to circulate from the language and the place of publication, three thousand copies have been required in no long period of time ; the name of the author, too, having scarcely before been known out of England. That its principles have not been without effect, may safely be inferred from the repeated allusions made to it in the several official publications upon legislative codes, promulgated to the state in different parts of Europe.

The work before us consists of two great parts or branches ; the theory of penal legislation and the theory of remunerative legislation. In the first are delivered systematically all the prin-

ciples which ought to regulate the choice of different modes of punishment and the apportionment of punishments to crimes. In the second are exhibited the principles upon which the law-giver ought to proceed when he holds out inducements either alone or attended with corresponding penalties, to influence the conduct of his subjects. The inquiry under both heads is accompanied with constant reference to the actual state of things in relation to the principles laid down or deduced; that is, the consonance of the practice of lawgivers, to the theory, or its departure from that theory. The work is eminently entitled to the appellation of original in each of its departments. The doctrine of punishments had rather been sketched than systematically unfolded, even by those of the few former writers on the subject who had professed to enter most largely into it. The doctrine of rewards had scarcely been treated at all, and never in a distinct and separate form. It is delightful to follow this investigation from the clearness and facility with which its steps succeed one another, and the copiousness with which every part of the outline is filled up. But the speculative pleasure derived from it as a theory, is soon disregarded in the midst of the practical questions which are constantly arising out of the applications of the general principles. We shall pursue the two branches of the inquiry in their order. But as they are capable of being handled separately, and each forms in itself a distinct whole, independent of the other, we purpose at present to confine our attention to the theory of punishments; which is discussed in five books.

I. The *First Book* explains the general principles of the system, and opens with definitions and classifications, the most essential only of which shall be here noticed. Punishment in its most general sense, is the infliction of some evil upon an individual, with the intention that he should suffer this evil, and with a reference to some act done or omitted. Punishment in its legal sense, is the infliction of some evil according to judicial forms, upon an individual convicted of some act * forbidden by law, and with the intention of preventing the recurrence of such acts. Punishments as well as crimes are divisible into four classes, as they affect the *person*, the *property*, the *reputation* or the *condition* of those upon whom they are inflicted. Those punishments which affect the person, or, as they are commonly called, corporal punishments, are subdivided into various species; they may be simply afflictive, or complexly so, or restrictive. or active, (e. g. compulsory labour), or capital. The other

* Our author has it 'quelque acte nuisible, detendu par la loi'—which is a tautology.

three classes are all privative, affecting the delinquent with loss or degradation. Hence another general classification of punishments, by dividing them into *corporal* and *privative*. †

It follows from the definition, that the object of all punishment is the prevention of the offence in future. Now, as it may either be repeated by the same delinquent, or by other persons in similar circumstances, and as the lawgiver has to provide against each of these events, he must direct the punishment with a view to both. It may tend to prevent the delinquent from repeating his offence, in three ways; by taking from him the physical power of committing it; by taking away the desire; or by deterring him. The other, and principal object of the infliction, that of restraining others, can only be accomplished, as far as the punishment is concerned, by the threat of similar infliction which it holds out. These objects, as they form the only just motives, constitute also the only justification of punishments. 'If,' says our author, 'we were to regard the crime which has been committed as an insulated event that could not recur, the punishment would be wholly thrown away; it would be only adding one evil to another. But when we consider, that a crime left unpunished would leave the way towards the same offence, open both to the former delinquent, and to all others under the influence of similar motives, we come to view the punishment inflicted upon the individual as a safeguard to all. Punishment, however vile an instrument in itself, and however repugnant to generous sentiments, rises into a blessing of the highest order, when regarded not as an act of anger or resentment against a guilty or an unfortunate person who has yielded to hurtful propensities, but as a sacrifice indispensably necessary to the public safety.' Although the direct and primary object of punishment is prevention, the civil magistrate has another duty to perform after he has provided for that object; viz. to provide as far as possible for the reparation of the injury sustained through the crime committed. It is manifest that the consideration of this subject belongs to the plan of the present treatise only, in so far as punishments may be made subservient to the purposes of reparation. It is possible that some readers may at first view consider these principles as nearly self-evident,

† Perhaps this language, if not the arrangement itself, does some little violence to common usage. Thus, imprisonment is commonly considered as a privation of liberty; but in the above arrangement it comes not under the privative class, but under the restrictive, which is a subdivision of the corporal. So the pillory (if such a disgrace to all criminal legislation may be mentioned on this occasion) is, according to the above arrangement, not a *corporal*, but either a *privative* or a *mixed* punishment.

and scarcely requiring a detailed statement; but a little reflection upon the penal codes of any age or country, or a slight attention to the favourite arguments on criminal legislation, by showing how constantly they have been departed from, both in theory and practice, will evince the necessity of taking once for all a steady view of them, and thus fixing in our minds, as the fundamental maxim which may perpetually be appealed to, that there never can be any other legitimate objects in punishing, beside those now laid down.

The *expense* or *cost* (*depanse*) of any punishment, is, in the language of this system, the whole evil of every kind occasioned by it, including the suffering of the delinquent,—the loss of his labour or life to the state,—the pecuniary cost of his punishment,—in short, every thing endured, paid, or foregone, in order to obtain the double preventive which the punishment is intended to administer. The *gain* or *profit* of the punishment consists in this preventive, or in the tendency of the punishment to secure it. A punishment may be termed frugal or economical which produces the desired effect with as little suffering as possible: For, in estimating the expense of any punishment, all the other items bear so small a ratio to the grand article of the injury inflicted upon the delinquent, that they may, generally speaking, be disregarded, unless where they are made the subject of a separate discussion: So, a punishment may be termed costly or prodigal, when the same effect might have been produced by a smaller degree of suffering. Again—the *real value* is distinguished from the * *apparent value*, of the suffering; the former being the actual amount of that which is inflicted; the latter, the portion of it which is exhibited, or otherwise made known to and understood by the public. The expense of a punishment is equivalent to the real amount; the profit is in proportion to the apparent amount only; and hence we deduce these important maxims: 1. that, *ceteris paribus*, a punishment easily comprehended, is preferable to one of difficult apprehension: 2. that one which takes hold of the memory, is preferable to one easily forgotten:† 3. that one which is as great or greater in apparent than in real amount, is preferable to one which is really greater than it appears to be,—the excess of real amount being in truth so much thrown away, in so far as regards the principal object, of general example.

* Perhaps *visible* would be a better term, as *apparent* conveys a different idea.

† The second maxim is in some degree related to the first, but not contained in it; for facility of comprehension is only one of many circumstances which regulate the facility of recollection.

The principles which ought to regulate the extent of punishments, in respect of the crimes intended to be prevented, are next laid down. The lawgiver, referring constantly to the subject of his operations—the mind of a person under temptation to commit the offence—must apportion the punishment so as to counteract the temptation. To maintain that men do not calculate when they do wrong, is quite erroneous, taken as a general position. It would be much more correct to say, that no man, however inconsiderate, takes a step of such importance as the commission of a criminal act, without some deliberation or reasoning. But, at all events, (though our author has omitted to mention it), one consideration is sufficient to justify the apportionment of punishments, even in cases where the offence flows from the most vehement passions. The knowledge of the punishment forms certain habits of restraint, by operating upon the mind in its cooler moments, when the incentives to violent excesses are at a distance; and a general or perpetual bias thus given, will, in a great majority of cases, have its effect at the critical moment of incitement. We shall, therefore, trace the limits within which punishments should be confined, upon the supposition that the lawgiver uses them as counteracting motives to determine his subjects against yielding to their criminal propensities. This sketch is contained in the following propositions. *First*, the evil of the punishment must exceed the advantage arising from the crime; and, under this head, is comprehended the position, that generally speaking, the stronger the temptation to commit any crime, the more severe ought to be the punishment, subject however to exceptions in extreme cases which may easily be figured. *Secondly*, where the criminal act is such as to furnish clear proof of a habit or practice, the punishment should be in proportion, not to the gain derived from a single offence, but to the probable amount of profit reaped from a course of such conduct. *Thirdly*, an addition must be made to the punishment, in order to compensate its want of certainty and proximity: Thus, were it perfectly certain that the moment after a theft was committed, the thief would be compelled to refund the sum stolen, there is no doubt that he would abstain from the act; but the uncertainty or distance of this penalty, renders such punishment wholly inadequate to deter him. *Fourthly*, in cases where there is a temptation to commit different crimes, a more severe punishment should be denounced against the greater crime. One of the strongest arguments against multiplying the more severe punishments, is deducible as a corollary from this proposition. *Fifthly*, the more pernicious any crime is, the more safely may a severe punishment be

system. If any man exceeds the limited time of twenty-four hours, he loses his next permission to go ashore; if he exceeds forty-eight hours, he loses two turns, and so forth. The experiment had succeeded completely; the offence of remaining too long on shore, had not become more frequent since the mitigation of the punishment, and desertions had entirely ceased.

The different sources of analogy pointed out by Mr Bentham, may now be concisely adverted to. One of these consists in employing the same instrument or operation in the punishment, as the delinquent did in the crime—as burning an incendiary who had committed any aggravated act of *Arson*, whereby lives as well as property were sacrificed. Another method is the inflicting on the delinquent, the same injury which he offered to the innocent person. A third consists in subjecting to punishment, the part of the body with which the offender committed the crime. A fourth, in affecting the face with some disfigurement similar to disguising, where part of the offence was the use of a disguise:—And there are other analogies of a miscellaneous description, and not referable to general classes.

Thus far, we can have nothing to murmur against: but we must complain of some of the details into which our author's ingenuity and fertility has seduced him under almost all these heads. Indeed, they contain the most objectionable parts of the whole work; and it is because we profess ourselves admirers, nay, disciples of the system—and generally speaking, adopt this branch of it also, that we regret the hold which several of his examples and observations here give to its adversaries. For example, it is said that one who has poisoned another, should himself be poisoned, because the nature of the crime shews peculiar deliberation, and proves that he who commits it is capable of reflecting well at the moment on the fate that awaits him—as if into this calculation, any thing beyond the chance of detection was likely to enter, at least in the shape of deliberate reflection. But this is of comparatively little importance;—it is where he refines further on the general principle, that we chiefly object to his inferences. If the criminal has not killed the person whose life he attempted, then, says Mr Dumont, an antidote may be administered after the poison, so as to recover the delinquent—*La dose* (he adds) *et le temps seroient fixés par le juge sur le rapport des experts.* So in punishing a person for causing an inundation, in countries intersected by canals, it is said, that if the principles of the code exclude capital punishments, the delinquent may be drowned and then restored again to life. Again, for acts of counterfeiting, as forgery, &c. a part of the punishment may be, we are told, to expose the offender with his hand

pierced by a sharp instrument like a pen—and for slander, &c. the tongue may be so dealt with. This is going far: But the refinement stops not here; for it seems the part of the instrument which pierces is to be exceedingly small, merely enough to penetrate—while the external portions being large, give to the spectators, an impression that the hand or tongue is transfixed by a thick instrument:—A species of device somewhat like hanging a man in effigy, by way of intimidating the beholders. Our author seems apprehensive of some ridicule on this head, and he thinks he escapes it by saying, that whatever ludicrous effect such a punishment may have, it is so much the better, as it will only tend to render the offence more contemptible;—forgetting, surely, that the laugh will here be turned, not against the delinquent, but against the punishment and the law; while, by a natural consequence, the bias is rather inclined in the offender's favour; or at least the public attention is withdrawn from him in a way not very advantageous to the ends of justice. In defending such positions, it is in vain for our author to say, they are only laughed at, because men judge of them by their imaginations. It is, in fact, he who is misled by his fancy, while we are only reasoning upon the effects likely to be produced by such methods upon the imagination of the multitude to whom they are addressed. We could not pass over this chapter without making these reflections, which are offered altogether in the spirit of amity and respect; and they only apply, if admitted in their full extent, to the excess of refinement with which the principles, unquestionably sound, have in certain instances been pushed beyond the limits of their legitimate application.

A separate chapter is devoted to the *lex talionis*,—with what propriety of arrangement, we do not well perceive; for this forms one of the sources of analogy, being only the more general case of the second source enumerated by our author. As a method of punishment, it is, with all its recommendations of simplicity, analogy, and in some cases, of proportion, so rough and coarse a rule—in so many instances wholly inapplicable—and in so many others objectionable upon the most obvious grounds, that we find it, and justly, almost entirely rejected in this system.

When a penal code is founded upon sound principles, and tends, with the smallest degree of suffering, to repair and prevent injuries most effectually, it ought to be favoured by public opinion. It may nevertheless happen not to be so,—and this from the prevalence of false feelings and prejudices growing out of mistaken views of different kinds. The errors thus propagated, are referred to four heads; as they consist in mistaken notions of *liberty, decency, religion, humanity*. These are the four names,

says our author, most frequently taken in vain by the multitude. But he wisely admits, that a lawgiver should, for a time at least, bend his institutions so as to humour even the caprices and errors of his people, when he finds them too deeply rooted and widely spread, to be overcome or disregarded. To any speculative arguments, founded upon false views of those different subjects, of course no regard should be paid;—as to those fanatics in politics, religion, or sentiment, who would have no imprisonment because it violates liberty, or abolish capital punishments because they encroach upon the province of the Deity, or because they are painful to the feelings.

The first book, or discussion of the fundamental principles, closes with an enumeration of the four cases, in which punishment is wholly inept, and ought not to be inflicted: viz. where the crime being either imaginary, or unfit for legislative interference, may be said not to exist, and the punishment would be *unfounded*;—where the punishment would be wholly *inefficacious* on the delinquent, or others in the same circumstances, as in the case of idiots;—where the means being sufficient to accomplish the end in view, punishment would be *superfluous*;—where more evil being likely to result from punishing the particular offenders than from letting them escape, the infliction would be *too costly*, as in the case of an extensive mutiny or rebellion.

II. We have already seen, that punishments are divided into two great classes, *corporal* and *privative*. Pursuing this arrangement, the second book treats of the former, and the third of the latter class. Corporal punishments, we may remember, were again subdivided into five kinds, and privative into three: the second and third books follow likewise these classifications. The symmetry of the greater part of the work is indeed perfect, though no sacrifice is made to it.

1. The *first* class of corporal punishments, consists of punishments *simply afflictive*; by which are to be understood those which cause bodily suffering, with little injury besides; for even those most simple, as the lash, are accompanied with a certain disgrace by their public exhibition, which is an essential part of the process. The enumeration of various kinds of simple infliction, is a task as unnecessary as it is disgusting. The preference is given to the lash, with some modification however; for when inflicted by an executioner, too much is necessarily left to his discretion, or varying strength; but some mechanical contrivance might be substituted without difficulty, liable to no such objection. Punishments of simple infliction are next examined by the general rules formerly laid down; and of the twelve essential qualities, they are found to possess three in a sufficient degree to make them e-

ligible, except in cases where the disgrace renders them inapplicable. They are *invariable*, or *equal*, provided of course that a proper latitude is left to the judge, in apportioning them to the age and sex of the party; they are *divisible*, so as to be susceptible of the greatest accuracy of apportionment; they are *exemplary* in a high degree, and chiefly attract the attention of the classes most fit to be the subject of them. Under the other points of view, they offer nothing remarkable either way, except that they tend more to intimidate than to reform. We conceive that their evil effects in this respect are not sufficiently attended to by the author. However little influence the sentiment of honour may have upon the lowest classes of society, we question if it is so completely extinguished in any, as to prevent the certainty of such punishments rendering the offender always worse after the exhibition. Perhaps, however, the system itself furnishes a method of avoiding this consequence in a great degree. For we may observe, that the evil complained of arises out of the deviation of such punishments from the class of merely afflictive ones, and exists in proportion to this aberration. Might it not be corrected in some measure, by reducing the punishment as nearly as possible to mere bodily infliction? Might not the offender be punished with his face concealed; whereby his having suffered in this manner, would be known to much fewer, and his own consciousness of its notoriety would be still further lessened?

2. The *second* class consists of punishments *complexly afflictive*, or those in which the mere bodily suffering is attended with, or followed by, some other loss, either of personal comfort or reputation. They are of three kinds, with various subdivisions; all of them great favourites of the criminal codes in different ages, and most of them known to this day in almost every country. They are inflicted, by *deforming* the person; and this either by *discolouring*, e. g. burning in the hand;—or *disfiguring*, e. g. slitting the nose, or cutting the ear;—by *disabling* a limb or organ, without destroying it;—by *mutilating* or destroying the part. The examination of this class by the rules, is very difficult, from the great variety of which its subdivisions consist. An approximation to this is however given, the result of which in general proves disadvantageous to the class. The inflictions of a temporary nature,—those concealed ones intended to mark a culprit in case of repeating the offence, and those permanent ones which may be united with perpetual imprisonment, furnish almost the only exceptions. Another is added, recommended by analogy, says the author, in the case of rape—from which opinion we entirely dissent.

3. The *third* class is composed of *restrictive* punishments, by far the most important of any, in every material point of view. They consist in preventing the offender from enjoying, or doing something agreeable or useful to him. The *restrictions* thus imposed, are of two kinds; *simple* prohibitions, and restraints upon *loco-motion*. The former species of punishment is exceedingly limited in its application, if we carefully distinguish it from such regulations as are connected with police, and such exclusive laws as a spirit of religious persecution, or political monopoly, have too often engendered; none of which, however, belong to the description of punishments. Our author, after observing that simple prohibitions are likely either to be evaded, or to lose their penal effects, and that generally they are an inexpedient method of punishment, is disposed to recommend one which he terms *banishing from the presence*, of which he gives some instances from the old French law. It consists in forbidding a person, who has been guilty of any personal injury towards another, from remaining in the same place with that other;—a contrivance which, in our humble apprehension, is excellently calculated to produce duels, or assassination, according to the character and laws of the country where it may be introduced. The other and important division, restraints upon loco-motion, is of five kinds;—*imprisonment*, in the ordinary sense of the word;—*quasi-imprisonment*, or confinement within the district to which the offender belongs,—*relegation*, or confinement to some other district within the dominions of the state;—*local interdiction*; or banishment from a particular district;—*banishment* from the territories of the state, either indefinitely, or to some specific foreign part. The first head is the most extensive and essential of all these.

Imprisonment, for the purpose of punishment, in order to be effectual, ought to place the offender, for a limited time, under the most complete restraint, instead of being long and slight. For the better understanding the subject, we have an enumeration, after the exhaustive method of Mr Bentham, of the evils comprehended under this mode of suffering. These are such as belong *inseparably* and necessarily to it; such as are *accessary*, but most frequently accompany it; and such as arise from *abuses* of it. The last part is the most interesting of the three, and consists of a table of abuses under ten heads, with a corresponding table of remedies or correctives. When examined by the general rules, imprisonment is found to possess great advantages under the heads of prevention, divisibility, and simplicity; but to be extremely defective in point of equality; and, as commonly conducted, to be not very profitable, or very exemplary. The

two last defects point out one of the paths by which we are led to Mr Bentham's improvements in this branch of police ;—but they belong to another head.

With imprisonment, in certain cases, and always for a very limited time, may most advantageously be joined *solitude, darkness, and regimen*. Nothing can be more happy than the illustrations of the tendency which these have to produce reformation. This subject is unfolded with the hand of a master. The exposition, on the other hand, of the evils of permitting multitudes of delinquents to associate together, is equally satisfactory. Its operation in augmenting the criminal motives, in weakening the restraints, and in teaching the arts subservient to crimes, is treated in detail, and with a fulness of demonstration that is quite delightful to any one whose mind is inured to the discipline of scientific inquiries. Against the indisputable conclusions in favour of separate confinement, nothing but the greater expense of this method has ever been urged. To meet this argument was the object of some of Mr Bentham's improvements, to which we are thus again led by another route, presenting itself, like the former, in the course of applying the fundamental rules respecting the qualities desirable in punishments.

After an exposition of the absurd system of *Prison fees*, we come to the important deduction from the general principles, that there ought to be three kinds of prison, adapted to the several purposes of *simple detention, penitentiary confinement, and perpetual imprisonment*. The first being only applicable to the case of insolvent debtors guilty of imprudence or extravagance, and of accused persons kept for trial, should have no accompaniment whatever of rigour. The leading principle in distinguishing the two others, is, that the inhabitants of the former are to enter again into society,—while those of the latter, being for ever excluded from it, the exemplary nature of their sufferings is principally to be attended to. The names of these three prisons should be different, as well as their external appearance; and every thing which can seize hold of the imagination, without awakening sympathy, should be presented, both in the construction of the perpetual prison, and in the situation of its inhabitants. Mr Dumont happily and eloquently illustrates this by examples; and observes, that those wits who admire such ideas in theory, and sneer at them in practice, will find it more easy to deride than to confute them.

Of the four other kinds of restraint upon loco-motion, the local interdiction has been disposed of under the head of simple prohibitions; and quasi-imprisonment is very little known in

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practice. The examples of it are chiefly to be found in arbitrary governments; and its application there is to political offences. Relegation and banishment are much more frequent, although it is somewhat singular that they are unknown at present to the law of England,—the deportation to the colonies being a punishment of a very different kind. Banishment, of the kind termed indefinite, is well known in the Scotch law. When examined by the general rules, relegation and banishment are found extremely defective in almost all the essential qualities. They are chiefly to be commended with a view to reformation; but their great and manifest deficiency in equality and in example, makes them applicable to few cases in the eyes of a wise lawgiver. In point of economy, they are superior to imprisonment, as at present conducted; but they can only be said to cost nothing; of profit they yield none.

4. We are thus led by various paths to one point, the expediency of making offenders under punishment something more than mere passive objects of legal visitation; and we arrive at the *fourth* class of punishments, those termed *active* or *laborious*. This necessarily comprehends the more important part of the third class—confinement in respect of place, to which it is an addition. The ordinary examples of it in England include imprisonment and relegation; and, in most foreign countries, there are instances of its being ingrafted upon quasi-imprisonment, as where convicts are employed on public works. Punishments of this class, when examined by the rules, are found to unite the greatest number of advantages with the fewest defects. They give rise to a *profit*; they are sufficiently *dissuasive*, although, from the ignominy that attends them, they cannot reach very small offences. They may be rendered highly *exemplary*; may contribute, beyond all others, to *reformation*; and may in some degree be made *analogous* to the offence, in as much as those who undergo them, generally fall into crimes from the habits of an idle and vagabond life. In point of *equality*, they have less advantages; but their inequality may be greatly obviated by judicious arrangements. Add to this, that they are *remissible*, *preventive*, and *simple* in description. These advantages are in some degree common to all the kinds of laborious punishments, however imperfectly contrived and ill conducted the greater part of them now are. But the skilful and enlightened lawgiver is peculiarly interested in attending to this class, because it is susceptible of almost indefinite improvement, by attending to the general principles above laid down.

This important branch of the subject cannot be better introduced than by the discussion of what may fairly be termed the

extreme case of mismanagement in punishments of the active class; a case of such complete failure, indeed, as to be properly excepted from the general conclusion just now drawn in favour of such methods. The reader will immediately perceive that we allude to Botany Bay; and it is greatly to be wished that the admirable chapter upon this subject were translated and published in a separate shape, with a few additions from Mr Bentham's former writings upon the same fruitful topic. It forms, indeed, a whole within itself, containing a masterly examination of this lamentable experiment, by the test of all the general principles, with a clear demonstration of its signal failure, by a reference to the facts, which thus too loudly proclaim that those principles are sound. We can only run over the heads of the discussion; which we sincerely hope may have the effect of attracting a larger share of the public attention to this crying enormity, than it has hitherto received. We call it an enormity which this country is committing, rather than a method of punishment which it is pursuing; for, whatever may be the intentions, the result of its conduct is manifest—the foundation, at an enormous expense both of money, labour and suffering, of a community radically vicious and miserable, and growing every year more depraved and more wretched.

The transportation of convicts to America, which preceded the present plan, with several disadvantages of great moment, was, upon the whole, infinitely preferable. It was grossly unequal, inasmuch as it became servitude with exile to the poor, while it was only simple relegation to those who could pay for their passage. It was defective too in preventive power, the opportunities of escape being necessarily great. In both these particulars, the deportation now practised has the manifest advantage. All the convicts are equally under restraint, and their escape is much more difficult. But in every other point of view it is either as bad, or a great deal worse. It is as little as possible exemplary: the disproportion between the real and apparent suffering—the excess of the former—is in truth a maximum. The community in this country see a convict sent on a long voyage, to a fertile country, lying in a fine climate. This is the example. The reality is, that the miserable wretch, after rotting in the hulks for a year or two, is crammed with some hundreds of his fellows into a floating prison, or, it may be, a pest-house, in which, if he survives the risks of famine, pestilence, mutiny, fire, shipwreck and explosion, he is conveyed, through the infliction of a ten months' voyage, to a life of alternate slavery and rebellion, where guilty or cruel excess succeeds exquisite suffering, without varying the uniform misery, or changing

the prevalent character of the body; and all this passes at the opposite extremity of the earth's diameter, from whence it operates no more in any manner of way upon the inhabitants of England than if it were passing in the moon. The tendency of discipline in the colony to reform the convicts, supposing them to have arrived there, may easily be estimated. They are not separated from their companions in guilt; they have no better examples before them, no eyes to watch them. The partial historian of the rising settlement, himself the chief magistrate,* has supplied us with the details; and, in spite of his inclination to see every thing in the fairest light, he has painted, if the pages of a journal for sixteen years may be said to paint, by far the blackest picture ever yet exhibited of human society. His book is a catalogue of crimes, it would be a record of convictions, but that perjury so universally prevails as to ensure the escape of all who are not taken in the fact. The vice at the root of all the rest—a rage for spirits approaching to frenzy—can neither be cured, nor deprived of gratification. Far from improving by their residence there, it was only at the first establishment that any remission of unfavourable symptoms appeared. As soon as the first convicts had finished their period of servitude, their liberty brought along with it an influx of disorder and contamination, which each succeeding year seems to increase. If this system, then, prevents the delinquent from repeating his crimes, it is only by transferring the scene of them to a distant settlement, where it fosters and augments them; and although, with reference to one part of the empire, this may be termed prevention, the Legislator, whose care should embrace the whole, has no right to give it such a name. As to the pecuniary expense, by which so much evil is purchased, we find it in the Parliamentary Reports estimated at above a million in about ten years, or about thirty-eight pounds for each convict, besides the value of his labour. Last of all, the punishment inflicted is perfectly different from the one to which the sentence of the law has condemned the convict. Not to mention the detention before transportation, and the arrival sometimes when the term of punishment has nearly expired, the power of returning at its expiration is possessed by few men, and no women; while of the voyage some idea may be formed, from the average mortality between 1787 and 1795, being above one in ten; and from a jail fever, always a probable occurrence, on one occasion, in 1799, having carried off one hundred in three. If, in such a case, we could

* Mr Collins. His work is a most valuable and authentic document. See Review of his 2d vol. in our 3d Number.

look to the settlement as a colonial speculation; we should find its gains in a similar proportion; but this estimate would be as superfluous after what has been said, as it would be foreign to the design of this inquiry.

Having first arrived at the foundation of Mr Bentham's practical improvements by the direct road, we have now reached it from an opposite quarter, by the contrast which is exhibited in the case where all the general principles are most outraged. The more ample information respecting those improvements which has been published to the world, both in separate treatises, and in Mr Dumont's former work, is not repeated in the volume before us. But a general sketch is given of the plan, showing its connexion with the principles above unfolded, and illustrating its prodigious advantages over the present system. The *Panopticon* is distinguished by three leading properties. From the form of the building, and the disposition of the cells, the inspector can see each prisoner at all times, without being seen by them, and can direct them without leaving his post:—The management of the establishment is carried on by contract, the government paying a fixed price for the whole expenses of each convict, and the contractor having the whole profit, as he has the entire charge and regulation, of the work to be performed, but allowing a certain proportion of the gain to the convict:—The contractor insures the lives and safe custody of the convicts; he is allowed yearly a certain sum for the deaths, as calculated from the common tables, and he pays the same sum for each death which actually does happen, and for every escape which takes place.—If we mistake not, Mr Bentham, by his contract with Government, further engaged to pay so much for each prisoner who after his discharge should afterwards be convicted of any offence. The entire publicity of his accounts was another condition; and one upon which he himself insisted. The *Panopticon* was to be open at all times to every magistrate; and at certain hours to the public generally.

In examining this plan by the general rules, its consistency with them all will be found remarkable. We shall only advert to the most striking points of the comparison. The punishment is in the highest degree exemplary; it is all seen and understood; it appears much greater than it really is; the comforts of the convicts, in their intercourse with each other according to their improvement, and in the state of industry and cleanliness and wholesome regimen for which they have exchanged their ordinary habits, being, however real, by no means such as strike the multitude of spectators, who only see confinement, compulsory labour, and ignominy. The reforming effects of the plan are

equally manifest ;—the labour, to which they are in part allured by a fixed allowance of profit ;—the perfect temperance in which they live ;—the facility afforded of separating them into classes according to their habits and behaviour ;—the means of easy instruction, both religious and other, which they give ;—all furnish as good a chance of reclaiming those unhappy persons who are not hardened in guilt, as from any such discipline can reasonably be expected. The preventive powers of the Panopticon are complete, while the convict remains in it ; and although a relapse after liberation can only be guarded against by reformation, a contrivance is added to this establishment, admirably calculated to provide against the first dangers of the discharge ; the convict is transferred to another place of mitigated confinement, where he is rather under inspection than in custody, and from whence he is gradually allowed wholly to withdraw. With respect to the cost of the plan, we may form some estimate of it from the terms of Mr Bentham's contract. Each convict was to cost Government 13*l.* 10*s.*, including 1*l.* 10*s.* for the proportion of the expenses of building and ground : He was to provide a fund for indemnifying the parties injured ; to allow the convicts one quarter of the profits of their labour ; and, after the first trial, to make a reduction in the charge. Practical men, well versed in such matters, had no doubt that a very considerable reduction might have been speedily afforded ; and that, in a few years, the profits would entirely defray the expenses of the establishment to the State. While all manner of delays and difficulties were thrown in the way of this experiment ; while wits and jobbers, or, as they termed themselves, matter-of-fact men, averse to theories, and deprecating novelties, were employed in running it down ; trials were made in America of penitentiary houses upon similar principles, though in a much less perfect shape, and without some of Mr Bentham's chief improvements. We have the most irrefragable testimony borne to their success, by the interesting narratives of the Duc de Rochefoucault Liancourt, and Capt. Turnbull ; the one a person eminently skilled in the subject of prisons, the other a mere practical observer, imbued with no knowledge beyond that of the naval profession. Both these very different witnesses concur in their statement of the salutary consequences of the plan ; and if we wished to find a perfect contrast to the melancholy narratives of Mr Collins, we could certainly nowhere so well be situated as in the descriptions which the French and English travellers have given us of the convicts in New York and Philadelphia.

5. Capital punishments compose the *fifth* Class. On this

subject other works have treated more than usually in detail; and as we have ourselves had an opportunity of entering pretty largely into it when treating of Sir Samuel Romilly's bills, we shall bestow a smaller portion of attention upon it on the present occasion than its very great importance might otherwise have demanded. This class consists either of *simply* inflicting death with the least possible degree of suffering; or, in accompanying the destruction of life with *torments*. The latter method, at one period universally prevalent, and still known in most countries, is happily almost abolished in the two most civilized nations. In France, the Code Napoleon allows it only in the cases of parricide, and attempts against the sovereign's life, where the addition made to the punishment of death is cutting off the right hand. In England it is only in the case of high treason that such augmentations are allowed; the punishment of the law is no doubt barbarous in the extreme, but in practice it is always remitted. All such cruelties have the effect of inspiring pity in the spectators towards the criminal, and of rendering criminals more hardened and savage.

If we examine the punishment of death by the general rules, we find it exceed all other punishments in several important advantages, especially in prevention and example. We quite agree with the author in his objections to Beccaria, who maintains that a punishment of longer duration is more terrible to the spectator. Clearly there is none so dreadful as death. Mr Dumont adds, that its apparent suffering is greater than its real, which applies only to the pains of it. On the other hand, it exceeds all others in some material defects; not only is it expensive, and beginning to become unpopular; it is quite irremissible, and it is in the highest degree unequal and incapable of division or apportionment. A very satisfactory statement is given under this head, of the evil tendency of frequent executions, of the kind of reasoning by which offenders at the moment of temptation get rid of the fear of death, and especially of the wide difference between encountering certain destruction, and yielding to impulses which may lead to it. The evils arising from its being irremissible are also ably expounded; yet we think the author has neglected to consider how much of its horror consists in this quality. It is manifest that no other punishment can utterly exclude hope. In comparing capital with other punishments, our author is disposed to give the latter the preference, almost to the exclusion of the former; chiefly because, however exemplary to men in general the infliction of death may be, and how deep soever the impression it makes on their minds, it has not the same terrors for the class of men most

likely to commit the worst offences—violent spirits and hardened delinquents. That its range should be extremely limited, we are willing to admit; but we differ from him in the position, that for this class of men, perpetual confinement to hard labour would have more terrors than death: the total extinction of life, without chance of escape, pardon or mitigation, ought still to be denounced against the worst offences; and, by being confined to these, will unquestionably become doubly terrible. The evils arising collaterally from the abuse of this punishment, are so ably pointed out by Sir Samuel Romilly, that our author abridges a part of the treatise before us, by referring to his tract. We have already treated this subject at length in our former article.

The punishments awarded by the law, in many cases, cannot be inflicted. Thus a fine may be imposed on a person who has no property. In other cases, the offender refuses to undergo the sentence, as where labour is enjoined. Hence the necessity of *supplementary* and *subsidiary* punishments for these two kinds of failure respectively. The former ought always to be as nearly equal as possible to the original punishment; the latter ought to be greater than the original punishment. The kinds of punishment which are best adapted to the most ordinary case of refusal to submit, are corrections and other corporal inflictions. The most common case of inability to submit—namely, fine—is best provided for by imprisonment. It is suggested, that a scale of comparison between money and imprisonment may be established, by apportioning the period to the time which the ordinary income of the delinquent, or of persons in the same condition, would take to pay the fine imposed. The subject of secondary punishments closes the second book of this treatise.

III. We now come to the other great division of punishments, consisting more peculiarly in *privation*. These are evidently as various as the objects of possession; but they may be arranged, like those objects, in three classes, as they impose a forfeiture of *reputation*, of *property*, or of *condition*. There is a good deal of division and subdivision introduced, which all resolves itself into this threefold arrangement, and may be disregarded.

1. Punishments which affect a person's reputation, consist of appeals to public opinion, and are those measures which the lawgiver takes with respect to him, for the purpose of directing that opinion against him. The mere censure to which he is exposed is a suffering, though nothing farther were to follow; but its natural consequence is to affect the behaviour of his fellow-citizens towards him, exposing him to positive injuries of a

nature either too evanescent, or too universally inflicted to be prevented by law, and depriving him of kind offices with which the law has no concern. The pains thus inflicted by society, are severely felt by some classes, and although too confined in their operation to be universally afflictive, or to stand in the place of all other punishments, they are capable of being used to great advantage within their proper limits. The lawgiver may inflict them, or rather may expose the offender to have them inflicted, either by simply *denouncing*, with the authority belonging to his functions, that certain acts shall be deemed infamous, or by treating the particular offender *judicially* in a certain way. Instances of the former method are frequently met with in the acts of the ancient republics. The latter is the mode used in modern times. It is practised in different ways—by *publication* of the offence—by *judicial admonition*—by inflicting *punishments* of the other classes, corporal as well as privative, the immediate object of which is not the destruction of reputation—by inflicting what may be termed *quasi-corporal* punishments, the sole object of which is infamy—by *degradation*, or depriving the offender of his rank, natural or conventional—by *discrediting* him, or preventing his testimony from being received. Those punishments only belong to the class now before us, whose sole object is to affect the reputation, or one of whose express objects is declared by law to be this. They have some eminent advantages when examined by the rules; the principal of which is, that they both execute and apportion themselves. To this part of the subject belongs a very interesting topic,—the limits of the lawgiver's power in leading and forming the public opinion. Some offences, it is well known, however severely they may be punished, are little, if at all, condemned as infamous; and yet, in their nature, they belong to the same class with those most universally held to be ignominious. Smuggling is a remarkable example. Our author conceives that the Legislature, armed as it is with the highest powers and dignity, ought to have authority sufficient gradually to sway the public sentiments, and wean them from such prejudices. But in cases where the criminal act, or rather the prohibited act, is equivocal, and where the motives are not necessarily disgraceful, as in libel, it is in vain for the lawgiver to contend with the well founded opinions of mankind. The offence is too much of a mixed nature to be susceptible of an ignominious punishment.

2. The description of punishments affecting property, consists of those which are *pecuniary*, and those which are *quasi-pecuniary*, as confiscation of lands, &c. This class will not do

tain us long. It possesses great advantages in point of divisibility, equality, and convertibility to profit, but is liable to some defects of consequence; tending to affect others beside the delinquent, and being but little exemplary, except in the case of confiscations, to which other objections are hereafter to be stated. Where the punishment is inflicted by payment of costs, the example is wholly lost.

3. The forfeiture of condition, or *status*, is a class of great extent theoretically speaking, but in practice it is reduced within narrow limits. All the conditions which arise out of relations created by civil institutions, and even the qualities annexed by those institutions to natural relations, may be destroyed by the civil magistrate. Marriage may be dissolved; children may be bastardized; blood may be corrupted; the different kinds of trust may be taken away; a person may be reduced to slavery; a community may be deprived of its rights or privileges. There is another punishment referable to this head, but liable to severe animadversion in the manner in which it has frequently been applied, we mean, *outlawry*, whether as a part of criminal or of civil process. Its extreme inequality, even as at present mitigated, and its tendency to occasion infringements of moral duties between man and man, are sufficiently obvious, and call loudly for still further modifications.

IV. Hitherto we have been occupied with the consideration of punishments more or less deserving, under proper restrictions, the attention of a wise lawgiver, excepting one or two, which from an unavoidable imperfection in the classification, crossed us, as it were, on our way, although they were also referable to other classes. The kinds of infliction that remain to be discussed, are those which every sound principle teaches us to avoid where it is possible, and to diminish as much as possible, where, from the defects of all human contrivances, they inevitably mingle themselves with the legitimate modes of punishment. This system arranges them in two classes; those which are *misplaced*, or fall upon other persons than the offender; and those which are *complicated*, or present neither to the legislator, the judge, the party, nor the public, any fixed and definite idea. The former class is the subject of the Fourth, the latter of the Fifth and last book. The arrangement would have been more concise and elegant, perhaps, if these two books had been consolidated into one.

It is to be observed, that some punishments appear, at first view, to be misplaced, which, in reality, are not so. Thus, those which, following the rules of civil responsibility, are inflicted upon one person for the fault of another over whom he

had a control, are, in reality, only punishments inflicted on him for culpable negligence in the performance of his own duties. It may further be remarked, that almost every punishment more or less affects others as well as the delinquent; but the legislator should do his utmost to reduce this unfortunate overflowing, if we may so speak, within the least possible bounds. Thus, the condition of the offender with respect to family connexions should be regarded; and in all cases the claims of creditors should be preferred to those of the fisc, where pecuniary punishment is imposed. The class of punishments properly called misplaced, are those which the legislator enacts with the intention of punishing another person than the offender, either along with him, or in his place. They consist of four kinds; *vicarious*, where the offender escapes—*transitive*, where an innocent person is purposely punished who is connected with the offender—*collective*, where a body of innocent persons suffer, in the presumption of the guilty being among them—*fortuitous*, where an innocent person suffers as well as the offender, though unconnected with him.

Of *vicarious* punishments, the only instance * given, and, we presume, the only one which exists, is that inflicted upon the families and creditors of suicides by the law of England. Like all other absurd and unjust laws, it is evaded, in almost every instance, by perjury, and the exercise of a discretion in the Sovereign,—which, if it is never to be abused, can in no instance be of any use to him. The example given of *transitive* punishment, is the corruption of blood—a more able exposition of the absurdity of which is nowhere to be found within so short a compass. It must often be impracticable, says our author, for want of relatives on whom it may attach. In such cases, some other augmentation of the principal punishment is to be applied. Then why should not this augmentation be in every case preferred? It supposes the offender to have feelings, which in many instances are wanting also. In those cases it wholly fails, without the possibility of the failure being known. It is extravagant in the range of its operation, and the variety of evil which it produces. Finally, it is in direct opposition to all popular feelings, and speedily turns their current in favour of those whom, in the cases to which alone it is applicable, the state is

* Perhaps the acts that have sometimes passed the Legislature, attainting persons after their decease, belong to the class of *vicarious* punishments. England, Scotland, and Ireland, have both furnished noted examples; Ireland very recently, and England at the Restoration.

the most interested in rendering odious. Does the range of the moral sciences afford a demonstration at once more cogent and concise? The chief instances of *collective* punishments are those in which corporations are punished for the faults of certain individual corporators; a proceeding never to be justified, except in the case, scarcely supposable, of the offenders being unknown, and the evil of their impunity being greater than that of punishing the innocent.

The class of *fortuitous* punishments is more fruitful in examples; and three well known ones are taken from the law of England. Perhaps the most notable is the forfeiture and escheat of freehold property, in cases of attainder of treason and felony; where the confiscation relates back to the commission of the offence, and all mesne conveyances are avoided; so that a man may commit a secret crime, and sell his estate to an innocent and ignorant purchaser, in whose hands the crown or the lord afterwards seizes the estate upon the vendor's attainder; and as his goods and chattels are forfeited upon conviction, the only fund of compensation is gone also. Deodands are another instance of similar injustice; and the punishment of incapacitating a delinquent from giving evidence, is manifestly one which may strike much more injuriously at parties wholly unconnected with the offender, than at himself: besides, that it is by no means inflicted merely with the view of putting courts of justice on their guard against admitting a bad witness; for it is often the punishment of crimes which have no peculiar connexion with violation of truth. One of the most striking examples of the evils arising from this punishment, is to be found in the noted case where a will of lands was set aside many years after the devisee had been in possession under it, because it was discovered that one of the three witnesses required by law had laboured under this incapacity, unknown of course to the testator, and probably to every person in the place where he resided.

V. The Last Book, after shortly stating the evils of complicated punishments, and observing that two of these, outlawry and incapacitation to give evidence, have already been disposed of, proceeds to the remaining two, of *Excommunication* and *Felony*. Upon the first of these, a circumstance has fortunately occurred (since the work was published), which dispenses with the attention which it otherwise would have required. Moved by some gross abuses in the infliction of this punishment, several distinguished persons have undertaken to substitute other procedure in its place. Sir William Scott has brought a bill into parliament with this view; and there can be no doubt of the evil speedily being done away. Under *felony*, or more proper-

ly according to the language of the present day, under the punishment of persons as felons, are comprehended a number of inflictions very different from each other ; and our author complains, that when a person is said to be guilty of felony, no precise or intelligible idea is conveyed of what he has committed. This is no doubt true ; but we think he rather carries his objection too far, when he asserts the punishing as a felon to be an equally vague and indefinite term. It comprehends two descriptions of punishment ; the one capital, with forfeiture of lands and chattels ; the other not capital, but consisting in forfeiture of chattels, and the form of burning in the hand ; to which, by special enactment, imprisonment, transportation, or indeed any other punishment, may be superadded. No doubt the term has become quite useless, and even worse ; for it seems to mean something, when it in truth conveys no distinct idea. Every one must admit, that a much simpler and better manner of stating the punishment due to an offence, would be, to tell at once of what it is to be composed ; and, instead of enacting that certain offences are felonies, which now tells us nothing, to prohibit them, and state the precise inflictions which shall follow the commission of them.

In the analysis which we have just brought to a close, it has been impossible for us to give even a specimen of the rich vein of illustration which runs through the whole of the original treatise. Examples are never wanting from the laws and the history of all ages and nations, to explain, and to enforce the general positions. The work, however, in this department, has a manifest superiority over Montesquieu's celebrated performance. The author does not, like him, overload his chapters with facts and anecdotes, which, so far from being kept in subordination to the main design of unfolding the principles, become in very many instances the chief object. Whoever is but slightly acquainted with the *Esprit des Lois*, must recollect upon how many occasions not merely a subdivision is made, but a general head formed, and a principle laid down, for the sole purpose of introducing a singular story ; and how little the illustrious President is in the habit of regarding the value of the facts which he brings together. He is equally careless of the weight of evidence, the foundation on which his facts rest. He finds them in a '*printed book* ;' and that is enough. Down they go into his commonplace book, and there they lye until a niche is found for them in some compartment of the treatise ; but if none is found, one must be made, that at all events the facts may not be lost. Whether they come from France, or from Japan, or from the kingdom of Bantam ; whether in themselves probable,

or such as scarcely any force of testimony could make us believe (e.g. that in some countries there are ten women for one man), seems to signify nothing; they are equally facts, and must be noticed with the same respect.* The reader of Mr Bentham's works has never to complain of this. Nor does he meet with the frequent substitution of epigrams and neat sayings for deliberate philosophical positions. Indeed a plain, manly, even homely sense, is one peculiar characteristic of his doctrines.

If we consider how very little was done in this branch of the science of legislation before the present work, and the corresponding parts of the *Traité de Législation*, we shall still more clearly perceive the extent of our obligations to its author. All the remarks upon the subject which are to be found scattered over the *Esprit des Lois*, if collected together, would hardly, says Mr Dumont, fill a dozen pages. Beccaria, whose design comprehended the whole science of criminal jurisprudence, has given a mere sketch of some detached parts of it, through which, notwithstanding the great liberality and boldness, and frequently the judicious nature of his observations, we are left to regret that he never pursues a subject completely, and that he laboured under the almost irremediable defect of not being a practical lawyer. It is the great merit of Mr Bentham, that he goes thoroughly into his subject, leaves no part of it unexplained, and fears less the imputation of minuteness or superfluity, nay, the odious names of tediousness and truism themselves, than the more serious charge of passing superficially over the topics of an inquiry, every part of which is in some measure connected with all the rest.

His method of handling the subject, which, from a mathematical analogy not very applicable, has been termed *exhaustive*, † is no doubt admirably adapted to ensure a cautious and full consideration of it. By carefully analyzing it, separating all its parts, and attending to each in its uncombined state, all risk of confounding together different ideas, and of passing over any of the premises which ought to influence the conclusion, is with

* Est-il possible (says Voltaire) qu'un homme sérieux daigne nous parler si souvent des lois de Bantam, de Macassar, de Borneo, d'Achem; qu'il repete tant de contes de voyageurs, ou plutôt d'hommes errans, qui ont débité tant de fables, qui ont pris d'abus pour des lois, qui sans sortir du comptoir d'un marchand Hollandais, ont pénétré dans les palais de tant de princes de l'Asie? *Oeuv. tom. xxxv. p. 37.* An implicit belief of every thing in ancient history is equally unworthy of 'un homme sérieux.'

† *Analytical* is a more appropriate term.

certainly avoided. They, however, who expect more from such a method of investigation, (and we have sometimes thought or fancied we perceived symptoms of this expectation in Mr Dumont), deceive themselves, probably by some indistinct notions of a comparison with the analytical processes of the mathematical and physical sciences. To a certain extent the comparison holds; but if we push it farther, we lose all resemblance; and if we attempt to force the subject, are sure to fall into the grossest absurdities,—instances of which are indeed not wanting in the history of philosophy. Indeed, even in the sciences of abstract quantity and of matter, the inquirer must limit himself in tracing resemblances and diversities;—he cannot compare where he has no common measure. The chymist may resolve a body into its constituent parts; and the moralist may examine of what kinds of suffering any penal infliction consists: But while the common relations of weight and bulk always afford the former the means of estimating the mutual proportions of the simple ingredients, the latter has no such standard of comparison;—he cannot say how many parts of the whole punishment consist of pain, and how many of anxiety. So we can say at once how many parts of a lighter body it will take to outweigh a given portion of a heavier one; but we shall in vain seek for a precise answer to the question, how much must be added or taken from one kind of punishment, to make it equal to another kind. Again, we enumerate, and consider, according to Mr Bentham's method, all the circumstances in favour of a given punishment; we then state all those which are against it; but we have no means of accurately comparing the advantages and disadvantages, or of subtracting the one from the other, and striking the balance. So in chusing between two modes of punishment, we may state the circumstances that should draw us towards one, or those that should draw us towards another, but we cannot *calculate* the superiority of the one to the other, still less can we find some middle line exactly determined by the combined operation of the different inducements. We are in the situation of a mathematician who sees from the *data* in the enunciation of a proposition, generally and vaguely, the relations which must determine the result; who perceives that, from the nature of his equation, there are certain limits to the solution; who knows upon what conditions the solution depends; but who cannot perform the investigation, and arrive at the conclusion. Let it not be thought, however, that this necessary consequence of the different nature of the subject, is any detraction from Mr Bentham's merit, or that his method does little service, because it does not perform impossibilities.

It brings under our view every thing which requires consideration,—perpetually reminds us of points apt to be passed over in the hasty and sweeping deductions of more ambitious inquirers,—and secures to each particular the attention which it merits. Nor is the merit small, of having pushed the method no farther than the nature of the subject permitted. Inferior minds would easily have been seduced into an attempt at some preposterous union of calculus with enumeration, as they have been into wild applications of the Mathematics to Nosology and Morals.

The arrangement of each branch of his subject forms a necessary part of this plan, and has of itself very great merits. It affords the means of comparison, assists the memory, conduces to the formation of clear ideas, and, by preparing the places to which particular facts belong, teaches us to observe and remember them. The classification, especially in the latter part of the present work, is perhaps carried somewhat too far; as we meet with heads apparently composed of single examples; and a certain want of keeping is observable (to use the language of painters): for Mr Dumont frequently dwells as much on the divisions thus barren of cases, as he does on far more prolific ones. These imperfections, however, are slight in themselves, and they result partly from the nature of the method, partly no doubt from the state of fragments in which his materials were often found.

It has sometimes been the misfortune of cursory readers to dip, as is their manner, hastily into the middle of one of Mr Bentham's inquiries, and finding him occupied in laying down a plain, and even self-evident position, to shut the book as a collection of truisms. This is not the way, we must observe once for all, in which his system can be either relished, or indeed comprehended. Its parts are intimately connected; and the evident truth and simplicity of his propositions, taken singly, is precisely that which gives to his deductions their extraordinary strictness. A wit might perhaps ask why the geometer detains him with stating that the whole is greater than a part; and some paradoxical philosophers, as well as wits, have ridiculed the pains bestowed by the father of the science, in proving that two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. Yet from this simple proposition, the skill of succeeding geometers has carried us to the magnificent discovery, that by elementary methods we can determine the place of a planet in the heavens for a given time,* and the chain is uninterrupted, nor incumbered by one unne-

* See Dr M. Stewart's solution of Kepler's problem.

cessary link, which connects the axioms with the comparison of curves and of solids, the guidance of a ship in the ocean, and the investigation of the system of the universe. In the analytical view of the system of punishments, which we have presented to the reader, we have endeavoured to make the connexion apparent between Mr Bentham's first principles and his practical inferences or final results. No one we presume will maintain that the process is a mere chain of truisms, or a parade of barren classifications, which conducts us to a clear demonstration of the imperfections attending the principal branch of punishments known in this country, and puts us in possession of a substitute proved to be unexceptionable, and shown by experience to be eminently efficacious; and if any one should assert that the exposition of *deportation*, and the knowledge of the *Panopticon* might have been obtained independent of the theory, the answer is obvious, that supposing we were to admit this, it would still be true, that he who is possessed of the methods pointed out by the theory, is ready to apply them again and again to each new case presented for his consideration. Here, at least, the analogy between the moral and the stricter sciences is perfect. The Geometrician may, without the refined methods of modern invention, happily succeed in solving a difficult problem; but let another be offered to his notice, he is not a step the nearer his solution; while a very inferior analyst, by means of those exquisite instruments of investigation, is ready to treat any question that may occur without anxiety, and with a reasonable certainty of finding an easy answer.

We shall hereafter discuss the second part of Mr Bentham's work, which is in truth a separate treatise; but in the mean while, we have to prefer our urgent request to himself and his able coadjutor, that they would not delay giving to the world such other parts of his great system of legislation, as may be in a finished state. The work on *evidence*, is perhaps the branch which excites the most eager and general expectation. There are pleasures attending these inquiries, which far more than counterbalance the labour they demand. Beside the charms of abstract speculation, they bear a constant and intimate relation to the highest interests of mankind; and in times when little else is to be seen on every side but profligacy and corruption, or apostasy and time-serving, it is perhaps rather wise than selfish, to partake of the general apathy with which all this apparently is regarded, and to withdraw our curiosity towards remote ages, or different subjects of inquiry.

ART. II. *Poems*; By Samuel Rogers; Including Fragments of a Poem called the *Voyage of Columbus*. London, 1812.

It may seem very doubtful, whether the progress and the vicissitudes of the elegant arts can be referred to the operation of general laws, with the same plausibility as the exertions of the more robust faculties of the human mind, in the severer forms of science and of useful art. The action of fancy and taste seems to be affected by causes too various and minute to be enumerated with sufficient completeness for the purposes of philosophical theory. To explain them, may appear to be as hopeless an attempt, as to account for one summer being more warm and genial than another. The difficulty must be owned to be great. It renders complete explanations impossible; and it would be insurmountable, even in framing the most general outline of theory, if the various forms assumed by imagination, in the fine arts, did not depend on some of the most conspicuous, as well as powerful agents in the moral world. They arise from revolutions of popular sentiments. They are connected with the opinions of the age, and with the manners of the refined class, as certainly, though not as much, as with the passions of the multitude. The comedy of a polished monarchy, never could be of the same character with that of a bold and tumultuous democracy. Changes of religion and of government, civil or foreign wars, conquests which derive splendour from distance, or extent, or difficulty;—long tranquillity;—all these, and indeed every conceivable modification of the state of a community show themselves in the tone of its poetry, and leave long and deep traces on every part of its literature. Geometry is the same, not only at London and Paris, but in the extremes of Athens and Samarcand.. But the state of the general feeling in England, at this moment, requires a different poetry from that which delighted our ancestors in the time of Luther or Alfred. It ought to be needless to guard this language from misconception, by an observation, so obviously implied, as that there are some qualities which must be common to all delightful poems of every time and country.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century, the connexion of the character of English poetry, with the state of the country, was very easily traced. The period which extended from the English to the French Revolution, was the golden age of authentic history. Governments were secure, nations tranquil, improvements rapid, manners mild beyond the example of any former age. The English nation which possessed the

greatest of all human blessings, a wisely constructed popular Government, necessarily enjoyed the largest share of every other benefit. The tranquillity of that fortunate period was not disturbed by any of those calamitous, or even extraordinary events, which excite the imagination and inflame the passions. No age was more exempt from the prevalence of any species of popular enthusiasm. Poetry, in this state of things, partook of that calm, argumentative, moral, and directly useful character into which it naturally subsides, when there are no events which call up the higher passions ;—when every talent is allured into the immediate service of a prosperous and improving society ;—and when wit, taste, diffused literature, and fastidious criticism, combine to deter the young writer from the more arduous enterprises of poetical genius. In such an age, every art becomes rational. Reason is the power which presides in a calm : But reason guides, rather than impels ; and, though it must regulate every exertion of genius, it never can rouse it to vigorous action.

The school of Dryden and Pope, which prevailed till a very late period of the last century, is neither the most poetical nor the most national part of our literary annals. These great poets sometimes indeed ventured into the regions of pure poetry. But their general character is, that ‘ not in fancy’s maze they wandered long ; ’ that they rather approached the elegant correctness of our Continental neighbours, than supported the daring flight which, in the former age, had borne English poetry to a sublimer elevation, than that of any other modern people of the West. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, great, though quiet changes, began to manifest themselves in the republic of letters, in every European nation which retained any portion of mental activity. About that time, the exclusive authority of our great rhyming poets began to be weakened ; new tastes and fashions began to show themselves in the political world. A school of poetry must have prevailed long enough, to be probably on the verge of downfall, before its practice be embodied in a correspondent system of criticism. Johnson was the critic of our second poetical school. As far as his prejudices of a political or religious kind did not disqualify him for all criticism, he was admirably fitted by nature to be the critic of this species of poetry. Without more imagination, sensibility, or delicacy than it required,—not always with perhaps quite enough for its higher parts,—he possessed sagacity, shrewdness, experience, knowledge of mankind, a taste for rational and orderly compositions, and a disposition to accept, instead of poetry, that lofty and vigorous declamation in harmonious verse,

of which he himself was capable, and to which his great masters sometimes descended. His spontaneous admiration scarcely soared above Dryden. 'Merit of a loftier class he rather saw than felt.' Shakespeare has transcendent excellence of every sort, and for every critic, except those who are repelled by the faults which usually attend sublime virtues,—character and manners, morality and prudence, as well as imagery and passion. Johnson did indeed perform a vigorous act of reluctant justice towards Milton; but it was a proof, to use his own words, that

'At length our mighty Bard's victorious lays
Fill the loud voice of universal praise;
And baffled Spite, with hopeless anguish dumb,
Yields to renown the centuries to come!'

The deformities of the life of Gray ought not to be ascribed to jealousy—for Johnson's mind, though coarse, was not mean—but to the prejudices of his University, his faction, and his poetical sect: and this last bigotry is the more remarkable, because it is exerted against the most skilful and tasteful of innovators, who, in reviving more poetical subjects and a more splendid diction, has employed more care and finish, than those who aimed only at correctness.

The interval which elapsed between the death of Goldsmith and the rise of Cowper, is perhaps more barren than any other twelve years in the history of our poetry since the accession of Elizabeth. It seemed as if the fertile soil was at length exhausted. But it had in fact only ceased to exhibit its accustomed produce. The established Poetry had worn out either its own resources, or the constancy of its readers. Former attempts to introduce novelty had been either too weak, or too early. Neither the beautiful fancy of Collins, nor the learned and ingenious industry of Warton, nor even the union of sublime genius with consummate art in Gray, had produced a general change in poetical composition. But the fulness of time was approaching; and a revolution has been accomplished, of which the commencement nearly coincides (not as we conceive accidentally) with that of the political revolution which has changed the character as well as the condition of Europe. It has been a thousand times observed, that nations become weary even of excellence, and seek a new way of writing, though it should be a worse. But besides the operation of satiety—the general cause of literary revolutions—several particular circumstances seem to have affected the late changes of our poetical taste; of which, two are more conspicuous than the rest.

In the natural progress of society, the songs which are the effusion of the feelings of a rude tribe, are gradually polished

into a Poetry still retaining the marks of those national opinions, sentiments and manners, from which it originally sprung. The plants are improved by cultivation; but they are still the native produce of the soil. The only perfect example which we know, of this sort, is Greece. Knowledge and useful art, and perhaps in a great measure religion, the Greeks received from the East. But as they studied no foreign language, it was impossible that any foreign literature should influence the progress of theirs. Not even the name of a Persian, Assyrian, Phenician, or Egyptian poet is alluded to by a Greek writer;—the Greek poetry was therefore wholly national. The Pelasgic ballads were insensibly formed into Epic, and Tragic, and Lyric poems: But the heroes, the opinions, the customs, continued as exclusively Grecian, as they had been when the Hellenic minstrels knew little beyond the Adriatic and the Egean. The literature of Rome was a copy from that of Greece. When the classical studies revived amidst the chivalrous manners and feudal institutions of Gothic Europe, the imitation of ancient poets struggled against the power of modern sentiments, with various event, in different times and countries,—but every where in such a manner, as to give somewhat of an artificial and exotic character to poetry. Jupiter and the Muses appeared in the poems of Christian nations. The feelings and principles of democracies were copied by the gentlemen of Teutonic monarchies or aristocracies. The sentiments of the poet in his verse, were not those which actuated him in his conduct. The forms and rules of composition were borrowed from antiquity, instead of spontaneously arising from the manner of thinking of modern communities. In Italy, when letters first revived, the chivalrous principle was too near the period of its full vigour, to be oppressed by the foreign learning. Ancient ornaments were borrowed,—but the romantic form was prevalent; and where the forms were classical, the spirit continued to be romantic. The structure of Tasso's poem was that of the Grecian epic. But his heroes were Christian Knights. French poetry having been somewhat unaccountably late in its rise, and slow in its progress, reached its brilliant period, when all Europe had considerably lost its ancient characteristic principles, and was fully impregnated with classical ideas. Hence it acquired faultless elegance. Hence also it became less natural—more timid and more imitative—more like a feeble translation of Roman poetry. The first age of English poetry, in the reign of Elizabeth, displayed a combination, fantastic enough, of chivalrous fancy and feeling with classical pedantry: But, upon the whole, the native genius was unsubdued; and the poems of that age, with all their faults, and partly perhaps from

their faults, are the most national part of our poetry, as they undoubtedly contain its highest beauties. From the accession of James, to the civil war, the glory of Shakespeare turned the whole national genius to the drama; and, after the Restoration, a new and classical school arose, under whom our old and peculiar literature was abandoned, and almost forgotten. But all imported tastes in literature must be in some measure superficial. The poetry which grew in the bosoms of a people, is always capable of being revived by a skilful hand. When the brilliant and poignant lines of Pope began to pall on the public ear, it was natural that we should revert to the cultivation of our indigenous poetry.

Nor was this the sole, or perhaps the chief, agent which was working a poetical change. As the condition and character of the former age had produced an argumentative, didactic, sententious, prudential, and satirical poetry; so, the approaches to a new order (or rather at first disorder) in political society, were attended by correspondent movements in the poetical world.—Bolder speculations began to prevail: and we shall soon have a more proper occasion to remark how the feelings, which were the forerunners of civil mutation, called for a sterner and more lofty system of ethics; and to point out the slender but important threads which bound them to the most abstruse researches of metaphysics. A combination of the science and art of the tranquil period, with the hardy enterprizes of that which succeeded, gave rise to scientific poems, in which a bold attempt was made, by the mere force of diction, to give a poetical interest and elevation to the coldest parts of knowledge—and to those arts which have been hitherto considered as the meanest. Having been forced above their natural place by the first wonder, they have not yet recovered from the subsequent depression; nor will a similar attempt be successful, without a more temperate use of power over style,—until the diffusion of physical knowledge renders it familiar to the popular imagination,—and till the prodigies worked by the mechanical arts shall have bestowed on them a character of grandeur.

As the agitation of men's minds approached the period of explosion, its effects on literature became more visible. The desire of strong emotion succeeded to the solicitude to avoid disgust. Fictions, both dramatic and narrative, were formed according to the school of Rousseau and Goethe. The mixture of comic and tragic pictures once more displayed itself, as in the ancient and national drama. The sublime and energetic feelings of devotion began to be more frequently associated with poetry. The tendency of political speculation concurred in directing the

mind of the poet to the intense and undisguised passions of the uneducated, which fastidious politeness had excluded from the subjects of poetical imitation.

The history of nations unlike ourselves—the fantastic mythology and ferocious superstition of distant times and countries—or the legends of our own antique faith, and the romances of our fabulous and heroic ages, became favourite themes of poetry. Traces of a higher order of feeling appeared in the contemplations in which the poet indulged, and in the events and scenes which he delighted to describe. The fire with which a chivalrous tale was told, made the reader inattentive to negligences in the story or the style. Poetry became more devout, more contemplative, more mystical, more visionary,—more alien from the taste of those whose poetry is only a polished prosaic verse,—more full of antique superstition, and more prone to daring innovation,—painting both coarser realities and purer imaginations, than she had before hazarded,—sometimes buried in the profound quiet required by the dreams of fancy,—sometimes turbulent and martial,—seeking ‘fierce wars and faithful loves’ in those times long past, when the frequency of the most dreadful dangers produced heroic energy and the ardour of faithful affection.

Even the direction given to the traveller by the accidents of war has not been without its influence. Greece, the mother of freedom and of poetry in the west, which had long employed only the antiquary, the artist, and the philologist, was at length destined, after an interval of many silent and inglorious ages, to awaken the genius of a poet. Full of enthusiasm for those perfect forms of heroism and liberty, which his imagination had placed in the recesses of antiquity, he gave vent to his impatience of the imperfections of living men and real institutions, in an original strain of sublime satire, which clothes moral anger in imagery of an almost horrible grandeur; and which, though it cannot coincide with the estimate of reason, yet could only flow from that worship of perfection, which is the soul of all true poetry.

The tendency of poetry to become national, was in more than one case remarkable. While the Scottish middle age inspired the most popular poet perhaps of the 18th century, the national genius of Ireland at length found a poetical representative, whose exquisite ear, and flexible fancy, wanted in all the varieties of poetical luxury, from the levities to the fondness of love, from polished pleasantry to ardent passion, and from the social joys of private life to a tender and mournful patriotism, taught by the melancholy fortunes of an illustrious country;—with a range

adapted to every nerve in the composition of a people susceptible of all feelings which have the colour of generosity, and more exempt probably than any other from degrading and unpoetical vices.

The failure of innumerable adventurers is inevitable, in literary, as well as in political Revolutions. The inventor seldom perfects his invention. The uncouthness of the novelty, the clumsiness with which it is managed by an unpractised hand, and the dogmatical contempt of criticism natural to the pride and enthusiasm of the innovator, combine to expose him to ridicule, and generally terminate in his being admired, though warmly, by few of his contemporaries—remembered only occasionally in after times—and supplanted in general estimation by more cautious and skilful imitators. With the very reverse of unfriendly feelings, we observe that erroneous theories respecting poetical diction—exclusive and proscriptive notions in criticism, which in adding new provinces to poetry would deprive her of ancient dominions and lawful instruments of rule—and a neglect of that extreme regard to general sympathy, and even accidental prejudice, which is necessary to guard poetical novelties against their natural enemy the satirist—have powerfully counteracted an attempt, equally moral and philosophical, made by a writer of undisputed poetical genius, to enlarge the territories of art, by unfolding the poetical interest which lies latent in the common acts of the humblest men, and in the most ordinary modes of feeling, as well as in the most familiar scenes of nature.

The various opinions which may naturally be formed of the merit of individual writers, form no necessary part of our consideration. We consider the present as one of the most flourishing periods of English poetry. But those who condemn all contemporary poets, need not on that account dissent from our speculations. It is sufficient to have proved the reality, and in part perhaps to have explained the origin, of a literary revolution. At no time does the success of writers bear so uncertain a proportion to their genius, as when the rules of judging and the habits of feeling are unsettled.

It is not uninteresting, even as a matter of speculation, to observe the fortune of a poem which, like the *Pleasures of Memory*, appeared at the commencement of this literary revolution, without paying court to the revolutionary tastes, or seeking distinction by resistance to them. It borrowed no aid either from prejudice or innovation. It neither copied the fashion of the age which was passing away, nor offered any homage to the rising novelties. It resembles, only in measure, the poems of the eighteenth century, which were written in heroic rhyme. Nei-

ther the brilliant sententiousness of Pope, nor the frequent languor and negligence perhaps inseparable from the exquisite nature of Goldsmith, could be traced in a poem, from which taste and labour equally banished mannerism and inequality. It was patronized by no sect or faction. It was neither imposed on the public by any literary cabal, nor forced into notice by the noisy auger of conspicuous enemies. Yet, destitute as it was of every foreign help, it acquired a popularity originally very great; and which has not only continued amidst extraordinary fluctuation of general taste, but increased amidst a succession of formidable competitors. No production, so popular, was probably ever so little censured by criticism. It was approved by the critics, as much as read and applauded by the people; and thus seemed to combine the applause of Contemporaries with the suffrage of the representatives of Posterity.

It is needless to make extracts from a poem which is familiar to every reader. In selection, indeed, no two readers would probably agree. But the description of the Gypsies—of the Boy quitting his Father's house—and of the Savoyard recollecting the mountainous scenery of his country—and the descriptive commencement of the Tale in Cumberland, have remained most deeply impressed on our minds. We should be disposed to quote the following verses, as not surpassed, in pure and chaste elegance, by any English lines.

' When Joy's bright sun has shed his evening ray,
And Hope's delusive meteors cease to play;
When clouds on clouds the smiling prospect close,
Still through the gloom thy star serenely glows:
Like yon fair orb she gilds the brow of Night
With the mild magic of reflected light.'

The conclusion of the fine passage on the Veterans at Greenwich and Chelsea, has a pensive dignity which beautifully corresponds with the scene.

' Long have ye known Reflection's genial ray
Gild the calm close of Valour's various day.'

And we cannot resist the pleasure of quoting the moral, tender, and elegant lines which close the Poems.

' Lighter than air, Hope's summer-visions fly,
If but a fleeting cloud obscure the sky;
If but a beam of sober Reason play,
Lo, Fancy's fairy frost-work melts away!
But can the wiles of Art, the grasp of Power,
Snatch the rich relics of a well-spent hour?
These, when the trembling spirit wings her flight,
Pour round her path a stream of living light;
And gild those pure and perfect realms of rest,
Where Virtue triumphs, and her sons are blest!'

The descriptive passages of this classical poem, require indeed a closer inspection, and a more exercised eye, than those of some celebrated contemporaries who sacrifice elegance to effect, and whose figures stand out in bold relief, from the general roughness of their more unfinished compositions. And in the moral parts, there is often discoverable a Virgilian art, which suggests, rather than displays, the various and contrasted scenes of human life,—and adds to the power of language by a certain air of reflection and modesty, in the preference of measured terms over those of more apparent energy.

In the Epistle to a Friend, the Panegyric on Engraving—the View from the Poet's Country-house—the Bee-hives of the Loire—and the Rustic Bath, will immediately present themselves to the recollection of most poetical readers.

In the View from the House, the scene is neither delightful from very superior beauty, nor striking by singularity, nor powerful from reminding us of terrible passions or memorable deeds. It consists of the more ordinary of the beautiful features of Nature, neither exaggerated nor represented with curious minuteness, but exhibited with picturesque elegance, in connexion with those tranquil emotions which they call up in the calm order of a virtuous mind, in every condition of society and of life.

The Verses on the Torso, are in a more severe style. The Fragment of a Divine Artist, which awakened the genius of Michael Angelo, seems to disdain ornament.

‘ And dost thou still, thou mass of breathing stone,
 (Thy giant limbs to Night and Chaos hurl'd)
 Still sit as on the fragment of a World;
 Surviving all, majestic and alone?
 What though the Spirits of the North, that swept
 Rome from the earth, when in her pomp she slept,
 Smote thee with fury, and thy headless trunk
 Deep in the dust 'mid tower and temple sunk;
 Soon to subdue mankind 'twas thine to rise,
 Still, still unquell'd thy glorious energies!
 Aspiring minds, with thee conversing, caught
 Bright revelations of the Good they sought;
 By thee that long-lost spell in secret given,
 To draw down Gods, and lift the soul to Heaven!’

If poetical merit bore any proportion to magnitude, ‘the Sick Chamber,’ and ‘the Butterfly,’ would deserve no attention: But it would be difficult to name two small poems, by the same writer, in which he has attained such high degrees of kinds of excellence so dissimilar. The first has a truth of detail, which, considered merely as painting, is admirable; but assumes a higher character, when it is felt to be that minute re-

membrance, with which affection recollects every circumstance that could influence a beloved sufferer. Though the morality which concludes the second, be in itself very beautiful, it may be doubted whether the verses would not have left a more unmixed delight, if the address had remained as a mere sport of fancy, without the seriousness of an object, or an application.

The Verses, written in Westminster Abbey, are surrounded by dangerous recollections. They aspire to commemorate Fox—and to copy some of the grandest thoughts in the most sublime work of Bossuet. Nothing can satisfy the expectation awakened by such names. Yet we venture to quote the following lines, with the assurance, that there are some of them which would be most envied by the best writers of this age.

‘ Friend of the Absent! Guardian of the Dead !
 Who but would here their sacred sorrows shed ?
 (Such as He shed on NELSON’s closing grave ;
 How soon to claim the sympathy He gave !)
 In Him, resentful of another’s wrong,
 The dumb were eloquent, the feeble strong.
 Truth from his lips a charm celestial drew—
 Ah, who so mighty and so gentle too ? ’

The scenery of Loch Long is among the grandest in Scotland; and the following description of it shows the power of feeling and painting. Perhaps, however, it partly owes its insertion here, to individual recollections, as well as national sentiments. In this island, the taste for Nature has grown with the progress of refinement. It is most alive in those who are most brilliantly distinguished in social and active life. It elevates the mind above the meanness which it might contract in the rivalry for praise; and preserves those habits of reflection and sensibility, which receive so many rude shocks in the coarse contests of the world. Not many summer hours can be passed in the most mountainous solitudes of Scotland, without meeting some who are worthy to be remembered with the sublime objects of Nature which they had travelled so far to admire.

‘ Upon another shore I stood,
 And look’d upon another flood ; *
 Great Ocean’s self ! (’Tis He, who fills
 That vast and awful depth of hills ;)
 Where many an elf was playing round,
 Who treads unshod his classic ground ;
 And speaks, his native rocks among,
 As FINGAL spoke, and OSSIAN sung.
 Night fell ; and dark and darker grew
 That narrow sea, that narrow sky,

* Loch-Long.

As o'er the glimmering waves we flew,
 The sea-bird rustling, wailing by.
 And now the grampus, half descried,
 Black and huge above the tide;
 The cliffs and promontories there,
 Front to front, and broad and bare,
 Each beyond each, with giant-feet
 Advancing as in haste to meet;
 The shatter'd fortress, whence the Dane
 Blew his shrill blast, nor rush'd in vain,
 Tyrant of the drear domain;
 All into midnight-shadow sweep—
 When day springs upward from the deep! †
 Kindling the waters in its flight,
 The prow wakes splendour; and the oar,
 That rose and fell unseen before,
 Flashes in a sea of light!
 Glad sign, and sure! for now we hail
 Thy flowers, Glenfinart, in the gale;
 And bright indeed the path should be,
 That leads to Friendship and to Thee!
 Oh blest retreat, and sacred too!
 Sacred as when the bell of prayer
 Toll'd duly on the desert air,
 And crosses deck'd thy summits blue.
 Oft, like some lov'd romantic tale,
 Oft shall my weary mind recall,
 Amid the hum and stir of men,
 Thy beechen grove and waterfall,
 Thy ferry with its gliding sail,
 And Her—the Lady of the Glen!

The most conspicuous of the novelties of this volume, is the poem or poems, entitled, 'Fragments of the Voyage of Columbus.' The subject of this poem is, politically, or philosophically, considered among the most important in the annals of mankind. The introduction of Christianity (humanly viewed)—the irruption of the Northern barbarians—the contest between the Christian and Mussulman nations in Syria—the two inventions of Gunpowder and Printing—the emancipation of the human understanding by the Reformation—the discovery of America, and of a maritime passage to Asia in the last ten years of the 15th century—are the events which have produced the greatest and most durable effects, since the establishment of civilization, and the consequent commencement of authentic history. But the poetical capabilities of an event bear no propor-

† A phenomenon described by many navigators.

tion to historical importance. None of the consequences that do not strike the senses or the fancy, can interest the poet. The greatest of the transactions above enumerated, are obviously incapable of entering into poetry. The Crusades were not without permanent effects on the state of men: But their poetical interest does not arise from these effects;—and it immeasurably surpasses them.

Whether the voyage of Columbus be destined to be for ever incapable of becoming the subject of an Epic poem, is a question which we have scarcely the means of answering. The success of great writers has often so little corresponded with the promise of their subject, that we might be almost tempted to think the choice of a subject indifferent. The story of Hamlet, or of Paradise Lost, would beforehand have been pronounced to be unmanageable. Perhaps the genius of Shakespeare and of Milton has rather compensated for the incorrigible defects of ungrateful subjects, than conquered them. The course of ages may produce the poetical genius—the historical materials and the national feelings, for an American Epic poem. There is yet but one State in America, and that State is hardly become a nation. At some future period, when every part of the continent has been the scene of memorable events, when the discovery and conquest have receded into that legendary dimness which allows fancy to mould them at her pleasure, the early history of America may afford scope for the genius of a thousand national poets; and while some may soften the cruelty which darkens the daring energy of Cortez and Pizarro—while others may, in perhaps new forms of poetry, ennoble the pacific conquests of Penn—and while the genius, the exploits, and the fate of Raleigh, may render his establishments probably the most alluring of American subjects—every inhabitant of the new world will turn his eyes with filial reverence towards Columbus,—and regard, with equal enthusiasm, the voyage which laid the foundation of so many states, and peopled a continent with civilized men.—Most epic subjects, but especially such a subject as Columbus, require either the fire of an actor in the scene, or the religious reverence of a very distant posterity. Homer, as well as Ercilla, and Camoens, show what may be done by an epic poet who himself feels the passions of his heroes. It must not be denied, that Virgil has borrowed a colour of refinement from the Court of Augustus, in painting the age of Priam and of Dido. Evander is a solitary and exquisite model of primitive manners, divested of grossness, without losing their simplicity. But to an European poet, in this age of the world, the Voyage of Columbus is too naked and too exactly defined by history. It

has no variety, scarcely any succession of events. It consists of one scene, during which two or three simple passions continue in a state of the highest excitement. It is a voyage with intense anxiety in every bosom, controlled by magnanimous fortitude in the leader, and producing among his followers a fear sometimes submissive, sometimes mutinous, always ignoble. It admits no variety of character—no unexpected revolutions; and even the issue—the sight of undiscovered land, though of unspeakable importance, and admirably adapted to some kinds of poetry, is not an event of such outward dignity and splendour as ought naturally to close the active and brilliant course of an Epic poem.

The author has accordingly not attempted such a poem; he professes only to offer fragments of the Voyage. To prove that these fragments have not the interest of a story, is a mere waste of critical ingenuity. The very title of Fragments, is a disavowal of all pretension to such an interest. Many of them have the appearance of having been originally members of a Lyric poem on the voyage of Columbus; and they still retain that predominant character. They are not so much parts of a narrative, as the sentiments or the visions of the poet. In the progress of insertion and amplification, they seem to have become separate poems—Lyrical, Descriptive and Dramatic—on various events and scenes of the voyage. It cannot be true, that, because the whole is not a favourable subject for Epic poetry, many of the parts should not be well adapted to such poems. Each fragment is to be tried by its separate excellence. Part of that excellence will consist in their relation and allusion to each other, which naturally arises from affinity of subject. If there be any other criterion by which such poems are to be tried, it can only be their fitness to be inserted into an epic poem, if such a poem could be founded upon the event. The title, Fragments, implies also a renunciation of all claim to whatever merit may arise from the artifices of connexion and transition. This will be considered as matter of very serious reproach, by those who adopt the maxim of French criticism—that, difficulty conquered, is the chief triumph of talent—who, to be consistent with themselves, ought to consider the most minute expedient of art as superior to the noblest exertions of genius.

To examine the general question of epic machinery, on an occasion like the present, would be impertinent. It is natural that the Fragments should give a specimen of the marvellous as well as of the other constituents of epic fiction. We may however observe, that it is neither the intention nor the tendency of poetical machinery, to supersede second causes—to fetter the will—

and to make human creatures appear as the mere instruments of Destiny. It is introduced, to satisfy that insatiable demand for a nature more exalted than that which we know by experience—which creates all poetry—and which is most active in its highest species, and in its most perfect productions. It is not to account for the thoughts and feelings, that the superhuman agents are brought down upon earth. It is rather for the contrary purpose, of lifting them into a mysterious dignity beyond the cognizance of reason. There is a material difference between the acts which superior beings perform, and the sentiments which they inspire. It is true, that when a God fights against men, there can be no uncertainty or anxiety, and consequently no interest about the event,—unless indeed in the rude theology of Homer, where Minerva may animate the Greeks, while Mars excites the Trojans. But it is quite otherwise with these divine persons inspiring passion, or represented as agents in the great phenomena of nature. Venus and Mars inspire love or valour. They give a noble origin and a dignified character to these sentiments. But the sentiments themselves act according to the laws of our nature; and their celestial source has no tendency to impair their power over human sympathy. No event, which has not too much modern vulgarity to be susceptible of alliance with poetry, can be incapable of being ennobled by that eminently poetical art which ascribes it either to the supreme will, or to the agency of beings who are greater than human. The wisdom of Columbus is neither less venerable, nor less his own, because it is supposed to flow more directly than that of other wise men, from the inspiration of heaven. The mutiny of his seamen is not less interesting or formidable because the poet traces it to the suggestion of those malignant spirits, in whom the imagination, independent of all theological doctrines, is naturally prone to personify and embody the causes of evil.

Unless, indeed, the marvellous be a part of the popular creed at the period of the action, the reader of a subsequent age will refuse to sympathize with it. His poetical faith is founded in sympathy with the poetical personages. What they believed during their lives, he suffers to enter his imagination during the moment of enthusiasm in which he adopts their feelings. Still more objectionable is a marvellous, neither believed by the reader nor by the hero;—like a great part of the machinery of the *Henriade* and the *Lusiad*, which indeed is not only absolutely ineffective, but rather dissennobles heroic fiction, by association with light and frivolous ideas. Allegorical persons (if the expression be allowed) are only in the way to become agents. The abstraction has received a faint outline of form; but it has not yet ac-

quired those individual marks and characteristic peculiarities, which render it a really existing being. Beauty and love gradually form themselves into Venus and Cupid. To employ them in the intermediate stage through which they must pass in the course of their transformation from abstractions into deities, is an inartificial and uninteresting expedient. On the other hand, the more sublime parts of our own religion, and more especially those which are common to all religion, are too awful and too philosophical for poetical effect. If we except *Paradise Lost*, where all is supernatural, and where the ancestors of the human race are not strictly human beings, it must be owned that no successful attempt has been made to ally a human action with the sublimer principles of the Christian theology. Some opinions, which may perhaps, without irreverence, be said to be rather appendages to the Christian system, than essential parts of it, are in that sort of intermediate state which fits them for the purposes of poetry;—sufficiently exalted to ennoble those human actions with which they are blended—and not so exactly defined, nor so deeply revered, as to be inconsistent with the liberty of imagination. The guardian angels, in the project of Dryden, had the inconvenience of having never taken any deep root in popular belief. The agency of evil spirits, firmly believed in the age of Columbus, seems to afford the only species of machinery which can be introduced into his voyage. With the truth of facts poetry can have no concern; but the truth of manners is necessary to its persons—and its marvellous must be such as these persons believed. If the minute investigations of the notes to this poem had related to historical details, they would have been insignificant; but they are intended to justify the human and the supernatural parts of it, by an appeal to the manners and to the opinions of the age.

Having premised these general observations, it is now only necessary to quote some of these Fragments, that the reader, if he adopt the above principles, may have the means of applying them to this poem.

The proposition—the first appearance of the ships and the trade-wind—in the First Canto, appear to us to be passages, which, in beauty of conception and execution, it is not easy to equal.

‘ Say who first pass’d the portals of the West,
And the great Secret of the Deep possess’d;
Who first the standard of his Faith unfurl’d
On the dread confines of an unknown World;
Sung ere his coming—and by Heav’n design’d
To lift the veil that cover’d half mankind!...

'Twas night. The Moon, o'er the wide wave, disclos'd
 Her awful face; and Nature's self repos'd;
 When, slowly rising in the azure sky,
 Three white sails shone—but to no mortal eye,
 Entering a boundless sea. In slumber cast,
 The very ship-boy, on the dizzy mast,
 Half breath'd his orisons! Alone unchang'd,
 Calmly, beneath, the great Commander rang'd,
 Thoughtful not sad. "Thy will be done!" he cried.—
 He spoke, and, at his call, a mighty Wind,
 Not like the fitful blast, with fury blind,
 But deep, majestic, in its destin'd course,
 Rush'd with unerring, unrelenting force,
 From the bright East. Tides duly ebb'd and flow'd;
 Stars rose and set; and new horizons glow'd;
 Yet still it blew! As with primeval sway,
 Still did its ample spirit, night and day,
 Move on the waters!

In the following verses a grand picture is exhibited with the simplicity which becomes it.

'Yet who but He undaunted could explore
 A world of waves—a sea without a shore,
 Trackless and vast and wild as that reveal'd
 When round the Ark the birds of tempest wheel'd:
 When all was still in the destroying hour—
 No trace of man! no vestige of his power!'

The character of Columbus can scarcely be presented in a light more venerable than in the opening lines of the 5th Canto.

'War and the Great in War let others sing,
 Havoc and spoil, and tears and triumphing;
 The morning-march that flashes to the sun,
 The feast of vultures when the day is done;

* By a coincidence which must have been accidental, the same original conception presented itself to a writer of the first order of genius. "Cette superbe mer sur laquelle l'homme jamais ne peut imprimer sa trace.—Si les vaisseaux sillonnent un moment les ondes, la vague vient effacer cette legere marque de servitude, et la mer reparoit telle qu'elle fut au premier jour de sa creation."

Corinne, i. 30.

In another passage of the same celebrated work is a thought which, by a coincidence equally casual, is the basis of one of the noblest stanzas of English lyric poetry. "Et n'est-ce pas en effet l'air natal pour un Anglois qu'un vaisseau au milieu de la mer?"

Corinne, ii. 299.

Britannia needs no bulwark,
 No towers along the steep;
 Her march is on the mountain wave,
 Her home is on the deep. *Campbell's Mar. of Engl.*

And the strange tale of many slain for one!
 I sing a Man, amidst his sufferings here,
 Who watch'd and serv'd in humbleness and fear;
 Gentle to others, to himself severe.....

' Still unsubdued by Danger's varying form,
 Still, as unconscious of the coming storm,
 He look'd elate! His beard, his mien sublime,
 Shadow'd by Age—by Age before the time,
 From many a sorrow borne in many a clime,
 Mov'd every heart.'

The beauty of the verses which describe the first sight of the New World, has been universally acknowledged. But they have been somewhat hastily supposed to represent the same event as occurring at different times—in the evening, and at midnight. It is obvious, however, that the repugnance is only in the imagination of the critic. Evening is described as the hour of vespers; and midnight, as the moment when a light is discovered on the unknown shore. Nothing is more natural, than that the evening which was to precede so important a night, should be painted by the poet.

' Twice in the zenith blaz'd the orb of light;
 No shade, all sun, insufferably bright!
 Then the long line found rest—in coral groves
 Silent and dark, where the sea-lion roves:—
 And all on deck, kindling to life again,
 Sent forth their anxious spirits o'er the main.
 " But whence, as wafted from Elysium, whence
 " These perfumes, strangers to the raptur'd sense?
 " These boughs of gold, and fruits of heavenly hue,
 " Tinging with vermeil light the billows blue?
 " And say, oh say, (how blest the eye that spied,
 " The hand that snatch'd it sparkling in the tide)
 " Whose cunning carv'd this vegetable bowl,
 " Symbol of social rites, and intercourse of soul?"....

Such to their grateful ear the gush of springs,
 Who course the ostrich, as away she wings;
 Sons of the desert! who delight to dwell
 Mid kneeling camels round the sacred well.

The sails were furl'd: with many a melting close,
 Solemn and slow the evening anthem rose,
 Rose to the Virgin. 'Twas the hour of day,
 When setting suns o'er summer-seas display
 A path of glory, opening in the west
 To golden climes, and islands of the blest;
 And human voices, on the silent air,
 Went o'er the waves in songs of gladness there!
 Chosen of Men! 'twas thine, at noon of night,
 First from the prow to hail the glimmering light.

" PEDRO! RODRIGO! there, methought, it shone!
 " 'There—in the west! and now, alas, 'tis gone!—
 " 'Twas all a dream! we gaze and gaze in vain!
 " —But mark and speak not, there it comes again!
 " It moves!—what form unseen, what being there
 " With torch-like lustre fires the murky air?
 " His instincts, passions, say, how like our own?
 " Oh! when will day reveal a world unknown?"

The whole vision which concludes the poem, is eminently beautiful. But it is needless to prolong our extracts from a volume, which must long ago have been in the hands of every reader of this Review. The extracts already given will show, that it always has consummate elegance, and often unaffected grandeur. The author is not one of those poets who is flat for a hundred lines, in order to heighten the apparent elevation of one more fortunate verse. He does not conduct his readers over a desert, to betray them into the temper in which they bestow the charms of Paradise on a few trees and a fountain in a green spot.

Perhaps there is no volume in our language of which it can be so truly said, as of the present, that it is equally exempt from the frailties of negligence and the vices of affectation. The exquisite polish of style is indeed more admired by the artist than by the people. The gentle and elegant pleasure which it imparts, can only be felt by a calm reason, an exercised taste, and a mind free from turbulent passions. But these beauties of execution can exist only in combination with much of the primary beauties of thought and feeling. Without a considerable portion of them, the works of the greatest genius must perish; and poets of the first rank depend on them for no small part of the perpetuity of their fame. They are permanent beauties. In poetry, though not in eloquence, it is less to rouse the passions of a moment, than to satisfy the taste of all ages.

In estimating the poetical rank of Mr Rogers, it must not be forgotten that popularity never can arise from elegance alone. The vices of a poem may render it popular; and virtues of a faint character may be sufficient to preserve a languishing and cold reputation. But to be both popular poets and classical writers, is the rare lot of those few who are released from all solicitude about their literary fame. It often happens to successful writers, that the lustre of their first productions throws a temporary cloud over some of those which follow. Of all literary misfortunes, this is the most easily endured, and the most speedily repaired. It is generally no more than a momentary illusion produced by disappointed admiration, which expected

more from the talents of the admired writer than any talents could perform.

Mr Rogers has long passed that period of probation, during which it may be excusable to feel some painful solicitude about the reception of every new work. Whatever may be the rank assigned hereafter to his writings, when compared to each other, the writer has most certainly taken his place among the classical poets of his country.

ART. III. *Ensayo Historico-critico sobre la antigua legislacion y principales cuerpos legales de los reynos de Leon y Castilla, especialmente sobre el codigo de D. Alonso el sabio, conocido con el nombre de las Siete Partidas.* Por el Doctor Don Francisco Martinez Marina. 4to. Madrid, 1808. pp. 450.

IT is deeply to be lamented, that at the period Marina undertook his general history of Spain, the annals of that country were involved in fable, and its records lay buried in oblivion. Marina had many of the qualifications necessary to form a perfect historian; an elevated mind, a strong conception, a solid judgment, a love of liberty. His taste was pure, his style noble and dignified, well suited to the gravity and majesty of history. Out of the separate and disjointed annals of the different kingdoms of Spain, he formed a clear and connected story, and interwove into it, with singular judgment and address, whatever could elucidate his subject, from the transactions of Italy and of other countries. But, though skilful in the construction of his narrative, he was deficient in the patience and assiduity necessary to purify it from the rust and dross that polluted and debased the histories which had preceded his own attempt. The grosser falsehoods, which ignorance or vanity had introduced into the annals of his country, his good sense taught him to reject: But many errors escaped his detection; many fables he suffered to pass without exposure; and in questions, where the curiosity and industry of his countrymen had not yet been awakened, genius could not supply the place of inquiry. On the civil and political constitution of his country, on the manners and establishments of the middle ages, on the progress of society and of commerce, on arts and literature, the information he gives is scanty and imperfect; nor does he appear to have appreciated justly the importance of such researches, or to have been sufficiently aware of their intimate connexion with the true use and value of history. His reflections too, though just, are sometimes trite; and his observations on mankind are oftener

drawn from the schools and from the lessons of moralists, than from the practice and knowledge of the world. In the severity of his strictures on manners, we recognize the austerity of the cloister; and in his judgments of ecclesiastical affairs we see with regret the heated and prejudiced mind of a theological disputant. His merits, however, are great; nor can any modern nation, except our own, boast of a general historian fit to be compared with the Jesuit Marina.

The task of minute investigation, neglected by Marina, has been taken up by others, who, without his genius or his eloquence, have enjoyed better opportunities, or had greater inclination to ransack archives, collect documents and collate manuscripts. The Marquis of Mondejar, D. Joseph Pellicer and D. Nicolas Antonio in the latter part of the 17th century, and Berganza, Salazar, Ferreras and others in the beginning of the 18th, have distinguished themselves by such laborious and useful researches. The ancient chronicles and popular histories of Spain, have been subjected by these authors to a more critical examination than they had formerly undergone; and in consequence of this scrutiny many errors have been detected, many fables exploded, many forgeries exposed, and many received opinions brought into question, which the credulity of earlier times had admitted without doubt and without enquiry. Still, however, the legal and constitutional antiquities of the kingdom were left in neglect; nor was the attention of the inquisitive drawn to that important and interesting study, till about the middle of the last century. In the reign of Ferdinand VI, and under the administration of Carvajal, a commission was established to examine the records of Spain, and to search in the archives of monasteries and cathedrals for whatever could illustrate its history and antiquities. In this commission were the names of Burriel and Velasquez, men eagerly disposed and eminently qualified to investigate the ancient constitution of their country. The death of Carvajal put a stop to their labours, before the extensive researches in which they were engaged had been brought to a conclusion. But the collection of historical documents which they had already formed, was immense; and as it was deposited with the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, the fruits of their labour were not lost. The curiosity of the learned was directed to such inquiries; and in the long and prosperous reign of Charles III. the Academy still went on augmenting its collections. Frequent attempts were made to communicate some of these discoveries to the public. Several pieces of early Spanish history, with many original charters and documents, were printed in the *España Sagrada* and in other works.

Correct editions of the more valuable chronicles appeared at Madrid; and expectations were held out, that the acts and records of the antient Cortes would at length be published. But the jealousy of the government prevented the completion of these designs. The publication of the Chronicles was interrupted, from an apprehension that the spirit of freedom which they breathed, might inspire with a similar ardour the existing generation; and the permission, frequently solicited, to print the records of the Cortes at large, or even in extracts, though often promised, was constantly withheld. Under Charles IV. a project was favourably entertained, of publishing a correct and uniform edition of the numerous works attributed to Alonso the Wise; and of these works, the *Partidas*, or Digest of law, which had been compiled by the authority and under the direction of that Monarch, was selected as the first for publication. Marina, the author of the treatise before us, was appointed to prepare a preface to this edition; but when his work was submitted to the Academy, the truths which it disclosed, were apparently thought unsafe and unsuitable to the times. The *Partidas* were published without the intended preface. But a revolution was at hand, which showed on what frail foundations the antient despotism had been resting. The French interfered, and prevented the government from being settled on its antient and legitimate basis. The intruders, however, were soon expelled from the capital; and Marina, profiting by these changes, published his book before they returned again to Madrid.

The object of Marina, in this treatise, is to give an historical account of the constitution of Castille before the middle of the 13th century; to relate the efforts of Alonso the Wise, and of his father St Ferdinand for the correction of its municipal laws; and to make an analysis of the *Partidas*, showing in what respects that celebrated code deviates from the antient law and usage of Spain, and in what manner it was corrupted by an absurd imitation of the Canon and of the Civil law. There are two points only in which we shall attempt to follow him. The history, composition and authority of the Cortes, and the origin and constitution of the municipal government of Castille are objects of curiosity to all nations, and they are more particularly worthy of our attention on account of the confession of Dr Robertson, that he was unable to obtain satisfactory information with respect to either.

When the Christians founded an independent kingdom in the mountains of Asturias, they naturally established in their new monarchy the same laws and government, under which their ancestors had lived before the invasion of the Saracens. The

Chronicle of Albelda informs us, that Alonso the Chaste restored at Oviedo the same order in church and state, which had subsisted at Toledo, the antient capital of the Visigoths. *Omnem Gothorum ordinem, sicuti Toledo fuerat, tam in ecclesia quam in palatio cuncta statuit.* Alonso the Chaste died in 843; and the Chronicle of Albelda, which is the earliest history of the Christians after the recovery of their liberties, was written about forty years after his death. In the 10th century, the residence of the Court was transferred from Oviedo to Leon; but the constitution of the state was left unaltered. To form a just notion, therefore, of the monarchy of Leon, we must know what were the political institutions of the Visigoths.

The meagre chronicles of the Visigoths give us little information concerning their government. But we have their code of laws, which is a more complete and elaborate work than the laws of any of the other Barbarians. We have also the acts of the Councils of Toledo, in which, during the last century of the Visigoth monarchy, their kings, nobles and clergy used to meet and deliberate on public affairs. From these materials must be drawn all the information we can obtain of their political constitution.

Their government was an elective monarchy,—the worst form, perhaps, that can be devised for a barbarous and turbulent people. The right of election was vested by law in the Bishops and Palatines; and a rude assent was given to their choice by the clamour of the surrounding multitude. But few of their kings owed their elevation to a regular and legitimate election. The greater part obtained their royal dignity by force or artifice; and many of them paved their way to the throne by the assassination of the preceding monarch, or by a successful rebellion against his authority. *Sumptum Gothi*, says Gregory of Tours, *hanc detestabilem consuetudinem, ut si quis eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio eum appeterent, ut quem libuisset animo, hunc sibi statuerent regem.* When such revolutions occurred, it was usual for the newly elected Sovereign to convoke a national council, in order to have his right to the crown solemnly recognised by the Church; and that favour he never failed to obtain from the clergy, whose vanity was flattered by this appeal. The recognition of the Church was regularly followed by the severest denunciations of eternal as well as temporal punishment, against all who should disturb the government of the present monarch, or conspire against his life, or take measures without his consent for securing the election to the crown after his decease. But the maledictions of the clergy were as feeble ramparts to the throne as the majesty of the laws; and the holy Fathers had often the mor-

tification, at no very distant period, to consecrate as their lawful sovereign, some fortunate usurper, whom they had already devoted to eternal reprobation.

Before the settlement of the Visigoths in Spain, it appears that, though the Crown was elective, the right to be elected was confined to a particular family. But the royal line having become extinct, no family was able at any future period to obtain the same undisputed privilege. In many instances the reigning king had influence sufficient to get his son associated with him in the government during his lifetime, and appointed his successor after his death. But there is only one example in the history of the Visigoths, where the Crown was transmitted in this manner from father to son for more than three generations. And the final result of these struggles of family ambition was the creation of two rival houses with pretensions to the Crown; whose animosity and competition, after disturbing the peace of their country for half a century, ended in the sacrifice of its laws, religion and independence to a foreign invader.

It was expected from an elective monarch, that he should be lavish of his bounty to the friends whose zeal and activity had raised him from a private station to the throne. But it was an object of still greater importance to his subjects, that they should not be disturbed in the possessions which they had lawfully earned by services rendered to his predecessors. To reconcile these opposite interests, free scope was given to the liberality of the Visigoth kings; but it was enacted, that their donations should not be resumed by their successors, except for misconduct or disloyalty. Whatever the reigning monarch conferred on his *Fideles* became their absolute property, which they could alienate at pleasure, or leave to their children. But kings, who had only a life interest in the Crown, must have been careless and improvident stewards of its demesnes. To extend an influence among their adherents, must have been an object nearer to their hearts than the future welfare of the State; and therefore, when the royal donations ceased to be revokable, the patrimony of the Crown must quickly have been dissipated. To the poverty thus produced, and to the consequent inability of the Visigoth kings to find rewards for their partizans, without resuming the donations of their predecessors, we must ascribe the severity of their fiscal laws, and the numerous forfeitures and continual complaints of rapacity and extortion, which disgrace the last periods of their history.

Elective monarchs, made and unmade in the midst of popular commotions, living in indigence and supported by extortion, must have possessed little authority but what they derived from

their personal influence and abilities. And yet, if we were to look merely to the preambles of their laws and to the proceedings of their councils, we should suppose them to have been absolute monarchs. The divine right of kings is no where more explicitly recognised, nor a superstitious reverence for their persons and authority more strongly inculcated, than in the records of a nation, accustomed to depose and expel them at its pleasure. This contradiction between the written laws and the practical maxims of the Visigoths arose from the excessive influence of their clergy, whose notions of royal authority were taken from the Imperial Court of Constantinople, and who alone were qualified by their learning to frame the laws, or reduce to writing the public acts of their countrymen. To explain the causes which gave the clergy so much influence in the Visigoth government, and to describe all the fatal consequences of their preponderance, would require more time than we can at present bestow upon the subject. There are few pages of the laws or history of the Visigoths, which do not at once attest the power of their clergy, and show to what nefarious purposes it was directed.

Whatever might be the real power of the Visigoth kings, they were invested by law with all the usual attributes and prerogatives of royalty. According to Marina, they had supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction over all persons, clerical as well as secular, resident within their dominions. They were supreme legislators, and could alone give authority to new laws or alter old ones. They were arbiters of peace and war, and could command, when they pleased, the military service of their subjects. But notwithstanding these high-sounding prerogatives, royalty was on the same footing among the Visigoths as among the other Barbarians. That fundamental principle in all monarchies of German or Teutonic origin, that kings have no arbitrary power, which they may exercise at their sole discretion, without the advice or consent of others, but that in all matters relating to the welfare and government of their subjects, they are bound to consult with their kingdom, was interwoven with the whole scheme and fabric of the Visigoth government. The king had the supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction; but he could give no judgement affecting the life, honour or estate of his subjects, except in open court, after a public trial. No Palatine could be degraded or punished, or even expelled from the king's service, till he had been publicly tried and convicted by the Bishops, *Seniores* and *Gardingi*. The kings were supreme legislators; but they could make no laws without the concurrence of their subjects. When Alaric prepared a code of

laws for the Provincials living under his dominion, he assembled his clergy and nobles; and, to give authority to the compilation he had made, he announced, that after making the necessary selections from the Roman law and from the ancient law of the country,—*hæc quæ excerpta sunt, vel clariori interpretatione composita, venerabilium episcoporum, vel electorum provincialium nostrorum roboravit adsensus.* The code of Alaric or *Breviarium Aniani* was promulgated in 506, and continued to be the law of the Provincials living under the Visigoth government till the middle of the seventh century, when it was abolished by Chindasvint. It was then superseded by the laws of the Visigoths, which were formed at different times and under different princes. It is true that some of these laws appear to have been made by the king with consent of his *Curia* or ordinary council. But the greater part were prepared, and all were confirmed, in solemn assemblies of his people. Many were enacted in the Councils of Toledo, with the consent of the Bishops and Palatines there assembled. The formula of confirmation to some edicts of the sixth council is in the following words, which mark strongly the limited authority of the king in matters of legislation; *quocirca promulgamus, et optimatum illustriumque virorum consensu et deliberatione sancimus.* Reccesvint, who with his father Chindasvint, appears to have made the greatest additions to the Visigoth code, informs us, that the laws which he enacted were made in the presence of his Bishops and Palatines, *audientium universali consensu.* And Ervigio, who revised the laws of his predecessors and prefixed to them the preamble which they still bear, states in it that the code which he promulgates, had been read and approved of in a general assembly of all the Bishops, *Seniores palatii* and *Gardingi* of his kingdom. These expressions may appear to some mere technical forms, devoid of any precise or definite meaning: but when it is considered, that they were selected and used by priests and lawyers, men disposed by their education and studies to overrate the royal prerogative, they must be regarded as satisfactory indications, that in the opinion of that age the legislative authority was not vested in the king alone, but in the king with the advice and consent of his kingdom.

It is still a question among Spanish antiquarians, at what time the Christians of Asturias threw off the Moorish yoke, and established their independence. That Pelayo was the first assertor of their liberties may be readily admitted, without crediting his fabulous achievements, or believing in the miraculous successes ascribed to him. The oldest chronicle that remains of the Asturian monarchy was composed in 883; but many

writings and charters are preserved, which evince its existence before the middle of the preceding century. The early chronicles are brief and unsatisfactory; and the other documents that are left, relate chiefly to the foundation of churches and monasteries. But they contain much curious and instructive information about the state of the country and condition of the people, and afford incontestable evidence that the government of Asturias and Leon was a free and limited monarchy, like that of the Visigoths; administered under the same forms, and by the same laws.

The Crown continued elective. We are told of Alonso I. that he was raised to the throne *ab universo populo Gothorum*; and of Alonso II. that he was chosen king *totius regni magnatorum cœtu summo cum consensu et favore*. On the death of Garcias in 913, his brother Ordoño II. was elected his successor at Leon; *omnes siquidem Hispaniæ magnates, episcopi, abbates, comites, primores, facto solemni generali conventu, cum acclamando ibi constituit*. In 930 Alonso IV. resigned the crown to his brother, with consent of his nobles assembled in Cortes. But though the monarchy continued elective, it was confined to a particular family; and not unfrequently the reigning sovereign procured his son or his nearest kinsman to be appointed his successor in his lifetime. In 966, notions of hereditary right had made such progress, that on the death of Sancho I., *omnes pontifices, omnes magnati fidei Catholice, vel cunctus promiscuus populus advenere et in concilio regis*—elected his son Ramiro, an infant only five years old, to be their king. At a later period, however, both Vermudo II. and Ferdinand I. are expressly stated, in public documents, to have owed their crown to election; and the latter monarch being desirous of dividing his dominions among his children, held in 1064 a general convention of his *Magnates*, and obtained their consent to the proposed partition. Hereditary succession has long been considered a fundamental law of the Spanish crown; but traces of the original elective constitution of the monarchy are still preserved. It continues to be the usage in Spain, to assemble the Cortes in the lifetime of the king, that they may take an oath of fidelity to his eldest son as heir apparent of the kingdom. The accession of Charles IV. was the last occasion when this ceremony was performed. The Cortes were assembled in 1788; and swore fidelity to his son, now Ferdinand VII., as his lawful successor.

That the monarchy of Leon was limited as well as elective, appears from many public documents still in existence, and from various facts recorded by historians. One of the earliest charters we possess of the Asturian kings, contains a donation to the

church of Lugo by Alonso II. in 832, in which that monarch expresses himself in the following terms: *placuit mihi ex animo ac omnibus Magnatis visum est, tam nobilitum personarum quam etiam infimorum*; and he calls the charter *scriptura quam in concilio edimus*. In a grant made in 841 by the same prince to the same church, he says, *visum est rectum mihi et omnibus pontificibus seu Magnatis totius Gallæciæ*. In 930, Ramiro II. assembled a Council of all the Magnates of his kingdom, and consulted with them on what side he should make an inroad into the territories of the Saracens. In 974, Ramiro III. suppressed the bishopric of Simancas, *cum consensu omnis magnati palatii mei et voluntate episcoporum*. A judiciary sentence remains of Vermundo II., which was pronounced in 985 with consent of the *Seniores palatii*, bishops, judges and abbots. These documents, which might easily be multiplied, show plainly, that the supreme authority in Leon was exercised by the king with advice and consent of his council.

The earliest Cortes, of which the acts have been preserved, were held at Leon by Alonso V. in 1020. The members of that assembly were the king and queen, the bishops, abbots and *optimates*, in whose names its laws are enacted *jussu regis*. In 1050, Cortes were held at Coyanza by Ferdinand I.; and the laws made on that occasion were promulgated in the name of the king and queen, and of all the bishops, abbots, and *optimates* of the kingdom. The same Prince had, in 1046, assembled a general convention of his *magnates* in order to determine with them on the operations of the war against the Moors. In Cortes held at Sta Maria de Henesillos in 1089, the king, Alonso VI., *communi consilio sapientum virorum Hesperia*, appointed Peter abbot of Cardena to be archbishop of Santiago. On the death of that monarch, his daughter Urraca was compelled by the nobles to marry the king of Arragon; and her son Alonso VII. was afterwards declared king, in her lifetime, by the same authority. It appears from the *historia Compostellana*, that during that troublesome period, several councils were held in Galicia by the Archbishop, assisted by the bishops, abbots, counts, *principes et aliae postestates*, in which civil as well as ecclesiastical matters were determined. And no sooner had Alonso VII. obtained complete possession of his kingdom, than he assembled in Cortes at Palencia, *omnes Hispania episcopos, abbates, comites et principes et terrarum potestates, ut juxta eorum consilium et arbitrium, urticas scelcrum quæ in Hispania exorta fuerant falce justitiæ extirparet*. In these Cortes, which were held in 1129, a grant was made to the church of Santiago in the name of the king and queen, *archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et principum ter*;

re consilio, qui Palentino concilio interfuerunt. In 1130 a council was held at Carrion, at which the king assisted *cum multis comitibus et aliis potestatibus*; and in the same year a provincial council was held at Santiago, *rege iubente*, attended by the archbishop and his clergy, and by three counts *cum suis baronibus et aliis potestatibus*, in which various regulations were made for the good government and better administration of justice in Galicia. In 1133, a cause of importance between the archbishop of Santiago and Bernard, the king's chancellor, was tried *in Curia Regis, presentibus Hispaniæ comitibus et baronibus, audientibus etiam canonicis et civibus.* The cause was decided against the Chancellor, *rege presente et annuente cæterisque justæ causæ fauentibus.* In 1135, the same Alonso VII, held Cortes at Leon, attended by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts and *principes*, in which, says the chronicle of that prince, *tractaverunt ea que pertinent ad salutem regni et totius Hispaniæ.* And in a charter of the same king, dated from Palencia in 1148, by which he changed the site of a monastery *assensu archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et religiosorum, atque proborum nostri regni baronum*, he incidentally mentions, that he had held there a *colloquium cum episcopis et baronibus regni sui.* The celebrated Cortes of Naxera, in which many laws were enacted, that had long afterwards great authority in Castille, were held by the same monarch. His son, Ferdinand II. of Leon, assembled Cortes at Salamanca in 1178, which were attended *episcopis et abbatibus et quamplurimis aliis religiosis, cum comitibus terrarum et principibus et rectoribus provinciarum.* The same prince made grants of lands to the church of Oviedo *cum consilio majorum curiæ nostræ—de consilio curiæ meæ.*

From these examples, selected from among many others, because all of them contain some description more or less imperfect of the persons assembled on these occasions, it is clear, that the kings of Leon and Castille administered their government with advice of their subjects convened in Councils or in Cortes. The proper business of the Councils was the government of the Church; but the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical affairs was not accurately drawn in that age, or at least it was frequently overlooked in practice. Laymen still assisted at the Councils; and these assemblies still meddled occasionally with affairs of state. The members of the Cortes were the higher clergy and nobility, and others who had offices or authority in the kingdom. It would be difficult to point out exactly what gave a seat in the Cortes. It is probable there was no fixed or settled rule on the subject; but that, according to the rude and careless practice of the middle ages, they were differently com-

posed on different occasions. Where the matter to be discussed was of trivial importance, it was probably settled in the *Curia regis* by the clergy, nobles, and officers of state, who from accident or business happened to be about the person of the king. But where affairs of greater magnitude were to be treated, it is probable that every one was summoned to the Cortes, whose concurrence could add weight to their deliberations, or give effect to the laws and decisions which they adopted. To obtain additional authority for his government, was the object of the king in calling for the advice of his subjects; and it was therefore his interest to make his Cortes numerous and respectable. For the time was not yet arrived, when he could hope, by garbling these assemblies, to emancipate himself from the just control of his kingdom. As there was no reason to apprehend such an enterprize, no precautions were devised to guard against it. The constitution of the Cortes was thus left to the Crown; and this prerogative, like many others, was assumed by the king, and confirmed by usage, before its value was known, or its consequences could be foreseen either by the prince or by his people.

The Cortes, at the period to which we have now arrived, may be considered as the *virtual* representatives of the kingdom, because they included all persons who, from station, wealth or character, had authority or influence in the state; but they were not the *actual* delegates or representatives of any particular class or community. It was not till the end of the 12th century that delegates or *procuradores* from the cities and towns formed part of the general council of the nation. The earliest mention of deputies from towns, which we have met with in the history of Castille, occurs in 1188. Cortes were that year held at Burgos by Alonso VIII, attended by two archbishops, two bishops, thirteen nobles, and the *mayores* of fifty cities and towns of Castille, the names of which are enumerated in the public instrument that contains an account of the transaction. In 1202, certain laws were published at Benavente, by Alonso IX. of Leon, in presence of deputies from every town of his kingdom, in full Cortes; and in the preamble to the laws enacted at Leon in 1208, the Cortes are thus described, and the persons of whom they were composed distinctly specified; *convenientibus apud Legionem, regiam civitatem, una nobiscum venerabilium episcoporum catu reverendo, et totius regni primatum et baronum glorioso collegio, civium multitudine destinatorum a singulis civitatibus considente, Ego Alfonsus illustrissimus rex Legionis, Galatiae et Asturiarum et Estremaduræ, multa deliberatione præcæpita, de universorum consensu hanc legem edidi, mihi ac meis*

posteris omnibus observandam. From this time forward, the deputies of the cities and towns may be regarded as usual constituent members of the Cortes. But the towns that sent representatives, varied exceedingly on different occasions; and for more than two centuries afterwards there seems to have been no settled rule or practice on that point. The largest assemblage of *procuradores* we have found mentioned at any meeting of the Cortes, took place at Burgos in 1315, during the minority of Alonso XI. The towns which sent deputies to that assembly, were ninety-eight; and the *procuradores* who attended, were one hundred and eighty-five, many towns having only one representative a-piece, while others had two, three, or four; Soria had seven, and Avila no less than thirteen.

In Arragon, the cities and towns sent deputies to Cortes at a still earlier period than in Castille. In 1162, Cortes were held at Huesca in Arragon, attended by the bishops, *ricos hombres*, *caballeros* and *procuradores* of the cities and towns; and in the following year Cortes were assembled at Saragossa, consisting of prelates, *ricos hombres*, *mesnaderos* and *infanzones*, with *procuradores* from Saragossa, Huesca, Jaca, Tarazona, Calatayud and Daroca. *Procuradores* of the towns formed part of the Cortes of Valencia, from the period when that kingdom was finally recovered from the Moors in 1238; and in 1283, syndics from towns holding of the crown were admitted into the Cortes of Catalonia, from which the prevalence of feudal institutions in that principality had in earlier times excluded them. Deputies from towns were not received into the States-General of France till 1303. In Germany, the imperial cities had no vote in the diet of the empire till 1293. And even in England we have no evidence of citizens and burgesses having been summoned to Parliament before 1265. It would seem, therefore, that the representation of communities in the states of modern Europe, originated in Spain; and it is no improbable conjecture, that the example of Spain had an effect in diffusing that system of government among other nations.

Communities are of greater antiquity in Spain than in any other country of modern Europe, Italy perhaps excepted. Italian cities were first erected into bodies politic, with municipal jurisdiction, by Otho the Great. The precise time when those of Spain were endowed with similar privileges, is not positively known; but it cannot have been much later. The charter of Leon is still extant, which was granted by Alonso V. in 1020, for the purpose of inducing settlers to rebuild that city, destroyed some years before by Almanzor; and from the language in which the *concilium*, *concejo* or common council of the city is

mentioned in that instrument, it is clear that such institutions were already familiar to his subjects. Charters of community were very common in Spain during the latter part of the 11th, and during the whole of the 12th and 13th centuries. When a settlement was to be formed on the frontiers, or in any situation exposed to the enemy, a charter of community was granted to the settlers, converting them into a body politic, with various privileges and immunities; and when any town was recovered from the Moors, a similar charter was conferred on its inhabitants, in order to induce Christians to establish themselves in the place, and to maintain it against its former masters. Before war was undertaken against the infidels, it was not uncommon for the kings of Spain to enter into a formal convention with their subjects, and with strangers who came as adventurers to their assistance from other parts of Christendom, specifying in what manner the conquests which they made should be divided; and in what form, and by what laws, administered. As the conquerors were of different nations, so, different laws, suited to each, were sometimes established in the conquered towns. On the recovery of Toledo, no less than three separate charters were granted by Alonso VI. to the townsmen; one to the Muzarabs, or antient inhabitants of the city, who had retained their religion during the domination of the Saracens; a second to his Castilian subjects, whom he established in the place; and a third to the Franks or Strangers who had assisted him in the siege, and who chose to settle in the town rather than return to their own countries. There was hardly a community in Spain at that period, in which Franks or Strangers were not to be found. Among the settlers enumerated in the charter of Sahagun, are Bretons, Germans, Gascons, English, Burgundians, Provenzals, and Lombards.

To erect communities was a prerogative of the Crown; but the right was often delegated to the clergy and nobility: And from that cause, as well as from alienations of the royal demesnes, communities in Spain were distinguished into four classes; *realengo*, holding of the king; *abadengo*, holding of the church; *solariego*, holding of some nobleman; and *Behetria*. This last tenure was peculiar to Castille, and must have had its origin in the difficulty of finding soldiers to make conquests, and of settlers to maintain them. A *behetria* was a community held of some noble family, one of whom was necessarily Seigneur of the place, and as such entitled to all the duties and services reserved in the original charter of incorporation. But it rested with the inhabitants of the *behetria* to determine which individual of the family should be their Seigneur; and, if displeased with the per-

son whom they first appointed, they might set him aside whenever they chose, and elect another from the same family to succeed him. *Behetrias* becoming sources of disturbance and dissensions, many attempts were made to put them down; but these proved ineffectual in consequence of the opposition of the nobles, till indirect means at length were fallen upon, which gradually reduced them to obscurity and insignificance. It is evident that the great privileges of the antient *behetrias* must have been granted as a bribe to procure settlers, who could not be obtained upon other terms. The original founder of the community was the stock from which those entitled to be chosen Seigniors derived their descent; and in some few places, where the founder had been a foreigner, who returned to his own country without leaving descendants in Spain, the members of the *behetria* were at liberty to chuse for their Seignior whom they pleased. Such *behetrias* were called *de mar a mar*, because they could take any one between sea and sea, and appoint him their Seignior.

As the communities of Spain were established for security and defence against a foreign enemy, they were composed of a different description of persons from the inhabitants of towns in other parts of Europe. Instead of a population formed entirely of villains, artizans, and tradesmen, there was in every Spanish community a class of *caballeros*, or gentlemen. In the charter of Leon we find the townsmen distinguished into *seniores*, or nobles, and *juniores*, or persons of inferior condition; and in all subsequent charters of incorporation, we meet with the same difference of ranks. Every community had its nobles and its plebeians. The former were of different degrees; but all of them enjoyed an exemption from taxes; and, in return, were bound to serve on horseback, with suitable arms and accoutrements, against the enemy. They were besides possessed of other distinctions, both honorary and profitable, and were alone eligible to the higher offices of magistracy in the corporations. The plebeians, or *pecheros*, as they were called, performed their military service on foot, with inferior arms, and paid a small duty to the crown, or to the superior lord of the town, the amount of which was settled by the original charter of incorporation. But the distinction of *caballero* and *pechero* seems in those early times to have been less a distinction of birth than of fortune. He who had sufficient means, was bound to maintain a horse for war; and, according to the value of the inheritance he possessed, every man was compelled to provide himself with armour when he took the field. In other respects all townsmen were on the same footing, subject to the same laws, and governed

by the same magistrates. According to the *fuero*, or charter of Caldeas, *quicumque nobilis vel cujuslibet dignitatis in villa de Bonaburgo in propria vel aliena domo habitaverit, ipse et qui cum eo fuerint, habeat forum sicut unum de vicinis*; and the same system of equal law, with the exceptions formerly alluded to, prevailed in all other incorporations. In every town, there was a *senior*, *dominus*, *princeps terræ*, governor, or deputy of the crown or of the superior lord, whose business it was to collect the duties for his master, and to see that the walls and fortifications of the place were in repair, and that justice was fairly administered. But this *senior* or governor had no civil or criminal jurisdiction in the town. If he had any complaint to make, he was bound like other persons to apply to the *Alcaldes*, or municipal magistrates, who with the other members of the council, were chosen by the townsmen, in the mode and form prescribed by their charter. In the *Alcaldes* and Council, all the judicial authority of the town was vested; and in case of disobedience or resistance, they were empowered to use military force in execution of their decrees. An appeal from all municipal judgments lay to the King's Court; and some crimes of heinous magnitude were tried there in the first instance. By this constitution, which extended to all communities, whether belonging to the Crown, to the Church, or to the Nobles, the justice and police of the towns were committed to their own magistrates; and when their troops took the field, they marched under their own banners, and were led by the *Senior* and *Alcaldes* of the place.

Security and defence being the great objects for which communities were established in Spain, we find in their municipal constitutions many regulations, obviously introduced for these ends. No townsman could dispose of his inheritance to a stranger, unless the new proprietor chose to reside in the town, and become a member of the community. If a townsman of Ucles absented himself from that place for a year, he forfeited all right to his inheritance. In many communities, if any one had undisturbed possession of a house and land for a year and day, no person could afterwards dispute his title to it in a court of justice; but when the increasing weakness of the Moors had lessened the immediate dangers of invasion, the lawyers discovered, that by a year and day in this law, two complete years were intended. New settlers were exempt from contributions, and from military service for the first year. Whoever brought waste land into cultivation, not previously appropriated to another, acquired in it a right of property. Towns were made, on some occasions, places of refuge from debt, and an asylum against feuds and enmities. *Omnibus etiam populatoribus hanc prerogativam concedo,*

says Alonzo VIII., in his charter to Cuenca, *quod quicumque ad Concham venerit populari, cujuscumque sit conditione: id est, sive christianus, sive maurus, sive judæus, sive liber, sive servus, veniat secure, et non respondeat pro inimicitia, vel debito, aut fidejussura, vel herentia, vel majordomia, vel merindatico, neque pro alia causa quancumque fecerit antequam Concha caperetur: et si ille qui inimicus fuit antequam Concha caperetur, Conche venerit populari et ibi inimicum suum invenerit, det uterque fidejussores de salvo ad forum Conche ut sint in pace. Et qui fidejussores dare noluerit exeat ab urbe atque a termino suo.* Cuenca was a place of much importance, gained after a long siege from the Moors, and exposed to great danger of falling again under their dominion.

By the municipal regulations of Castille, great privileges and exemptions were conferred on married persons who had children, while unmarried men were subjected to many burdens and privations, and in some places excluded from offices of magistracy, and even from the common rights of citizens. *Todo home que en Plasencia morare ó sea vecino ó morador, ó sea se en la cibdat é en su término, é mugier con fijos ocho menses non tuviere, él responda á todos é nadie non responda á él.* Fathers were answerable for the pecuniary mulets incurred by their children; and in return, all the acquisitions of the children, whether gained in war, or procured by industry, were the property of the father. It was consequently his interest to educate them carefully for war; and in thus consulting his own advantage, he increased the strength and safety of the community to which he belonged. So anxious were these municipal legislators to multiply the number of defenders in their little republics, that repugnant as all illicit connexions of the sexes are to the genius and spirit of Christianity, they not merely tolerated, but positively encouraged, concubinage. Every man, whether married or unmarried, might entertain a *barragana* or concubine, without scandal or reproach; and though the practice was reprobated by the canons of the Church, priests themselves were tempted to share in this indulgence. The *barragana*, though inferior to the lawful wife, had various rights and privileges secured to her. *La barragana si probada fuere fiel á su sennor, é bu na, herede la meadad que amos en uno ganaren en muebles é en raiz.* Where there were no legitimate descendants, the children of the *barragana* succeeded to their father's inheritance, in preference to his collateral heirs; and where he died without making provision for them, they were entitled to share in the division of his property with his children born in lawful wedlock. Illegitimacy was no reproach or bar to advancement. The natural children had the same civil privileges

as the legitimate offspring. They were publicly acknowledged by their father, and were educated in his house with the same care, and under the same masters. If he chose to bestow upon them an adequate fortune, he could raise them to the rank and consideration of nobility. *Esto es fuero de Castiella: que si un fijosdalgo a fijos de barragana, puedelos facer fijosdalgo, e darles quinientos sueldos.* The children of priests by their *barraganas* succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers as a matter of right; and, if we may credit the complaints of laymen, they were not unfrequently richly provided for at the expense of the Church. In these institutions it is impossible not to recognize the influence of Moorish manners and opinions on the Spanish Christians. Great as was the license used every where by the nobility in the middle ages, there was no country but Spain where this species of polygamy was reduced to a system, and placed under the fostering care and protection of the law.

The members of communities in Spain had all the security that law could give them, for their persons, their honour and their property. No person enrolled on the lists of a community could be punished with loss of life or limb, or deprived of his property, except by sentence of a court of law, in conformity to the *fuero* or charter of his town. If the King issued an order contrary to this privilege, and any one was hardy enough to carry his illegal mandate into execution, the instrument of his tyranny was liable to be punished according to all the severity of the *lex talionis*. If a *rico-hombre* or *caballero*, committing violence within the district belonging to a community, was wounded or killed by the townsmen, no compensation was due for it; but if any of the townsmen happened to be killed or wounded in the fray, the other was bound to compound for it, according to the *fuero* of the town. No prelate or *rico-hombre*, whose power might be troublesome, could acquire an inheritance within the bounds of a community; nor could any one build a castle, fortify a house, or found a settlement within its territory, unless he had leave from the incorporation. No duties, except those specified in their charters, could be exacted from communities by the Crown, unless they were granted in Cortes by the *procuradores* there assembled. The law establishing this important privilege was passed in the Cortes of Medina del Campo in 1328, not many years after our celebrated statute *de tallagio non concedendo*. It is a curious fact, that this law, though violated in practice, was still retained in the Spanish *recopilacion* till the reign of Charles IV.; when it was expunged, in the insolence of despotism, within a few years of that revolution which precipitated the degraded monarch from

his throne, and restored to his people, not *that* only, but *all* the antient rights of their fathers.

The introduction of deputies from the towns completed the scheme of the Spanish Cortes : and if we consult their acts and records, we shall find, that they not only consisted of the same materials, but that they possessed the same privileges, and conducted business in the same manner as our antient Parliaments. The Cortes had no legislative authority independent of the Crown. To advise the King was their office, and to follow their advice was his duty. They petitioned, addressed, remonstrated, complained of grievances, and supplicated for redress ; and when, in consequence, regulations and ordinances were made with consent of the King, these acquired the force of law, which neither the King nor the Cortes singly could impart to them. No department of the government was exempt from their control. The foreign as well as the domestic relations of the State were subject to their examination ; and, when necessary, even the recesses of the palace were laid open to them. When Henry IV, stigmatized for his impotence and debaucheries, had abandoned himself to unworthy favourites, and spent in slothful and disgraceful pleasures the hours due to his station and to his people, the Cortes interfered, and banished the worthless minions from his presence. When the madness of religious bigotry urged the Kings of Arragon to oppress or expel their Moorish subjects, the Cortes interposed, and baffled both Church and King united, in that flagitious enterprise. From what causes the free constitution of Spain was first impaired and then totally subverted, is a question that well deserves our anxious inquiry. But it is a subject that demands more time than we can bestow, and more knowledge than we have acquired, to do it justice.

ART. IV. *Letters written in a Mahratta Camp during the Year 1809.* By Thomas Duer Broughton. 1813. Murray, Albemarle Street.

THIS is a lively, entertaining, well written book ; and we can conscientiously recommend it to our readers. Mr Thomas Duer Broughton does not, it is true, carry any great weight of metal ; but, placed in a curious and novel scene, he has described what he saw from day to day, and preserved, for the amusement of his readers, the impressions which those scenes made upon him, while they were yet strong and fresh. The journals of military men are given to the public much more frequently than they used to be ; and we consider this class of publications

as one of great utility and importance. The duties of such men lead them into countries very little known to Europeans, and give to them the means of observing and describing very striking peculiarities in manners, habits, and governments. To lay these before the public, is a praiseworthy undertaking; and if done simply and modestly (as is the case with this publication), deserves great encouragement. Persons unaccustomed to writing, are prevented from attempting this by the fear of not writing sufficiently well; but where there is any thing new and entertaining to tell, the style becomes of comparatively little importance. He who lives in a Mahratta camp, and tells us what he hears and sees, can scarcely tell it amiss. As far as mere style is concerned, it matters very little whether he writes like *Cæsar* or *Nullus*. Though we praise Mr Broughton for his book, and praise him very sincerely, we must warn him against that dreadful propen-ity which young men have for writing verses. There is nothing, of which Nature has been more bountiful, than poets. They swarm like the spawn of cod-fish, with a vicious fecundity, that invites and requires destruction. To publish verses is become a sort of evidence that a man wants sense; which is repelled not by writing good verses, but by writing excellent verses;—by doing what Lord Byron has done;—by displaying talents great enough to overcome the disgust which proceeds from satiety, and showing that all things may become new under the reviving touch of genius. But it is never too late to repent and do well: we hope Mr Broughton will enter into proper securities with his intimate friends to write no more verses.

The most prominent character in the narrative of Mr Broughton, seems to be that of Scindia, whom he had every opportunity of observing, and whose character he appears perfectly to have understood;—a disgraceful liar, living with buffoons and parasites—unsteady in his friendships—a babbling drunkard—equally despised by his enemies and his pretended friends. Happy the people who have only to contemplate such a prince in description, and at a distance. The people over whom he reigns seem, by the description of Mr Broughton, to be well worthy of such a monarch. Treacherous, cruel, false—robbing, and robbed—deceiving, and deceived;—it seems very difficult to understand by what power such a society is held together, and why every thing in it is not long since resolved into its primitive elements.

'A very distinguished corps in this motley camp' (says Mr Broughton) 'is the *Shohdas*—literally the scoundrels. They form a regularly organized body under a chief named Fazil Khan; to whose orders they pay implicit obedience. They are the licensed thieves and robbers of the camp; and, from the fruits of their industry, their

principal derives a very considerable revenue. On marching days they are assembled under their leader, and act as porters for the Muha Raj's baggage. At sieges they dig the trenches, erect the batteries, and carry the scaling ladders. But their grand concern is the gambling houses, which are placed under their immediate control and superintendence, and where they practise all the refinements of accomplished villany to decoy and impose upon the unwary, which you perhaps fondly flatter yourself are the distinguishing excellencies of these establishments in Europe. Baboo Khan, a Mahratta chief of some rank and consideration, is an avowed patron of this curious society; and is in fact, though in a higher sphere, as accomplished a *Shohda* as any of the band. About a year ago, a merchant came to the camp with horses for sale. The Khan chose out some of the most valuable, and paid down the merchant's own price for them on the spot; desiring him, at the same time, to bring more, as he was about to increase the numbers of his own *Risala*. Such unheard-of honesty and liberality induced other merchants to bring their horses also for sale. The Mahratta took them all at the prices demanded; but, when the owners came for payment, he scoffed at them for their credulity, and had them actually beaten away from his tent by the rascally crew who always attend upon him. The merchants carried their complaint to the Muha Raj; and after waiting for several months in expectation of justice being done them, were paid at the rate of seven *annas* in the rupee; besides a deduction for the *Buniyas*, with whom the unfortunate fellows had been obliged to run in debt for subsistence during their stay in camp. The whole transaction lasted about a twelvemonth; at the end of which time they were obliged to decamp, with less than one third of what was strictly their due.

Where such acts of injustice and oppression are committed with impunity, it is not wonderful that there should be much misery among the poorer orders of the community. When grain is dear, hundreds of poor families are driven to the most distressing shifts to obtain a bare subsistence. At such times I have often seen women and children employed in picking out the undigested grains of corn from the dung of the different animals about the camp. Even now, when grain is by no means at a high price, (wheat being sold in the market for thirteen *seers* for the rupee), it is scarcely possible to move out of the limits of our own camp, without witnessing the most shocking proofs of poverty and wretchedness. I was returning from a ride the other morning, when two miserable looking women followed me for charity: each had a little infant in her arms; and one of them repeatedly offered to sell hers for the trifling sum of two rupees. Many of our Sipahs and servants have children, whom they have either purchased in this manner, or picked up begging among our tents. In adopting these little wretches, however, they have so often been taken in, that they are now more cautious in indulging their charitable propensities. The poor people of the army, finding that a child, who told a piteous tale, and appeared to be

starving, was sure to find a protector in our camp, used, in hard times, to send their children out to beg; and, when better able to support them themselves, would pretend to discover their lost infants, and reclaim them.' p. 32-34.

The passage of a Mahratta army over an hostile country, seems to be the greatest curse which can happen to any people where French armies are unknown. We are always glad to bring the scenery of war before the eyes of those men who sit at home with full stomachs and safe bodies, and are always ready with vote and clamour to drive their country into a state of warfare with every nation in the world.

We observed several fine villages on the Kota side of the river, situated upon level spots among the ravines which intersect the country for a mile from the bank. By the route we went, our march was protracted to nearly twenty-two miles: the road lay over a continued plain, covered with fields of young corn affording fine forage for the Mahrattas; who were to be seen in every direction, men, women, and children, tearing it up by the roots; while their cattle were turned loose to graze at liberty, and make the most of such an abundant harvest. We also fell in with large ricks of *Kurbee*, the dried stalks of *Bajiru* and *Jooar*, two inferior kinds of grain; an excellent fodder for the camels. To each of these three or four horsemen immediately attached themselves, and appropriated it to their own use: so that when our cattle went out for forage after the march, there was as much difficulty in procuring it as if we had halted near the spot for a month. '—' The villages around the camp are all in ruins; and in some of them I have seen a few wretched villagers, sheltered under the mud walls or broken roofs, and watching over an herd of miserable half starved cattle. They assured me that the greatest part of the peasantry of the province had been driven to Kota or Boondee, to seek shelter from the repeated ravages of different Mahratta armies; and that, of those who remained, most had perished by want and variety of misery. Their tale was truly piteous, and was accompanied with hearty curses invoked upon the whole Mahratta race, whom they justly regard as the authors of all their misery. You, my dear brother, will, I dare say, ere this, be inclined to join these poor people in detestation of a tribe, whose acts I have endeavoured to make you acquainted with throughout one whole year. Unless we should go to Ajmeer, of which by the by there is now some prospect, I shall, with that year, close my regular communications. To continue them would only be to go over again the same unvaried ground; to retrace the same acts of oppression and fraud; detail the same chicanery, folly and intrigues; and to describe the same festivals and ceremonies. If I may judge of your feelings by my own, you are already heartily sick of them all; and will hail the letter that brings you the conclusion of their history, as I shall the day when I can turn my back on a people, proud and jealous as the Chinese, vain and unpolished as the Ame-

icans, and as tyrannical and perfidious as the French.' p. 53, 336, 337.

The justice of these Hindoo highwaymen seems to be as barbarous as their injustice. The prime minister himself perambulates the bazar or market; and when a tradesman is detected selling by false weight or measure, this great officer breaks the culprit's head with a large wooden mallet kept especially for that purpose. Their mode of recovering debts is not less extraordinary. When the creditor cannot recover his money, and begins to feel a little desperate, he sits *dhurna* upon his debtor; that is, he squats down at the door of the tent, and becomes in a certain degree the master of it. Nobody goes in or comes out without his approbation: he neither eats himself, nor suffers his debtor to eat; and this hungry contest is carried on till the debt is paid, or till the creditor begins to think that the want of food is a greater evil than the want of money.

' This curious mode of enforcing a demand is in universal practice among the Mahrattas; Seendhiya himself not being exempt from it. The man who sits the *dhurna*, goes to the house or tent of him whom he wishes to bring to terms, and remains there till the affair is settled: during which time the one under restraint is confined to his apartment, and not suffered to communicate with any persons but those whom the other may approve of. The laws by which the *dhurna* is regulated are as well defined and understood, as those of any other custom whatever. When it is meant to be very strict, the claimant carries a number of his followers, who surround the tent, sometimes even the bed, of his adversary, and deprive him altogether of food; in which case, however, etiquette prescribes the same abstinence to himself: the strongest stomach of course carries the day. A custom of this kind was once so prevalent in the province and city of Benares, that Brahmuns were trained to remain a long time without food. They were then sent to the door of some rich individual, where they made a vow to remain without eating, till they should obtain a certain sum of money. To preserve the life of a Brahmun is so absolutely a duty, that the money was generally paid; but never till a good struggle had taken place to ascertain whether the man was staunch or not: for money is the life and soul of all Hindoos. In this camp there are many Brahmuns, who hire themselves out to sit *dhurna* for those who do not like to expose themselves to so great an inconvenience.' p. 42, 43.

Amidst the villanies of this atrocious and disgusting people, we were agreeably surprised with this virtuous exception in a young Mahratta female.

' It was in one of these battalions that an interesting young girl was discovered, about a twelvemonth ago, who had served with it for two or three years as a Sipahce; in which capacity she had acquired the favour of her superiors, and the regard of all her com-

rades, by her quiet and inoffensive behaviour, and regular attention to the duties of her station. It was observed that she always dressed her own dinner; and ate it, and performed her ablutions, by herself; but not the slightest suspicion of her sex was entertained, till about the time I mentioned, when it was discovered by the curiosity of a young Sipahce, who followed her when she went to bathe. After this she continued to serve for some months, resolutely declining the patronage of the Bae, who proposed to receive her into her own family, as well as the offers of the Muha Raj to promote her in the corps she belonged to. The affair soon became the general subject of conversation in camp; and I having expressed a strong wish to see Juruor Sing'h, the name by which this Indian D'Eon went, one of our Sipahcees, who was acquainted with her, brought her to my tent. She appeared to be about twenty-two years of age, was very fair, and, though not handsome, possessed a most interesting countenance. She spoke freely of her profession and her immediate situation; but betrayed neither the affected bashfulness nor forward boldness which such a situation was likely to have produced: and let it be recorded to the honour of every party concerned, that from the moment when her sex was discovered, she met only with increased respect and attention from her comrades; not an individual presuming to utter a word that might insult her, or breathing a doubt that could affect her reputation.

'At length, her motive for enlisting and remaining in the service was discovered. An only brother was confined for debt at Bopal; and this interesting young creature had the courage to enrol herself as a common soldier, and afterwards persisted in exposing her person to the dangers and difficulties of a military life, with the generous idea of raising money sufficient to liberate this loved relation from confinement.' p. 264-266.

These extracts will give a good idea of the sort of entertainment which this book affords. We wish the *Row* (when they get hold of a young man who has made notes for a book) would be less splendid in their productions;—leave out pictures, lessen margins, and put books more within the power of those who want them most, and use them best.

ART. V. *A Treatise on the Offence of Libel, with a Disquisition on the Right, Benefit, and proper Boundaries of Political Discussion.* By John George, of the Middle Temple, Special Pleader. Svo. pp. 361. Taylor & Hussey, London, 1812.

IT is not our intention to take this opportunity of going at large into the important subject of the work before us,—one of the most momentous which can occupy the attention of men in a free country. The servile doctrines that have been promulgated

by some, and the unsound opinions by which they have frequently been opposed on the part of those whose principles are more honest than their understandings are enlightened or well informed, would require an exposition far exceeding our present limits. To this task, however, it is our intention, we trust at no distant period, to apply ourselves; and we shall then enter upon the three practical parts of the subject which chiefly demand a rigid scrutiny; the expediency of permitting justificatory matter to be given in evidence, under the general issue of not-guilty in criminal proceedings* for libel—the expediency of trying all such cases by common juries—and of abridging, or entirely abolishing, the power of prosecuting without the intervention of a grand jury. The first of these topics applies to the law of both parts of the island; the other two have no reference to Scotland, where the distinction of common and special juries is not known, and where all prosecutions are in the nature of *ex officio* informations.

We have announced these subjects of discussion, in the hopes of drawing the attention of our readers to them in the mean while; and the design of the present article is to remove some preliminary matter which stands in the way; and, being unconnected with the principal inquiry, although in itself far from unimportant, had better be disposed of in the first instance.—The publication of Mr George's work furnishes a fit occasion for doing this. It relates indeed fully as much to the political as the legal view of the subject, the disquisition on political discussion occupying about half the book. Too much praise cannot be given to him for the liberality of the principles which pervade it; although no doubt a severe critic would find some things to censure, and might especially object to the unnecessary minuteness of several parts of his dissertation. But we heartily wish that all lawyers had written and spoken a language as constitutional as he does through his volume.

The points to which we are desirous of now directing the reader's attention, are two; the extreme and singular uncertainty in the execution of the law of libel, as it at present stands; and the aspersion very commonly cast against the present age, as indeed it has been against every other in its turn, of being distinguished from all its predecessors by the licentiousness of the press.

* There seem serious technical objections to allowing a plea of justification; but the prosecutor has no right to notice that the truth is intended to be proved; and as to any circumstances in the manner of the publication, he is not worse off than the plaintiff in an action.

We believe it is peculiar to the offence of libel, that the public feelings do scarcely, if at all, go along with the denunciations of the law against it; and yet that those denunciations are rigorously enforced, as often as there is any wish to carry them into effect. There are other cases of total discrepancy between the laws and manners of the country; but there the letter of the law yields to the spirit of the times. Thus, a duel, where one is killed, * is a capital offence in all who take any part, whether as parties and as seconds, or only as accessaries; and this without the least regard to what are termed the rules of honour, which all lawyers affect to know nothing of;—so that by the law of the land every duel, however conformable to those rules, that is, how *fair* soever according to the common language, is a murder. Yet this law is a mere dead letter; for what with the unwillingness of prosecutors—the connivance, first of police-officers, then of judges—the feelings of juries, and the corresponding feelings in the place of last resort, no instance is known of the law being executed upon any person for being engaged in a duel, fought in what is called a *fair* manner. There is scarcely less discrepancy between men's feelings and the law of libel. If it is as notorious as the day, that a minister has been guilty of corrupt practices, abused his Sovereign's confidence, and ruined his country, the law says that the proper remedy is parliamentary impeachment, and will not permit these charges to be adverted to in speaking or writing, under pain of fine, imprisonment, and pillory, or whipping—for these may be added at the judge's discretion. The law holds this, then, to be an infamous offence, while the public voice unanimously denies that it is infamous at all; and yet, as often as the court wishes to have a person punished for such a proceeding, it may bring him to trial; and the odds are much in favour of the law against the public feeling. If libel were punished capitally, or if duelling were treated as a misdemeanour, in all probability we should see a greater similarity between the events of trials for these offences; at least it is not improbable, that in the one case the government, as well as the tribunals, would be afraid to execute the law, and that in the other it would be highly dangerous for an obnoxious individual to be engaged in a personal quarrel.

But the point to which we are chiefly desirous of adverting, is the extreme uncertainty of prosecutions. It is scarcely going too far to say, that libelling, so severely denounced by the law, is of all offences the most prevalent and notorious; and yet that it

* We believe we might say, where a shot is fired, or a trigger drawn;—at least it comes within the letter of Lord Ellenborough's

is only treated as an offence in persons obnoxious on other accounts, although the power of enforcing the law exists at all times, ready to aid in gratifying private revenge, or political hostility. When has there appeared, for the last twenty years, a newspaper, that might not, by one person or another, by one party or another, have been made the subject of prosecution? How many political libels have daily issued from the press against both individuals and bodies of men in the highest stations; and yet has there been one of these prosecuted, when it was not levelled at persons in power? Can, in short, an instance be produced of any attempt made by government to check what they are perpetually railing at as the scurrility of the press, when that scurrility was directed against parties, unconnected with, or in opposition to the ruling party of the day? How then can we wonder if such prosecutions are now universally regarded as mere party proceedings, in which the law is made a handle to assist the views of the jumbo that happens to prevail for the time? And what reason is there to be astonished if all the punishments so inflicted, however they may deter the better part of the community from free discussion, should yet wholly fail in pointing the reprobation of the public against the offence? This consideration cannot, however, be brought before a court of justice. Neither the judge can suffer it to be mentioned, nor can the jury ever hear it. Their business is only to deal with the cases that are brought before them, according to law; and though they may be positively assured that hundreds are, at the moment, committing the same offence with impunity, nay under the patronage of the prosecutors, they cannot, without a breach of duty, as they are told, take this circumstance into the account. True—they ought not, strictly speaking, to consider it. Neither ought they, were a person tried for publishing that A was hanged for sheepstealing, to take into their account that they had themselves seen him suffer the sentence of the law; and yet we presume that few jurors would hesitate to acquit in such a case, although there could be no means of proving the fact at the trial, in order to rebut the charge of malicious intent with respect to A's surviving family, which forms the groundwork of such a prosecution. Numberless other instances might be given, in which juries deviate from the strict line of their legal functions. The case above adverted to, of a trial for murder in fighting a duel, may be sufficient. Suppose a gentleman to have been insulted beyond all endurance, and reduced to the painful alternative of either going out to fight, or of surrendering his place in society, and becoming henceforth an outcast from the world. Suppose it to

be apparent from his conduct, that, in preferring the former, he yielded more to the customs of society, than to any desire of revenge, how natural soever in his case; but that his antagonist, impelled by very different feelings, and adding crime to insult, deliberately aims at and kills him. The latter, all will agree, has deserved death; and, respecting him, the feeling of mankind goes along with the enactment of the law: But the friend by whom the deceased was accompanied, as his second, in the intendment of law, is to the full as guilty of murder as his antagonist. Now, let any man ask himself how many moments he would hesitate in acquitting this person, if impannelled upon his jury? Yet such a verdict would be as much a departure from what has been represented as the strict line of his duty, as it would be in trying a person charged with libelling the government, to consider the gross partiality displayed in bringing the defendant to trial, while so many hundreds of libels were daily passing unnoticed, nay, countenanced by the ruling powers, because they happened to suit their temper or policy. The juror becomes an instrument of this partiality—a tool in the hands of men in power—by convicting him whom they single out for punishment, exactly as he would, were he to convict the duellist, make himself the means of committing legal oppression of another kind. It is only by deviating in some degree from the strict letter of the law, that in either case he can avoid doing incomparably worse; and there is the self-same necessity in the one dilemma, which forms the sole excuse for the departure in the other. It would no doubt be far better, were the law varied in both cases, so as to preclude this hard necessity: But that is the subject of after consideration; and it is plain, that while the law continues as it is, the necessity will be felt. He has, moreover, nothing to do, strictly speaking, with the punishment to which the party is subjected by the mere prosecution, whatever be the event. Over that the juror has no control: He may, however, fairly take it into his account, and reflect that his verdict of acquittal still leaves the party punished, that is singled out from among many others, because obnoxious to power, without any fault of his, for punishment, by fine, anxiety, and interruption of his ordinary pursuits.

We are now to take notice of a very ordinary topic of foolish, but more frequently of designing condolence—the increasing and unprecedented licentiousness of the press. If by this it were only meant, that the number of writers is increased with that of readers—that all kinds of publications are more numerous than formerly—and that political and periodical works are

probably multiplied in a still greater proportion than others, there would, happily for this age and country, and for the cause of liberty and of human improvement, be much truth in the statement. It might also be truly said, that the press never was more venal and corrupt than it now is in some of its branches, probably never so much so, because the power of intimidation, to which we have been adverting, never was carried so far since the Revolution; and the influence of government increasing with the resources at its disposal, has been used in this quarter with far more activity and success, since statesmen have begun to feel practically the importance of having open-mouthed friends, as well as gagged adversaries. Thus far, the press may well be allowed to be more corrupt and licentious now than formerly; nor was there ever a period when the private characters of all men hostile to the prevailing system, or even of those feebly supported by power, could be so shamelessly attacked with perfect impunity. But we all know full well, that this is not the acceptance in which the words are used by those who complain of the "unheard-of licentiousness of the press." They mean to tell us, that the measures and persons of the government never were before exposed to so much censure, and to point out the present race of writers as absolved from all the ties which kept their predecessors in moderation when they discoursed against the rulers of the day, or the established system of government. This assertion of the increased audacity of the press in its censures of existing things, is of material use as a defence of oppressive proceedings, and an answer to the complaints against many serious abuses. Is it well founded? Has it any foundation whatever, except in the ignorance of those who bandy it about, or their confident reliance on the ignorance of their hearers? Were the writers of former times more measured in their language, or more guarded in their topics of censure? Have none ever inveighed against the government with the force of passion, or stung it with the points of satire, before the present times? Are such attacks confined to the lowest refuse of the literary profession? Did no one who had a name to injure or to lose, ever suffer himself to be carried away in the heat of his invective against the personal as well as political failings of the great? In a word, did none of the bright ornaments of English literature indulge in effusions, for which, by the law of libel as now administered, they might have been, nay must have been, consigned to a dungeon?—The question is easily answered,—but it is worth while to answer it in some detail. It is a topic which can never come before a court of justice; and yet we presume many of those who have the greatest horror of libels, would feel

dissatisfied with themselves, were they aware that the crime for which they wish to expose a contemporary writer to the severest punishment, a punishment worse than many felons* suffer, was the passport to that immortality by which the names of Dryden, and Pope, and Swift, continue to live familiar amongst us.

The difficulty in giving these details, consists in the selection. But one guide we have, to limit our search; we have only to consider what were the most celebrated of each author's writings in his own day, and those to which the concurring voice of after times hath added its less biassed testimony. Having ascertained this in each case, we may be almost certain that we have discovered the pieces marked with most freedom—the flights in which the writer's genius has soared highest; and, if the nature of the subject admitted of it, we are sure to find matter which will mightily console our desponding countrymen who sorrow as those having no hope, when they mark the licentiousness of their contemporaries, and fancy it to be the appointed sin of our own day. Taking then this rule for our governance, let us fare forth among the wits of the Augustan Age of England. In the instance of Pope, it will point at the Prologue to the Satires; nor is there in that exquisite piece any part more highly finished than the well known character of a nobleman, the avowed favourite at Court, and who held the high offices of Privy Seal and Vice-chamberlain. We cannot quote more than the concluding lines, the personalities of the first part being somewhat too coarse.

‘ Amphibious thing ! that acting either part,
The tritling head or the corrupted heart,
Fop at the toilet, flatterer at the board,
Now trips a lady, and now struts a lord.
Eve's tempter, thus, the Rabbins have express
A cherub's face, a reptile all the rest;
Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,
Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.’

The Moral Essays are wholly made up of such characters of persons, either living or recently deceased; and they are unquestionably among the first productions of the master. It would be superfluous to cite any part of the famous, but black sketch of Wharton. He was not indeed then alive; but that would have been no answer to an indictment or information, with the proper ‘*intents*.’

* By the law of England, a manslaughter of the worst kind, distinguishable only by a technical eye from a murder, and in reality differing from it but by a shade, can only be punished by a year's imprisonment.

But as it may be considered safe to use some freedom with a profligate Duke after his death, we may turn therefore to the character of his father the Earl of Wharton, published during his life, while he was in the Queen's favour,* and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The tract is by Swift, and entitled '*A Short Character of the Earl of Wharton*;' but contains twenty and odd pages of abuse, so virulent, that we shall not give more than an introductory passage.

'And because this account may be judged rather an history of his Excellency, than of his government, I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his Lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach; which is not a humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature. He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and therefore a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to those. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.'

The first sentence of the character thus introduced, is as follows. 'Thomas Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath passed some years his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both.' The rest of the picture is a faithful filling up of this outline. *Works*, XI. 213.

Thus much for the Lord Lieutenant. In a tract which, if we may judge from what is said of it in the *Intelligencer*, No. 15, (a paper conducted by the Dean and Sheridan), appears to have been a great favourite with its author, entitled, '*A Short View of the State of Ireland*,' we find the following notice of a Lord Chief Justice. 'It is too well known, (says he,) that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear

* It is true, the party he belonged to were declining fast towards their fall; but Wharton had left the Whigs some time before, and grown greatly in favour with the Queen. The piece here quoted, is dated August 30, 1710, and Wharton held his office until Oct. 19.—*Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*, 476. But, in fact, the argument depends little on the side of the question upon which the licentiousness was displayed.

of Lord C. J. Whitshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et Natale solum*; written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the Court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution, and the nature of their disease; and thus we are forced to pay *five hundred per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.'—*Works*, IV. 56. In a subsequent publication, he defends himself from a charge which had, it seems, been made against him, of having treated the Chief Justice 'with an appearance of severity,' by saying that he 'lays it down for a *postulatum*, which will be universally granted, that no little creature, of so mean a birth and genius, had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue, than *me*;'—and therewithal he pursues his invective again. *Ib.* p. 69. Nor do the base of his own cloth fare better. When he attacks Dr Hering, a court-chaplain, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, for preaching against the Beggar's Opera in Lincoln's Inn, he is pleased to say, that play will probably do more good than 'a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine.' *Ib.* p. 288.

If we look to the most celebrated writings of Swift, the *Tale of a Tub*, and *Gulliver's Travels*, to the former he never ventured to put his name, nor indeed acknowledged it in any way; while in the latter we find passages (especially the description of the House of Lords) too highly seasoned to be extracted. The most noted of his pamphlets, the *Drapier's Letters*, was ineffectually attempted to be prosecuted; but the grand jury flung out the bill, the system of *ex officio* proceedings not being then matured: And another, scarcely less famous, the *Public Spirit of the Whigs*, being complained of by all the Scotch Peers, a reward was offered for discovering its author. Of the tone in which the *Examiner* was written, the combined effort of Swift, Bolingbroke, and the rest of the Tory wits, an estimate may be formed from the terms of abuse bestowed by them on the Duchess of Marlborough—'insolent woman,'—'the worst of her sex,'—'a fury,'—'an executioner of divine vengeance,'—and—'a plague.' To this, indeed, the Whigs replied, not through the courts of law, but by the first of their writers; and how well advised they were, all may judge, by reading the inimitable paper, No. II. of the *Whig Examiner*, in which, especially the introduction, we have the unrivalled wit of Addison in its perfection. (*Addison's Works*, II. 293.)

In those times, however, we meet with several more regular attempts to curb the press, and frequent complaints of its licentiousness, like those of which we are now treating. One of the schemes is singular enough; from its failure then, and its subsequent revival in the present day. The Tory government at the end of Queen Anne's reign, ungrateful to the very abuse which was the foundation of their popularity, prevailed on an obsequious parliament to pass two resolutions:—1. 'That the great liberty taken in printing and publishing scandalous and impious libels, creates divisions among her Majesty's subjects, tends to the disturbance of the public peace, is highly prejudicial to her Majesty's government, and is occasioned for want of due regulation of the press.'—2. 'That the printing presses be registered with the names of the owners, and places of abode; and that the author, printer or publisher, of every book, set his name and place of abode thereto.' (*Com. Journ. April 12, 1712.*) The libels complained of were the attempts of the Whigs to defend the character and measures of the greatest men in the proudest age of English story; and to preserve to their deluded country some of the fruits of Godolphin's councils, and Marlborough's triumphs. The men who complained were the avowed friends of arbitrary power, the known partizans of France, the supporters of the Stuarts. From such a quarter was the pattern obtained of the law afterwards passed during Mr Pitt's administration, for checking the licentiousness of the press. The Jacobite ministry, with the decided majority of the people, and all the outcry in their favour, yet failed in carrying a measure so hostile to the principles of the Revolution. The secret of a plot, and a select committee, was not then sufficiently known.

To cite from Dryden would be endless for our present purpose. His most perfect original poem, of any considerable length,* the *Absalom and Achitophel*, is one deep and rapid torrent of the most vehement invective. The most cutting part, however, is that which is more covered up from the reader by its insertion in the dull continuation of Tate, especially his sketch of the two laureats, Settle and Shadwell, who have indeed, as he predicts, lived by his muse 'in spite of their own doggerel rhymes.' Passing over the city laureat, his brother of the bays† thus bursts upon us, accustomed to a license of abuse

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* The incomparable ode is of course excepted. The mastery of language and verse, too, in the fables and the translations from Lucretius, leaves those great works still translations.

† Shadwell was not then laureat, but succeeded Dryden at the Revolution.

‘ unknown in former times,’ and practised only by the ‘ most dull and worthless of their species.’ Here is the sketch of a Whig poet, by a courtier, the laureat of the day ; and, this notwithstanding, the second name in the whole range of English poetry.

Now stop your noses, readers, all and some,
 For here’s a ton of midnight-work to come ;
 Og, from a treason-tavern, rolling home.
 Round as a globe, and liquor’d every chink,
 Goodly and great, he sails behind his link.
 With all his bulk there’s nothing lost in Og,
 For every inch that is not fool, is rogue ;
 A monstrous mass of foul corrupted matter,
 As all the devils had spew’d to make the batter.
 When wine has given him courage to blaspheme,
 He curses God ; but God before curst him :
 And if man could have reason, none has more,
 That made his paunch so rich, and him so poor.
 With wealth he was not trusted, for heaven knew
 What ’twas of old to pamper up a Jew.
 To what would he on quail and pheasant swell,
 That even on tripe and carrion could rebel !

Dryden’s satire is of course levelled almost always against persons not in favour with power, from the bent of his own courtly politics. But whether in those times even the highest personage was safe from one quarter or another, may be seen from the verses on Charles II., which occasioned Rochester’s disgrace at court. Not a line of course dare we quote. Indeed, we ought, like Hume,* to introduce his name with an apology to ‘ modest ears,’ notwithstanding the fine end which Burnet† has recorded, and which won Johnson’s‡ heart.

Having mentioned Dr Johnson, let us see whether nothing abusive, of measures at least,—nothing which would now be reckoned unsafe, is to be found even in the works of that staunch friend of order, and zealot for established things. We fear our old rule applies to him as well as his tuneful masters ; and that, to catch him tripping, we have only to take him at his best. In truth, as one of the greatest orators of the age has said, (nor is it wonderful that his words should occur in a discussion which perpetually presents his idea to our minds) ‘ it is the nature of

* *Hist. Vol. VIII.*

† See his tract, ‘ *Some passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester.*’ It is observable, that the wicked wit proves rather hard in the argument with the good Bishop, until the latter is seasonably reinforced by a new fit of sickness,—when he carries all before him.

‡ *Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. 303.*

every thing great and useful to be wild and irregular; and we must be content to take them with the alloys which belong to them, or live without them.' (*Erskine's Speech in Stockdale's Case.*) Among Johnson's poems, then, without a doubt, but perhaps we may say of his whole works, the first in point of genius are his celebrated imitations of Juvenal. The *London*, written ere yet the poet was pensioned, or had become tolerant of a Whig dynasty, is, throughout, a piece of sneering at the government, abuse of its unwillingness to break the peace with Spain, and praise of happier times, before

—' Excise oppress'd,

Or English honour grew a standing jest.'

To what body he alludes in the following lines, we need not explain.

' Here let those reign, whom pensions can incite
To vote a patriot black, a courtier white;
Explain their country's dear-bought rights away,
And plead for pirates in the face of day;
With slavish tenets taint our poisoned youth,
And lend a lie the confidence of truth.
Let such raise palaces, and manors buy,
Collect a tax, or farm a lottery,' &c.

The Courts of Justice themselves do not escape—nor Special Juries; and probably it was well for Informations that the worst kind of them are coupled with such hard unmanageable words as all verse must reject.

' A single jail, in Alfred's golden reign,
Could half the nation's criminals contain;
Fair Justice then, without constraint ador'd,
Held high the steady scale, but deck'd the sword:
No spies were paid, no special juries known:
Blest days! but ah! how different from our own.'

The venerable poet is here on delicate ground; for, not to mention the Courts of Justice, nothing is so much disliked, in these our times, as any invidious comparison with past ages, except for the one purpose of showing that the press has grown worse. But a still more odious topic is handled in various parts of this admirable poem, and in the '*Vanity of Human Wishes*,'—we mean that '*Un-English*' topic, as it is termed, (with a just regard to the English language), of generally undervaluing the institutions of our own country. He is calling on Democritus to come and laugh at them.

' Thou who couldst laugh where want enchained caprice,
Toil crushed conceit, and man was of a piece;
Where wealth unloved, without a mourner dy'd,
And scarce a sycophant was fed by pride;

Where ne'er was known the form of mock debate,
 Or seen a new-made Mayor's unwieldy state ;
 Where change of favourites made no change of laws,
 And senates heard before they judged a cause :
 How wouldst thou shake at Britain's modish tribe, ' &c.

But lest it should be thought that these things were written in poems intended to be fugitive, when their author was heated with his theme, '*audaxque juvenis*,' look at his great work, and that of all kinds of writing the most prosaic, compiled at a mature age, and designed to last as long as the language which it was intended to purify and methodize. In his *Dictionary*, published while the ferments that attended the Excise scheme of Walpole were fresh in every one's recollection, and although these discontents had no necessary connexion with that scheme in particular, but might easily have been pointed at the whole branch of the Revenue, we find this definition of Excise, generally. 'A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged, not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom Excise is paid.'—And afterwards, in his *Idler*, No. 65, he describes a Commissioner of Excise as one of 'the two lowest of all human beings,'—the other a scribbler for a party, being, by a curious coincidence, a character which he was himself fated to raise and adorn. It is recorded by Mr Boswell, in the most entertaining, and not the least instructive of books, that the Board laid a case before the Attorney-General for his opinion: he deemed it libellous, but advised the 'Honourable Commissioners' to take no further steps. * Who then filled this office?—A courtier certainly, but a great and a wise man; it was Lord Mansfield.

From Johnson the transition is easy and natural to Mr Burke. Nor shall our examples be taken from those works which he published during the history of the unhappy, and we trust forgotten animosities engendered by the French Revolution. Reverting to a calmer period, when parties went on in their regular course, we are led to, perhaps the ablest of his writings, if not the most striking by its brilliancy,—the tract certainly most distinguished by sound and enlarged views of the constitution,—and every page of which may in an especial manner be recommended, as indeed there is scarcely one that does not apply, to the statesmen of the present day. We need scarcely add, that we allude to the '*Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*.' After tracing the new system of favouritism and a double cabinet, which had been invented by some persons, he says, in the Court of

* Life of Johnson, I. 275. Mr B. says '*actionable*;' but, of course, the question must have been as to criminal proceedings.

the Prince of Wales, and showing that it consisted in 'drawing a line which should separate the Court from the Ministry,' having 'a party in favour of the Court against the Ministry,' who should share largely in places of emolument and secondary; but not ostensible and responsible offices, and assist the Court in trampling at pleasure upon the Ministers, and finally in bringing Parliament to acquiesce in this project—he proceeds to show how this dread body was treated.

'Parliament,' says he, 'was to be taught by degrees, a total indifference to the persons, rank, influence, abilities, connexions and character of the Ministers of the Crown.'—'As hitherto,' he adds, 'business had gone through the hands of leaders of Whigs or Tories, men of talents, to conciliate the people, and engage their confidence, now, the method was to be altered, and the lead given to men of no sort of consideration or credit in the country: This want of natural importance was to be their very title to delegated power. Members of Parliament were to be hardened into an insensibility to pride as well as to duty. Those high and haughty sentiments which are the great support of independence, were to be let down gradually. Points of honour and precedence were no more to be regarded in Parliamentary decorum, than in a Turkish army. It was to be avowed as a constitutional maxim, that the King might appoint one of his own footmen, or one of your footmen, for minister; and that he ought to be, and would be as well followed, as the first name for rank and wisdom in the nation. Thus, Parliament was to look on, as if perfectly unconcerned, while a cabal of the closet and backstairs, was substituted in the place of a national administration.' (*Works*, II. 234.)

He describes the ministers as knots or cabals of men, who have got together, avowedly 'without any public principle, in order to sell their conjunct iniquity at the highest rate, and are therefore universally odious.' He says, 'they ought not to be suffered to domineer in the state, because they have no connexion with the sentiments and opinions of the people.' The favourites he compares to 'Janissaries, who derive a kind of freedom from the very condition of their servitude,'—'act just as they please, provided they are true to the ruling principle of their institution,'—and carry themselves with a lofty air 'to the exterior ministers.' He then sums up the effects produced on Parliament by 'this unnatural infusion of a system of favouritism into a popular government,'—and breaks forth in that famous description at once of the state of the House of Commons and of its duties.

'A vigilant and jealous eye over executive and natural magistracy, and an anxious care of public money; an openness, approaching to facility, to public complaint; these seem to be the true characteristics of the House of Commons. But an addressing House

of Commons, and a petitioning nation ; a House of Commons full of confidence, while the nation is plunged in despair ; in the utmost harmony with ministers, whom the people regard with the utmost abhorrence ; who vote thanks when public opinion calls upon them for impeachments ; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands account ; who, in all disputes between the people and the administration, presume against the people ; who punish their disorders, but refuse even to inquire into the provocations to them ;—this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in this constitution. Such an assembly may be a great, wise, and awful senate ; but it is not, to any popular purpose, a House of Commons.' *Ib.* p. 288.

To such abuses he ascribes the ' present discontents,'—the ferment then prevalent. The Court persevered in its system ; and the Parliament continued supine. They were awakened by the American war, and the loss of thirteen colonies.

The finest of all Mr Burke's speeches is unquestionably that on the Nabob of Arcot's debts. Our next instance is accordingly found in that immortal oration as published by himself. He is speaking of Mr Pitt, and describing ' our wonderful minister's plan for supporting the freedom of the constitution by court intrigues, and for removing its corruptions by Indian delinquency.' He was directed ' by natural instinct,' he says, ' towards Paul Benfield,' whose connexion with Mr Pitt, and whose eight seats in Parliament are then noticed. But it seems he suddenly set out for Madras ; and the longing eyes of the House could not behold ' that minion of the human race.'

—' It was therefore not possible for the minister to consult personally with this great man. What was he then to do ? Through a sagacity that never failed him in these pursuits, he found out, in Mr Benfield's representative, his exact resemblance. A specific attraction, by which he gravitates towards all such characters, soon brought our minister into a close connexion with Mr Benfield's agent and attorney, that is, with the grand contractor (whom I name to honour) Mr Richard Atkinson : a name that will be well remembered, as long as the records of this House,—as long as the records of the British treasury,—as long as the monumental debt of England shall endure. This gentleman, Sir, acts as attorney for Mr Paul Benfield. Every one who hears me is well acquainted with the sacred friendship, and the steady mutual attachment that subsists between him and the present minister.' *Ib.* iv. 304.

He then describes the corrupt connexion between those excellent personages and ' our mirror of ministers of finance,' as he terms him. And having traced from the public funds the enormous annuity which Paul Benfield was enjoying, he adds—

' Here is a specimen of the new and pure aristocracy created by the Right Honourable gentleman, as the support of the crown and constitution, against the old, corrupt, refractory, natural interests of

this kingdom ; and this is the grand counterpoise against all odious coalitions of these interests. A single Benfield outweighs them all ; a criminal who long since ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal, is, by his Majesty's ministers, enthroned on the government of a great kingdom, and enfeofed with an estate, which, in comparison, effaces the splendour of all the nobility of Europe. To bring a little more distinctly into view the secret of this dark transaction, ' &c. *Ib.* 308.

We shall pursue our extracts from Mr Burke no further, nor continue this *excursus* into the well known writings of the celebrated wits his contemporaries, and those who immediately succeeded. The *Rolliad* and *Antijacobin* are fresh in every one's recollection ; but they approach too near to the present times ; and, in particular, we are precluded by the state of the argument from appealing to the latter, because it carries the privilege of attacking both parties and individuals, as far as any of the publications of the present day, and, in point of date, belongs to the period in question.

We must add an observation, by way of caution to the reader of the foregoing pages. We have brought together some passages of signal violence and personality, containing attacks upon private as well as public points in the character and lives of the great. Let it not be thought that we view such satire in ordinary cases with a favourable eye. We hold it to be only one degree less blameable than the greatest abuse to which the press can be perverted, the attack upon character merely private. There are few stations indeed of an eminence to require (and, if they require it not, neither do they justify) an exposure of the individual and personal vices by which they are disgraced ; nor can any thing vindicate the busy, and it generally proves, in one way or another, the mercenary malignity which would follow those private vices into their retirement from the public sight, and seek, under the pretence of example, to torment the feelings of the party, while it outrages those of the community. The base tribe amongst us who feed with slander the diseased appetite of the public, must not think to shelter themselves under the names of those great men whose wit has immortalized, as examples to all posterity, the ostentatious iniquities of the last age. When they descend below the Charles's, and Whartons, and Charters's, to drive their ignominious traffic in personal malice, they must dive far below the Drydens, and Swifts, and Popes, into the very mire of the past time, for their precedents. Such authority they will indeed find ; but the name and memory of it are only preserved by the contemptuous satire of loftier wits. That the same trade, how-

ever, of defamation, then existed in boundless measure; we know by this means; and though it affords any thing rather than a vindication of the present abuses of the press, it serves to complete the comparative statement, by showing that the complaint of its increased licentiousness is throughout unfounded, and that even the worst perversions of this great engine of improvement are not the growth of later days. *

ART. VI. *TRACTS on many interesting Parts of the Mathematical and Philosophical Sciences.* In 3 Volumes. By CHARLES HUTTON, LL. D. & F. R. S., late Professor, and now Examiner in Mathematics, at the Royal Military Academy. London, 1812.

THE author of these Tracts has long held a distinguished place among the mathematicians of this country. Great natural abilities, cultivated by unwearied application, made him early familiar with the resources of science; and his progress accordingly has been marked by many original discoveries, and by a constant attention to the utility of the objects he has pursued. Dr HUTTON possesses, besides, extensive reading and an accurate knowledge of the history of the Mathematics;—he has of consequence become a popular as well as a profound author, and one of those who, during the last 50 years, have the most contributed to the diffusion of mathematical knowledge in this island. The miscellaneous and interesting volumes, into which he has collected a part of his researches, embrace a variety of objects, both in pure Mathematics and in Natural Philosophy; the history of several branches of the mathematical sciences; the solution of problems, and the demonstration of theorems, in geometry and algebra; the theory of bridges; the computation of the Earth's density, from the observations made by the late Astronomer-royal at Schellien; new experiments in Gunnery; and a tract on the theory and practice of the same art. The tracts which contain these discussions, are 38 in number; of each of which some account is given in a short preface prefixed to the first volume. Most of them have been already published; some are new, and several appear with additions and improvements. They are not arranged according to the sub-

* Perhaps the curious reader may, in looking through the above quotations and anecdotes, amuse himself with seeking for parallels in the records of courts of justice in the present day. There are not above two instances in which he is likely to fail.

jects, but we believe more nearly according to the order in which they were written. Without attempting a regular classification, we shall treat, first, of those that belong to the pure mathematics; and next, of those that relate to natural philosophy.

The first historical tracts relate to Trigonometry and Logarithms, and are the same which form the introduction to our author's mathematical tables. As those treatises have been long submitted to the eye, and long honoured with the approbation of the Public, we have only to signify our entire acquiescence in the judgment which a much higher tribunal has pronounced. The accuracy with which they are drawn up, the care taken to represent correctly the advancement made by each individual author, and the copious and clear illustrations in which they abound, render them peculiarly valuable. We should have been glad, if, in quoting the numerous and scarce works which have fallen under his review, both in these, and in his other historical tracts, Dr HUTTON had been more exact in his references, and more liberal of his bibliographical information. We know, that his reading on all the subjects which come within the compass of his *Historical Tracts*, is very accurate and extensive; and that his own library furnishes him with many of the older books, which are now difficult to be found. A fuller reference to editions, chapters and pages, would have added a great deal to the value of the *Historical Tracts*, and would have been very easy to an author, whose knowledge, like Dr HUTTON's, is so constantly derived from original sources of information.

The 33d tract is the longest in the book, and relates to the history of Algebra. It is full of valuable and rare information; it is the result of a very accurate and detailed examination of the original authors; and abounds in statements, no less remarkable for their candour than their perspicuity and correctness. The detail, in some instances where the authors are little known, is greater than is suited to a historical work; all the parts of which are adapted to the same scale, and finished in the same proportion. When this is the case, however, the tracts are still very valuable, as accurate and authentic memoirs, which may be subservient to a more general history of science. The history of Cardan and Tartaglia, of Schubehus, and some other of the early algebraists, are remarkable examples of what we now state.

The following notice of a mathematician very little known, may be interesting to many of our readers. It relates to ROBERT RECORDE, an English mathematician of the 16th century.

To this ingenious man we are indebted for the first treat-

ise in Algebra, then named the *Cossic Art*, in the English language. In a book, which he wrote on arithmetic, he is styled *Teacher of Mathematics, and Practitioner in Physic at Cambridge.*

“It was for some ages the custom among the Moors, and after them among the Europeans, to unite the title, as well as the practice of medicine, with those of chemistry, alchymy, mathematics, and astrology. It is remarkable, that as the Moors were not less famous in Europe for their skill in medicine than their dexterity in calculation, the terms physician and algebraist appear at first to have been regarded as almost synonymous. When the bachelor SAMSON CARRASCO in DON QUIXOTE, in his rencounter with the knight, was thrown from his horse, and had his ribs broken, they sent in quest of an *Algebraista*, to heal his bruises.”

“The first part of the arithmetic above mentioned was published in 1552, the second in 1557, under the title of ‘*The Whetstone of Witte, which is the second part of arithmetike; containing the extraction of Rootes; the Cossike Practise, with the Rule of Equation; and the Workes of Surde Nombres.*’ The book is a dialogue between the master and the scholar, and treats of Figurate numbers, extractions of the Square and Cube roots, &c. Then follow Algebra, or Cossike Numbers, and the *Rule of Equation*, commonly called *Algebra's Rule*. Here the character $=$ is employed for the first time, to signify equality. RECORDE says, ‘*And to avoide the tedious repetition of these wordes is equal to: I will sette down, as I doe often in woroke use, a pair of parallels, or gemowe lines of one lengthe, thus $=$: bicause noe 2 thynges are moare equalle.*’ The articles, Cardan, Bombelli, Albert Girard, Vieta, Harriot, we recommend, as particularly instructive.

The history of algebra in Arabia and Hindostan is also treated of; and Dr Hutton concludes, that the science had its origin in the latter country. ‘We have seen,’ he says, ‘that algebra had probably its rise in Hindostan, as well as our present arithmetic.’ vol. II. p. 195. In the article on the *RIJA GANNITA*, in our last Number, we had frequent occasion to refer to Dr Hutton's ideas on that subject; and we have no small satisfaction in thinking, that our opinions concerning the originality of the Indian mathematics are supported by those of a judge at once so candid and so well informed.

The only thing in this history of algebra which we regret is, that it does not preserve the same fulness and minuteness of discussion, when it comes down to the last century, that it did for

the two preceding. It is reduced, there, almost to a catalogue of the names of books and of authors. It has apparently been Dr Hutton's main object, to illustrate those parts of the history of the science that are least known; and in this he has been very successful.

The problems and theorems in the pure mathematics come next to be mentioned. Of these we must pass over several, relating to very interesting subjects, such as the summation of series, the demonstration of the Binomial theorem, &c.; in all which great skill and ingenuity are displayed; and we shall confine ourselves to one or two which relate to the quadrature of the circle.

When a more complete knowledge of the resources of the mathematical sciences, and of the limits within which they are necessarily confined, had convinced geometers that a perfect quadrature of the circle was not to be obtained, their attention was naturally turned to the means of rendering the approximations as accurate and easy as possible. The series which expressed the arch of a circle in terms of the tangent t , viz. $t - \frac{1}{3}t^3 + \frac{1}{5}t^5$ &c. being remarkable for its simplicity, afforded the most probable means of accomplishing this object. If t was taken $= 1$ or the radius, the arch belonging to it was that of 45° , and its length $= 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \text{\&c.}$; than which nothing more simple could be desired: but the series converges so slowly, that the continuation of it far enough to give an accurate result, would be intolerably laborious. MACHIN, an ingenious mathematician, and a skilful calculator, contrived a more expeditious theorem, by means of two infinite series, both converging very rapidly; the one by the powers of 5 multiplied into the odd numbers, and the other by the powers of 239 multiplied into the same numbers. The number 239 is, however, an inconvenient divisor; and the calculation, even by this theorem, when the accuracy is to be extended to 40 or 50 decimal places, becomes a work of great labour. The investigation of this series was not given by MACHIN; indeed the theorem itself was not published by the author, but appeared, first in JONES's *Synopsis Palmariorum Matheseos* in 1706. Dr HUTTON, in his *Treatise on Mensuration*, published an investigation of this series, which he had himself discovered; and he has republished it in the 17th of the tracts now before us.

Though this was the first investigation of MACHIN's series which was made public, and though Dr HUTTON certainly was indebted for it to no one whatever, yet it appears, from the Life of Dr ROBERT SIMSON of Glasgow, lately published, that he had, as early as 1723, deduced from the series $t - \frac{1}{3}t^3 + \frac{1}{5}t^5$

1st — &c. just mentioned, a theorem for approximating to the quadrature of the circle, which comprehended all MACHIN's different series, and many others, some of them still more convenient in calculation. (See *Account of the Life and Writings of Dr SIMSON* by DR TRAIL, p. 105, &c.) This theorem, and a very beautiful geometrical demonstration of the property of the tangents of the sum of two arches which leads to it, DR SIMSON had communicated to DR JURIN, with injunctions, however, not to make it public; and it accordingly remained quite unknown. The approximation, nevertheless, is a very remarkable one; and though it seems to have been little valued by the author, it sets in a strong light the fertility of his genius, in a quarter where he was not supposed to excel, and indeed does not seem to have been ambitious of excelling. There are, perhaps, who, estimating more fairly the value of the discovery, will regret that the author of it should have afterwards so exclusively devoted himself to pursuits where *elegance*, rather than *force*, constitutes the merit of investigation. That the discovery of MACHIN's demonstration must be held as doing great honour both to Dr SIMSON and Dr HUTTON, will readily be admitted; when it is considered that a mathematician so ingenious and inventive as the late THOMAS SIMSON (of Woolwich academy) acknowledged, that he had often sought for it in vain.

EULER also had sought for simple and easy series for the quadrature of the circle, on principles similar to those which the mathematicians we are speaking of had employed, and had found two, in consequence of remarking, that the two arches, of which the tangents are the simple fractions $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$, are together equal to the arch of 45° . These two series are also contained in Dr Simson's theorem.

Dr Hutton has, however, gone farther than the other geometers; and, in an investigation which forms the 18th of the tracts, has sought for two small arches, the tangents of which are simple fractions, and such, that some multiple of those arches shall differ from the arch of 45° by another small arch, of which the tangent shall be a simple vulgar fraction. In this way he has found out a variety of very simple, and very swiftly converging series; and two in particular deserve to be mentioned, as giving the easiest approximation to the circumference of the circle which has yet been proposed. According to it the arch of 45° is equal

$$\text{to } \frac{4}{\pi} \left(1 + \frac{4}{3 \cdot 10} + \frac{8 \alpha}{5 \cdot 10} + \frac{12 \beta}{7 \cdot 10} + \right)$$

$$\frac{7}{15} \left(1 + \frac{4}{3 \cdot 100} + \frac{8 \alpha}{5 \cdot 100} + \frac{12 \beta}{7 \cdot 100} + \right).$$

The letters α , β , &c. denote the preceding terms in each series. It seems probable, that mathematicians are never to arrive at the quadrature and rectification of the circle by means more accurate and expeditious than those which this theorem affords.

A problem connected in some measure with the quadrature of the circle, and having a very paradoxical appearance, is the subject of the 14th tract.

This problem was first proposed by the late JOHN LAWSON, B.D. in a pamphlet which he published in 1774 on *the geometrical analysis of the antients*. The problem was 'To divide a circle into any number of parts, which shall be equal in area as well as in circumference.' It was added, 'This may seem a paradox, but it may be effected in a manner strictly geometrical.' Dr HURTON, who gave an account of this pamphlet in the Critical Review for 1775, gave a solution which is here repeated, and which, as Mr Lawson informed him afterwards, was the same with his own.

Suppose it required to divide the circle into three parts: Divide its diameter into three; on the first of these divisions, reckoning from either end of the diameter, and on the upper side of the diameter, describe a semi-circle; and do the same on the first two divisions. Then there will be three semi-circles touching one another in the same point, and having their diameters in the ratio of 1, 2 and 3, and therefore their areas in the ratio of 1, 4, 9; and the differences between them, or the spaces intercepted between their circumferences, as the numbers 3 and 5. Now if the same construction be made on the opposite side of the diameter, beginning from its other extremity, the differences beginning with the greatest, will be 5 and 3. Adding these spaces to the former, we have $3+5$ for the whole of the one, and $5+3$ for the whole of the other, which being equal, the areas proportional to them are also equal. Thus the three curvilinear spaces into which the given circle is divided are equal; and by a similar argument, it is proved, that their perimeters are equal, for their perimeters are made up of semi-circles that increase in arithmetical progression on the one side of the diameter, and decrease in the same progression on the opposite, so that the sums of the corresponding terms are the same.

Dr HURTON extends this construction to the Ellipsis, and indeed he might have done so to all curves whatsoever, which are divided by each of two axes into parts similar and equal. As the areas of similar curves are as the squares of the straight lines similarly drawn in those curves, and their circumferences as the straight lines, simply, the truth of the proposition may be made out in every case, just as in the case of the circle.

The solution of the problem is certainly curious, and the discovery of it not an inconsiderable effort of inventive power; yet we can hardly consider it as a matter of so much importance as it seems to appear to the author of it himself. He resumes the consideration of it in the last page of the book, where he states how entirely the solution was his own, and testifies a little displeasure with his friend Professor LESLIE of the University of Edinburgh, for having in the first edition of his Elements introduced this problem and another, without making any mention of their author. 'As the problems,' says the Doctor, were of rather an uncommon nature, I did think some mention might have been made of their origin, or the circumstances that have attended them; and I hinted as much to my ingenious friend. In consequence of which, probably, I find that the learned author, in his 2d edition, has after the problem added this note, *that it was the result of a principle, briefly suggested by Mr Lawson, and afterwards explained and demonstrated in Dr Hutton's mathematical tracts.*' On this note of the Professor, the Doctor remarks 'that it seemed to make the matter rather worse than before, as it appeared less unfriendly or less uncivil to omit noticing a fact entirely, than to mistake it. For certain it is, that Mr Lawson never suggested any principle or extension, or any mode of solution whatever; the discovery having been made and published by myself alone.' This assertion according to the history given above, we know to be perfectly correct. Mr LESLIE, we have very little doubt, is of the same opinion, but has expressed himself without sufficient caution; it being true that Mr Lawson suggested the problem, but not the solution, nor the principle on which the solution is founded.

The other problem to which the Doctor refers in the passage above quoted, as one that Professor Leslie had inserted in his Elements, is one which the Doctor had formerly given, and which is here inserted in the end of the 38th, or last of the Tracts. The problem is, To divide a circle into any number of equal parts by means of other circles concentric with the given one: or in the very familiar way in which it was first proposed in the Ladies' Diary for 1709, 'Seven men bought a grindstone of 5 feet, or 60 inches in diameter; and they agreed together that each should grind off an equal share. The question is, how much of the diameter must each of them grind down.' The Doctor gives a very elegant geometrical solution of this problem; and on the subject of it he tells an anecdote, curious for the distinction it marks between two kinds of genius that are usually supposed to be very nearly allied. A very clumsy solution of

this problem was given by HAWNEY, in his book of mensuration, which had fallen into the hands of Mr JAMES FERGUSON, the very ingenious lecturer on astronomy and mechanics, and used to be exhibited by him in his lectures. About the year 1770, Mr Ferguson, who was then delivering his course at Newcastle, showed Hawney's construction to Dr Hutton, as he had drawn it out on a large sheet of paper with great correctness. It immediately occurred to Dr Hutton, as it could not fail to do to an eye accustomed to geometrical elegance, that the construction was unnecessarily operose and complicated. He said so to Mr Ferguson, and next morning presented him with the very neat solution that is given in these Tracts. Ferguson was much pleased, but doubted if it was correctly true. Dr Hutton referred him to the demonstration which accompanied it, as extremely simple, and requiring the knowledge of nothing more difficult than the sixth book of Euclid. "I was, says the Doctor, much surprised by his reply, that he could not understand the demonstration, but that he would make the drawing correctly on a large scale, which was always his way to try if such things were true. In my surprise, I asked him where he had learnt geometry, and by what Euclid, or other book; to which he frankly replied, that he had never learnt any geometry, nor could ever understand the demonstration of any one of Euclid's propositions. Accordingly the next morning he brought me the construction drawn out on a sheet of pasteboard, saying he esteemed it a treasure, having found it quite right." How he found it to be right, is not said; it was probably by measuring the radius of each circle on a scale to which his figure was adapted, and thence computing the area (the rule for which he no doubt took for granted), he would find the difference of the contiguous circles constantly the same. It is a curious circumstance, however, that Ferguson, who had so strong a genius for mechanics, and so much invention wherever machinery was concerned, should have had so singular an incapacity for comprehending the reasonings of geometry, at the same time that he had taste sufficient to admire the beauty of its conclusions.

We come now to the Tracts which respect different branches of natural philosophy. The first of these, and indeed the first in the book, is on the principles of Bridges, a work that has been long before the public, the first edition having been printed in 1772. Considerable additions are here made to it, particularly on the construction and history of iron bridges. The work has been well received, and is certainly entitled to great praise as a mathematical investigation. The subject, however, is

of some difficulty, and the discussion of it would leave us no room for others which, though not more important, may have more novelty to recommend them.

The 26th Tract gives an account of the calculations made for deducing the mean density of the Earth from the action of the mountain Schehalien on the plumb line, as ascertained by the observations of the late Astronomer-royal. It was found from the zenith distances of stars observed on opposite sides of that mountain, that the difference of latitude, so determined, was greater than that deduced from the distance of the two stations by 11.6 seconds. Hence it was evident, that the plummet was at each station drawn toward the mountain, by which means the zeniths were made to recede, and the difference of latitude increased. The deflection of the plummet on each side must have amounted to $5''.8$ nearly, and hence it was easy to conclude that the force exerted by Schehalien on the plummet at each observatory, was to that exerted by the whole earth, or to the force of gravity, as 1 to 35608, nearly.

It was required from the fact, thus furnished by astronomical observation, to determine what is the density of the earth, compared with that of Schehalien; and if the latter had been a spherical body like the earth, there would have been no difficulty in the calculation. But as the figure of the attracting body enters for a great deal both into the intensity and the direction of its attraction, it was necessary that the figure of the mountain should be accurately determined, before its attraction could be compared with that of a sphere. Such a determination accordingly made part of the plan of the experiment; and the survey of the mountain, that is, the ascertaining of its figure and solid content, was committed to the late Mr REUBEN BURROW, whose skill and activity qualified him well for the undertaking. By making vertical sections in various directions, he determined the position of more than a thousand points on the surface of the mountain; both with respect to the plane of the base and the meridian of the observatories, so that he furnished data for ascertaining both its figure and content, or for making an exact model of it, if it had been thought necessary. The data thus obtained were put into the hands of Dr Hutton, and the labour necessary to deduce from them any conclusion concerning the attraction of the mountain, was greater than can easily be imagined. All the resources of an experienced and skillful calculator were required, in a new and laborious research, to which nothing analogous had yet occurred. The general plan of the calculation, and the execution of the particular parts, are entitled to the highest

praise; and we do not believe that out of the various methods which might be devised for doing the same thing, any one can be found that would attain its object with so much simplicity, and so much accuracy at the same time. The Doctor, by describing concentric circles from each observatory, at equal distances, and intersecting them by radii making certain angles with one another, divided the base of the mountain, on each side of the observatory, into 960 trapezia, on which the columns that stood, so far as the bases were concerned, had equal power on the plummet, and attracted it with forces that were directly as the sines of the angles of elevation, or depression which they subtended from the observatory. The height of each of these columns, therefore, and its elevation or depression from the observatory was to be computed; and, after all this was performed, a similar distribution of the mountain, and a similar calculation was to be repeated for the other observatory.

In order to facilitate the work, nothing was left undone that method and arrangement could accomplish; yet, after all, the labour was very great, and such as an individual could hardly be expected to undertake. It was, nevertheless, performed by Dr Hutton, without any assistance; and the result was, that the mean density of the earth is to that of the mountain as 1431 to 800 nearly, or almost as 9 to 5. To refer this to the common unit of density or specific gravity, that of water, it was supposed, in the original calculation, that the density of the rocks which compose Schehalien is two and a half times that of water; which gives the mean density of the earth to the density of water, as 9 to 2, or 4.5 to 1.

This, however, is evidently to state the specific gravity of Schehalien too low. That mountain is one of the great chain of the Grampians; the rocks which compose it are all of the class called Primitive, and are of a specific gravity considerably above 2.5, which is nearly the mean when rocks of every description are included. The arbitrary nature of the assumption, and its obvious inaccuracy, gave rise to an attempt to ascertain the specific gravity of the rocks, from an actual survey of the mountain, of which an account is given in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1811; and it is there shown, that the mean density of the earth probably lies between 4.558 and 4.867, the mean of which is 4.713. Dr Hutton acquiesces in this conclusion; but we must take the liberty to remark, that in the account he has given of the structure of the mountain, when compared with that in the paper just mentioned, there seems to be some misapprehension. A granular quartz, as he rightly states, occupies the middle of the mountain; but the micaceous

schistus which surrounds it does not merely reach within 600 feet of the bottom, but, from about the middle of the mountain, goes to the bottom entirely, except that it is traversed near the base by belts of calcareous rock on the south and north sides. A passage is quoted by Dr HUTTON from SIR JOHN SINCLAIR's statistical work, which seems singularly ill calculated to convey any precise notions on this subject. 'As to the mountain,' says Mr MACARA, 'I have been on the top of it, and round the bottom, frequently; but have not observed any thing particular to it, that was not found in the mountains all around, some of which are higher than it. On the north side it is covered with moss, generally about two or three inches, on which grows heath, and in some parts a little grass. On the south and west are cairns of large and small stones, up to the summit. How they came to be so high is a question, if an earthquake was not the cause.' An earthquake has been often very unnecessarily resorted to, to resolve phenomena in the natural history of the globe; but we believe this is the first time it was ever introduced for the purpose of *building* a cairn of stones. That a remark of this kind should be found in the Statistical Account of Scotland, where the good and the bad are so indiscriminately mixed together, is not at all wonderful: that it should find a place in a work really scientific, is not so easily explained.

Though nothing, perhaps, was ever better conducted than the experiment of which we have now been speaking, both as to the observations and the deductions from them, yet it were very desirable to have the whole repeated in different circumstances. The knowledge of an element so important in physical astronomy as the density of the Earth, and requiring, withal, such nicety of observation, should be the result of many trials. Even with all the care and talent employed about the experiments on Schellien, some imperfections may be found, inseparable, perhaps, from a first effort. The observatories were both of them placed too high on the sides of the mountain: they were about half way to the top; and Dr Hutton himself has shown, in a very ingenious paper, written after the experiments were made, and now republished in these Tracts (of which it forms the 27th), that the point of greatest attraction on the surfaces of those mathematical solids to which a mountain has the greatest affinity, is not raised above the base more than one-fourth of the whole height. Attention to this circumstance would be very conducive to accuracy, not only by giving the full size to a quantity, which, even at its maximum, is too small for any but the nicest observations, but by diminishing the inconve-

niencies that must always arise from the very elevated situation of an observatory. The survey of Schehallien was made with instruments far less perfect than would now be employed for the same purpose. The theodolite, made by RAMSDEN, though probably the best instrument of the kind which had then been constructed, could be read off to minutes only, and was as much inferior to that employed at present in the Trigonometrical Survey (and made by the same artist), as the most ordinary Graphometer was inferior to it. The consequence has been a certain degree of inaccuracy, which is sometimes sensible on comparing the lengths of the same line, as deduced from different series of observations. Some of the columns, in the tables where Dr Hutton has arranged their heights, evidently involve an inaccuracy of this kind.

In the selection of a mountain for this experiment, great attention should be paid to its structure. It is material that the mountain should be homogeneous, or, at least, that the distribution of the rocks in it should be known. A mountain which, like Ingleborough, consists of thick beds of sandstone and limestone, lying almost horizontally, and alternating with one another, would have the requisite conditions in a great degree. Though not quite homogeneous, the effect of the deficiency could be easily estimated; and, as the beds of rock are horizontal, and appear the same on the opposite sides of the mountain, no variation in the interior can be suspected. At the same time, Ingleborough is based on Graywacke or Killas, and this would perhaps require to be taken into the account.

The most unexceptionable mountain, however, for this purpose, is one of granite; that is, one of which the higher part is granite, though toward the base the rock which appears may be mica-slate, gneiss, &c. Of such a mountain, there is little doubt that the interior must be granite, and therefore of a known specific gravity. We should therefore be secure of the homogeneity of the interior rock; and the exterior would be subject to examination.

When experiments of this kind are again instituted, we have no doubt that Dr Hutton's method of deducing the result, and of resolving the mountain into columns, will be always adopted. This will be much facilitated, by using in the survey a precaution which the Doctor has suggested, that of making the sections horizontal, and connecting them together by one or two vertical sections.

Another thing we would venture to recommend, is, to construct, from the sections obtained, a model of the mountain on a consi-

derable scale. This is not merely for the assistance it would give to the imagination, but because it would be of use for the purpose of interpolating between the points on the surface which had been geometrically determined. Dr Hutton says that he was often obliged to have recourse to this, for determining the lengths of the columns into which the mountain was divided. But for such interpolation the knowledge of the adjacent points is not alone sufficient, as the general form and the double curvature of the surface cannot be so well judged of in any way as from the actual representation. The ambiguities which such a representation would remove, and the accuracy which, in many instances, it is the only means of obtaining, would fully reward the calculator for an exertion different from those which come exactly within the limits of his art.

A series of very valuable experiments in Gunnery was begun by Dr Hutton, in conjunction with several officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, in the year 1775, and carried on at the expense of the Board of Ordnance. An account of these was presented to the Royal Society, and rewarded with the gold medal in 1778. From these experiments, which were conducted according to the method explained by ROBINS in his *New Principles of Gunnery*, many very important conclusions were deduced. It was made evident by them, that the powder fires almost instantaneously, and that the velocities which it communicates are as the square roots of the quantities of powder divided by the square roots of the weights of the shot. This conclusion is peculiarly valuable; and it deserves to be remarked, that it is conformable to the inference that would be drawn from the abstract principles of Dynamics, leaving out many physical circumstances which might be expected very materially to affect the conclusion. This, therefore, is an instance which but rarely occurs where the simplifications made by the mathematician, chiefly with a view to facilitate his calculus, do not occasion any material difference between the conclusions of theory, and the results of experiment.

The same experiments pointed out the importance of pursuing them farther, and of instituting a new series on a plan still more accurate and extensive. This was begun in 1783, by the orders, and under the directions of the late Duke of Richmond, who was at that time Master-General of the Ordnance, and by his abilities, his zeal for the public service, and his indefatigable exertions, was eminently qualified for that important office. The experiments were continued every summer with little interruption till 1791. The objects in view were various;—to ascer-

tain the velocities produced by different charges with the same weight of shot, and the same weight and calibre of gun, supposing the only variation to be in its length; the greatest velocity due to the different lengths of guns; the penetration of balls into blocks of wood; the diminution of velocity by the resistance of the air; the ranges and times of flight of balls fired with different velocities, and at different elevations, &c.

To measure the velocity of a cannon-ball, is a problem of no small difficulty, on account of the magnitude of the thing to be measured, and the constant variation to which it is necessarily subject. A body moving with a velocity from a thousand to two thousand feet in a second, must describe a line of small extent in a portion of time that cannot be measured; and if the extent is considerable, the velocity is constantly varying at a rate not well ascertained, and the line passed over is not itself susceptible of accurate mensuration. To remedy these inconveniences, Mr ROBINS contrived to reduce the velocity of the ball to one that should be less in a great ratio, and in one that could be easily ascertained. This he effected, by making a ball of a given weight strike a large but moveable block of wood, also of a given weight, into which it penetrated; so that the two went on together after the impulse, with a velocity as much less than that of the ball, as the block and ball together were heavier than the ball alone. The velocity thus reduced, was so moderate as to be easily measured. This appears very simple as well as ingenious; but, when the experiment is to be made, the conclusion is not so readily obtained as might be supposed from this general statement. The block of wood, in order to be perfectly moveable, must be suspended; and therefore cannot describe a straight line when it is put in motion, but a circular line, in which it must vibrate backwards and forwards; and it is from the extent of these vibrations that the velocity with which it began to move must be inferred. The properties of compound pendulums, and of the centre of oscillation, must therefore be taken into the account. This was done by Mr Robins; and the block of wood, when properly suspended for measuring the initial velocity of shot, has been called the *Ballistic Pendulum*. The necessary theorems are here investigated anew; and the conclusion deduced is the same which EULER, in his remarks on ROBINS, had given, and also General D'ANTONI, in his treatise on Gunpowder. Dr HUTTON's formula agrees also with ROBINS's theorem, not as he originally gave it, but as he corrected it in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1749. Of this correction (it is material to remark, as Dr HUT-

TON has done), that the editor of ROBINS's works in 1761 has neglected to avail himself. Dr HUTTON has reduced the rule to greater simplicity than any of the authors just mentioned, and has added a correction for the resistance which the air opposes to the motion of the pendulum, and for some other circumstances that had hitherto escaped notice; in consequence of which his theorem is the most accurate that has yet been given.

Another method of ascertaining the initial velocity of shot, was employed in these experiments, depending on the recoil of the gun, when suspended and free to vibrate like the pendulum. This also requires a variety of circumstances to be taken into account; and it might be expected that this method would be preferable to the other, being the most direct possible, and giving the velocity of the ball immediately as it issued from the mouth of the piece, whereas the pendulum only gives it after it has passed through 25 or 30 feet of air, and consequently suffered a sensible diminution. On this account, one would expect the velocity deduced from the recoil, to exceed that found from the ballistic pendulum; the contrary of which, however, happens whenever the velocity is great; and it is only in the case of small velocities that the results from the first sort of experiment, exceed those from the second. This circumstance is not accounted for by Dr Hutton, and we certainly will not presume to offer an explanation. We must however confess, that we are doubtful about the fundamental proposition on which the deductions from the recoil are made, viz. 'that if the chord of vibration be found for any charge without a ball, and then for the same charge with a ball, the difference of these chords will be equal to the chord which is due to the motion of the ball.' (Tracts 34. & 35.)

One advantage possessed by these experiments, above all others that have yet been made, consists in the greater size of the guns. They were one-pounder guns, five very fine brass pieces of that calibre having been cast at Woolwich for these experiments, and bored as true as possible, the bore being 2.02 inches. They were of different lengths, viz. of 15, 20, 30, 40 calibres. The lightest was 290 lib., the heaviest 502; when they were used in the experiments for the recoil, they were made by additional weights to weigh 917 lb.

It is impossible to follow minutely a series of experiments of so great extent, and embracing such a number of particulars; the detail of them occupies part of the second volume of these *Tracts*, and more than the half of the third; and there is not a single day's operations but might afford materials for many

pages of reasoning and calculation. The practice of artillery does not afford more interesting experiments, nor any that have been conducted with more ability. They do infinite credit to all concerned in them; they were made under the immediate inspection of General Sir Thomas Bloomfield; and Dr Hutton has very properly given the names of the cadets who attended, and contributed their share to the success; most of them officers now distinguished for their merit, and who must always reflect with satisfaction on the experiments that laid so good a foundation for professional eminence.

A few of the general results is all that we can give, extracted from the beginning of the 37th tract on the *Theory and Practice of Gunnery*.

1. If c be the charge of powder, and b the weight of the ball, v the velocity with which it leaves the gun, may be always found from this formula, $v = 1600 \sqrt{\frac{2c}{b}}$, or which is nearly the same,

$v = 2240 \sqrt{\frac{c}{b}}$. v is here expressed in feet. If the weight of the ball, and the velocity v are given, the charge of powder may be found from this equation, $c = \frac{b v^2}{1280000}$.

2. By increasing the quantity of the charges for each gun, it was found, that the velocities continued to increase till they arrived at a certain degree, different in each gun; after which they constantly decreased till the bore was quite filled with the charge. The quantities of powder, when the velocities arrived at their *maxima*, were different, according to the lengths of the guns. In the shortest gun, which was 15 of its calibres in length, the 12 ounces of powder gave the greatest velocity, and the charge occupied $\frac{1}{10}$ of the bore. The gun of 20 calibres, with the same weight of ball, one lib., had the maximum of velocity when the charge was 14 ounces, occupying $\frac{1}{8}$ of the bore. With the longest gun, of 40 calibres, the maximum velocity was with a charge of 18 ounces, which occupied $\frac{1}{5}$ of the bore. The proportion of the cavity filled by the charge for the maximum velocity diminished therefore from $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ as the length, as the gun increased. When the charges are equal in guns of different lengths, the velocity is greatest from the longest gun; but the increase of velocity is small in comparison to the increase of length, varying in a ratio between that of the square roots and the cube roots of the lengths.

3. With the same elevation the range increases in a much less ratio than the initial velocity. At an elevation of 15° ,

with a velocity of 864 feet per sec. the range was 4130 feet; at the same elevation, with a velocity of 1676, almost double of the former, the range was only 6700 feet. More experiments, however, appear to be necessary, before the law which connects the ranges and the initial velocities can be ascertained.

4. No difference is caused in the velocity or range, by varying the weight of the gun, by the use of wads, by different degrees of ramming, nor by the situation of the vent. A great difference, however, arises from a very small difference in the degree of windage, or excess of the diameter of the bore above that of the shot. If the windage is $\frac{1}{16}$ of the calibre, which is the usual size, no less than $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the powder escapes, and is lost. As the balls are often smaller than the regulated size, it frequently happens, that half the powder is lost by unnecessary windage.

The conclusions which Dr Hutton has deduced concerning the resistance of the air, and the law which it observes in respect of the velocity of the moving body, are of great importance; and indeed the experiments themselves are probably the most accurate and extensive that ever have been made on this subject. They were made partly by help of the ballistic pendulum, partly by help of a *whirling machine*, by which a body may be made to revolve in the circumference of a circle with a uniform velocity; the accelerating force applied to a barrel with which the body is connected, becoming just equal to the resistance of the air, so that the motion is reduced to uniformity. This was the contrivance of ROBINS; and Dr Hutton had the good fortune to get possession of the same machine which had been made for him by ELLICOT, a well known artist of that time. Dr Hutton had it repaired and improved; it served to determine the resistance to the small velocities, while the ballistic pendulum did the same for great velocities, the two together furnishing a table of the resistances to velocities from 5 to 2000 feet per second. These are reduced into a table, (vol. 3. p. 218), and from them Dr Hutton has derived this general formula, where v is the velocity of a ball or sphere two inches in diameter, and r the resistance of the air in pounds avoirdupois, and $r = .0000266 v^2 - .004025 v$. He has afterwards given a table, comparing the results of this formula with the experiments, and finds the differences but small; for a velocity of 2000 feet, for example, the formula gives 98.6 lib., and experiment gave 102.3; the difference is about $\frac{1}{4}$, which is not great. In small velocities the error is more considerable; for a velocity of 200, the error is more nearly $\frac{1}{2}$; and for a velocity of 100 it is still greater, the formu-

la giving the resistance negative, which is impossible, a negative resistance being an *acceleration*, which, it is plain, the resistance of air never can become.

In this deduction, therefore, we cannot but think that the utmost accuracy has not been obtained; yet, in suggesting another method, we feel great diffidence, being fully aware of the talents and skill, as well as the industry and research of the person whose investigation we propose to correct. It is laid down as a principle in this investigation, that the resistance of the air consists of two parts, one proportional to the simple power, and the other to the square of the velocity; and in this hypothesis, which many considerations render probable, we are quite disposed to acquiesce. The velocity being v therefore, and the resistance r , $A v + B v^2 = r$ must be the form of the general equation which expresses the relation between v and r , the coefficients A and B being constant quantities, to be determined from experiments. As many experiments, therefore, as are made, giving the corresponding values of v and r , so many equations are given, in which A and B are the only unknown quantities. Now the table into which Dr Hutton has reduced his experiments, giving for every hundred feet, the resistance from a velocity of 100 to a velocity of 2000, affords 20 equations, from any two of which the coefficients A and B may be determined. Of these Dr Hutton has chosen two, the one when the velocity was 500 and the resistance 4.65, the other when the velocity was 1000 and the resistance 22.625; these give the equations

$$500 A + (500)^2 B = 4.65$$

and $1000 A + (1000)^2 B = 22.625$; from which, when A and B are determined, the general formula is found to be $.00002655 v^2 - .004025 v = r$.

Now we have to suggest a method of finding the quantities A and B , which we think preferable to this. We have twenty equations involving A and B , all of them, however, subject to error in the coefficients of those quantities. Were it not that they are subject to error, any two might be taken, and would give the same results with any other two. Taking them, however, as they are, the question is, how to deduce from them two equations which shall be the most accurate that the nature of the case will admit. Then, if we suppose that the errors have nothing to determine them to be in excess, any more than in defect, it is probable that by adding two or more equations together, the errors will, at least in part, correct one another, and an equation will be obtained more accurate than either of those from which it is deduced.

The more of the subordinate equations, therefore, which are added into one sum, the more likely is the result to be accurate; and, if we add them all together, the most exact equation will be produced that the experiments can furnish. It is not sufficient, however, to have one equation; and to obtain two, each made up of as many equations as possible, the best way will be to add one-half into a sum, for one equation, and one-half for another. In the present case, where there are 20 equations, we may take the sum of 10, beginning from the first, and following the order of the odd hundreds, viz. 100, 300, 500, &c. Then doing the same for the ten even hundreds, 200, 400, 600, &c. we shall obtain two equations, not without error, but certainly the most nearly correct that the nature of the question admits; nor can more accuracy be looked for, unless more experiments are made. By proceeding in this way we obtain the equations,

$$10000. A + 13300000. B = 335.044$$

$$\text{and } 11000. A + 15400000. B = 388.214.$$

From these we get $A = -.000464$ and $B = .00002554$, so that the final equation is, $.00002554 v^2 - .000464 v = r$.

This equation is free from the disadvantage of giving r negative any where within the range of the experiments. When the velocity is 100, r comes out $= .209$; experiment gives $.174$; Dr Hutton's formula gives $-.133$; so that our result is by a great deal the nearest to the truth. When again the velocity is 2000 feet, the resistance by experiment is 102.362; by our formula it is 101.23, and by Dr Hutton's 98.66. In other instances Dr Hutton's is the most accurate; and the principal difference is, that the errors in his formula, when compared with the experiments, are generally in defect; in ours the errors in excess and in defect are nearly equal.

It is not, however, so much on account of any great additional accuracy that is obtained in the present instance that we presume to recommend the method we have now followed, as on account of the principle on which it is founded. It has the advantage of excluding every thing arbitrary in the assumption or selection of the equations, as also every thing tentative in the solution of them; and it makes all the experiments contribute their share to the determination of the last result.

We do by no means propose this method as a new one. It has been used in astronomy with great advantage, and we are particularly indebted to it for much of the accuracy that the tables of the Moon's motions have attained. The method was first thought of, we believe, and employed by MAYER, and is one of

the many obligations under which that eminent man has laid the mathematical sciences. It has been used very successfully in the construction of the French astronomical tables; and it may be introduced with equal benefit into every part of natural philosophy, where a number of quantities are to be determined from a series of experiments or observations. It might be applied, for instance, to DR HUTTON's experiments with the whirling machine, made for determining the resistance of air to *oblique* planes.

But we have extended this article too far, though we leave untouched many important subjects in the Work to which it relates.

ART. VII. *Letters from the Mediterranean; containing a civil and political Account of Sicily, Tripoly, Tunis, and Malta: With biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, and Observations, illustrative of the present State of these Countries, and their relative Situation with respect to the British Empire.* By W. Blaquiere esq. 2 vol. 8vo. London. 1813.

Sicily and its Inhabitants. Observations made during a Residence in that Country, in the years 1809 and 1810. By W. H. Thomson esq. 4to. London. 1813.

Remarks on the modern State of Sicily: A Postscript added to Mr Kelsall's Translation of Cicero's two last Orations against Verres. (See Art. 8. of this Number.)

THESE authors, added to the rest who have recently treated us with accounts of Sicily, have not exhausted the subject. We must contemplate that island through a medium which is still obscure, and with lights which are still imperfect. If the importance however of Sicily be considered, together with the multitude of Englishmen who, for a good many years, have possessed ample means of exploring it, the discovery of any important defects in the stock of our Sicilian information must be admitted to be singularly unfortunate.

The annual expense which Sicily has caused, and still continues to cause, to the British nation—an expense beyond that with which a great empire may be governed—renders an unwearying attention to Sicily a matter of great importance to our countrymen. It also exhibits a course of experiments, upon some of the most interesting problems of politics, far more certain and more decisive than can often be exemplified in that

class of sciences, whose only aim it is to point out the order which obtains in human or contingent transactions. To the philosophical historian, Sicily will hereafter present a fertile field ; and it shall be our present object to anticipate some of his reflections.

Sicily is a true specimen and example of a country governed exactly according to the principles of that class of philosophers and statesmen, who desire that, in the government of nations, the wisdom of ancestors should decide—and their practice be followed ; and innovation, which is the renunciation of that wisdom, and departure from that practice, should be shunned with horror, and resisted with vehemence.

Sicily is also an instructive example of a country, the government of which has met with no disturbance from philosophy, from speculation, or theory. Every thing there has been practical, according to the approved rules of those by whom practice is the most adored, and speculation most detested. The light of an empirical experience alone was followed. If any thing was performed to-day, it was a reason for its being repeated to-morrow ; or, if performed a thousand years ago, for continuing it still. Nowhere could the suggestions of philosophy meet with a more stubborn resistance. Not only were the governing minds entirely exempt from its misguiding influence ; but effectual measures were taken for its complete exclusion from the island. It could disturb the heads, therefore, neither of those who commanded, nor of those whose business it was to obey.

Sicily is, still farther, an excellent specimen of a country governed under a due solicitude for the maintenance of subordination, and the prevention of anarchy. Under the full benefit of that favourite and fashionable principle, that subordination is the only good, and anarchy the only evil of human society ; that to secure the one, and prevent the other, it is impossible too much can ever be done, or too much ever be sacrificed ; that as subordination consists in the inferiority of the people, their depression never can be too great ; that every expedient of government, which has a tendency to keep them down, is favourable to social order ; that the proposal of any expedient which has a tendency to elevate, in other words to enlighten and protect them, is so much of a wicked design to destroy subordination, introduce anarchy, annihilate property, and extinguish life. In Sicily, the people never had any thing to do with the government, but to render it tribute and obedience. The forms, indeed, of a free constitution were established and kept up, by the existence of a parliament consisting of three estates. But it

never was forgotten, that the *forms* of liberty are as good a thing, as the *substance* is a bad one ; because nothing is so good as a proper use of the *forms* for the utter extinction of the *substance*. Nothing is more conducive to subordination, nothing more conducive to the prevention of anarchy than the *forms*—which can be forged into the most commodious of all chains for the unruly multitude. To keep them, at once, deceived and subdued—that is, void of any means to help themselves, to whatsoever degree oppressed—is a point of perfection to which the government of Sicily has always made the most instructive approaches.

Notwithstanding the complaints to which our present race of travellers lie still exposed, between them and their predecessors of a very recent date, there is a marked and important distinction. Present travellers attend to the *political* state of the people in the countries which they undertake to describe. This is an object which preceding travellers almost always overlooked. They delineated to their readers the surface of the country ; and gave them ample information about the appearance of hills and valleys, and rivers and trees. They painted, perhaps, the manners of the best society ; and were careful to record the accommodations which it was possible for a traveller to command upon the road. But the political circumstances, the structure and effects of the government, the condition physical and moral of the great body of the people, and the links by which those circumstances were connected with the workings of the political machine, they seem to have regarded as placed without their province.

It is a most gratifying proof of the progress of political knowledge, and of the growing strength of free principles, that scarcely a simple traveller of the present day can be named, though of most of them the education presents but little occasion for admiration, to whom political observation has not appeared a primary object. Of this great improvement, the date is that of the French Revolution ; an event which forms an epoch in the history of the progress of the human mind ; and which has tended more to fix the attention of mankind upon the political circumstances of society, than all the facts which occupy the pages of antecedent history. It has produced incalculable evils to France, and to the rest of Europe ; but one of the worst effects which it has produced out of France is that predilection for arbitrary power, and enmity to freedom, which it has engendered or confirmed in the bosoms of so many among the leading people of our own and other countries.

All accounts, both antient and modern, agree in representing

Sicily as one of the most highly favoured spots upon the surface of the globe. The fertility of its soil, and the delightfulness of its climate cannot easily be surpassed. It appears calculated to be the very garden of Europe. Every thing, from the grand article of human consumption, which it yields in wonderful profusion, to the finest of the tropical productions, is included within its vegetative range. Its opulence, in the physical sense of the word—the productive powers of its soil—the revenue to its owners, which it is capable of being made to yield, is probably far greater than what could be derived from any other spot of equal dimensions in Europe. Mr Blaquiere, adducing at the same time the authority of the Abbate Ferrara, describes ‘the fecundity of this island as amazing, arising solely from its happy temperature of climate, and natural richness of soil;—the soil, excepting in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Etna, where it is volcanic, and highly productive, being invariably composed of a calcareous loamy mould, descending every where to an amazing depth.’ Amid a variety of other favourable circumstances, the Abbate Ferrara states, that ‘copious dews supply the place of rain during the early part of summer; and the snow, accumulated during winter on the mountains, begins to melt towards June, and, forming a thousand rivulets, gives new vigour and excitement to the growing crops.’ Mr Blaquiere adds, (a circumstance to the importance of which sufficient attention is seldom paid), that ‘the coasts of the island are in every part, profusely stocked with the most exquisitely flavoured fish.’ The sea is, in that case, a still more inexhaustible fund of riches than the land.

Along with these accounts of the productive powers and natural riches of Sicily, we have also accounts of its actual poverty and desolation. These, it is agreed by travellers without a dissenting voice, are excessive and deplorable. Not only are not the singular advantages of Sicily improved so as to give superior prosperity to the country, and happiness to the people; but hardly any where on the face of the earth, exists a more wretched country, or a more suffering people.

Its present population exceeds not a million and a half. This, in its days of Grecian prosperity, was equalled by that of only two of its cities, Agrigentum and Syracuse, each of which, according to Diodorus, contained 800,000 souls. In the days of Hiero and Timoleon, the population of the island is stated at 5,000,000; after the largest allowance for the inaccuracy of loose calculations. A sufficient number of historical circumstances, both of the Greek and of the Roman times, are preserved, to prove to us, that it had a numerous population, and abund-

ing wealth. From the orations of Cicero against Verres, it appears, that the population was then highly respectable in character and number, as well as in circumstances ;—that it formed a large and important object in the eye of the Roman people ;—that the Sicilians cultivated with great passion the arts of Grecian taste, and had their houses filled with the most exquisite productions of Grecian sculpture and painting ;—that there was a numerous class of men of fortune, who lived with great splendour and expense ;—and, in fact, that there was a great accumulation of the matter of wealth, because Verres, in the course of a few months, was able to abstract from it a mass which equalled the treasure of kings. Such was the condition of Sicily, even after it had sustained the plundering hands of Roman conquerors and prætors, and after it had paid for many years a heavy tribute to a foreign state. Such, at the same time, was its agriculture, that it is celebrated by Cicero as the granary of Italy, and nurse of the Roman people.

From its highest state of actually experienced prosperity to its present poverty and degradation, there is a prodigious downfall. Yet it cannot be disputed, that in the Grecian times subordination was not very perfectly secured, and that emergencies partaking of anarchy were but too apt to occur. It is at the same time quite certain, that under the modern and monarchical system, subordination is most completely maintained, and anarchy as completely avoided. Yet so it is, that the Grecian were times of prosperity ; the Monarchical, are times of adversity.

‘ In travelling through the interior,’ says Blaquiere, ‘ you are at every step irresistibly reminded of those scenes which Goldsmith has so pathetically described in his inimitable poem of the Deserted Village.—Houses unroofed, bridges broken down, and large towns abandoned, united with immeasurable tracts of waste land without an inhabitant, are the usual objects which present themselves in all parts. But to describe the sufferings of those who are driven to mendicity in this island, without any resource whatever in their parishes, or the most distant prospect of obtaining employment, is far beyond the power of expression ; and while the causes already mentioned must have contributed amazingly to increase the number of poor, agriculture has been gradually declining all over the island. At no period of its history, is Sicily recollected to have been so completely dependent upon strangers for support. It is said that, in the course of the present year, nearly a million of dollars have been paid by the people for imported corn ; a frightful sum, considering how comparatively small the general capital is. At this moment, more than a third of the population of Sicily is reduced to a state of absolute beggary ; where no provision whatever is made for nine-tenths of them by the legislature ; where charity has almost ceased to be

thought a virtue; and lastly, where, in the very house in which I reside, are nightly heard the wailings of the indigent, without food and raiment, or a place to lay their heads.'

'I cannot conclude (adds Mr Blaquiere) this highly interesting subject, without adding another remark. The nature of my profession (that of an officer in the royal navy) has often afforded me an opportunity of passing one part of the week amidst the savages of Africa, and the other on the uncivilized shores of Sicily. Amongst the former, mendicity was unknown; every one lived by the fruit of his industry; a very limited number were appropriated to administer the duties of religion, which, however imperfect in other respects, consisted in a plain and unadorned reverence of the Deity. There were no lawyers to defeat the ends of justice, and promote an endless litigation for the sake of '*base lucre*.' Hospitals were unnecessary, for no person became a charge to the public: poor houses were equally so, as all the community were usefully employed, either in cultivating the land or following a trade. I could see no gaudy equipages, followed by pampered menials, while the proprietors were consigning industrious families to ruin. I saw no theatres, assemblies, or faro tables, spreading moral and political contagion through the multitude. It is true, the people were barbarous—in many respects vicious; and, from their ignorance, objects of commiseration. But, when transported to this island, what was the scene continually before my eyes?—I blush to repeat it!—If you have perused the former part of this exposition, you will yourself answer the interrogatory. It remains for me to put it to your candour and impartiality, whether any person endowed with the power of reflection, could witness the striking, the melancholy contrast, without inquiring within himself, if the beneficial ends of civilization have not been often frustrated by the crimes and follies of mankind?'

If any doubt should remain notwithstanding the testimony of this witness, every witness may be cited. They all give evidence to the same deplorable facts.

'It will hardly be conceived,' says Mr Thompson, 'that although, in this fertile soil, it is only necessary to put the grain into the ground to insure plentiful crops, yet still, in most of the villages there are seldom or never to be found the necessaries of life:—meal never to be found—often not bread. The worst wine (and that not in abundance)—burnt peas, and *sometimes* macaroni, were the only sustenance the wretched inhabitants had to live on. How lamentable, to see so fine an island so totally neglected! Frequently for twenty weeks together, I have not perceived any appearance of the country being inhabited, or cultivated: and even where it is, the population is so small, and the habitations so thinly scattered, as sufficiently to prove the oppressed state of its inhabitants.'

'There is nothing,' says Mr Kelsall, 'that conveys so pointed a stigma on the present order of things in Sicily, as a comparison of the ancient and modern population....How often did the translator,

as he passed in a letige, the uncultivated tracts in the interior, picture to his imagination the indignation of the Roman orator, could he now witness the neglected state of the lands. Were it possible for him to traverse the Leontine fields, as he did nineteen hundred years ago, would he not exclaim, in the words which he applied to that very tract, in *uberrima Siciliæ parte, Siciliam querebam*. There is no church in Sicily, where the avenues are not beset with objects so loathsome, so morbid, that the stranger is filled with horror at the spectacle. *Eccellenza, morto di fame*—are the words constantly rung in his ears; and the translator can safely affirm, that he never saw, either on the shores of the Euxine, or in the boggy swamps of Finland, any thing to be compared with the wretchedness of the Sicilian beggars, who perambulate the towns—*quedam simulacra modis pallentia miris*. Their condition conveys a bitter reproof, when it is remembered, that they inhabit a country abounding with the choicest productions of nature, once the residence and delight of Ceres herself,—where the population is so inconsiderable, and where the lands are for the most part left so waste, *ut ager ipse lugere, ac pene desiderare dominos videretur*.

The agreement of our travellers respecting the present state of Sicily, is less surprising than their agreement with regard to the cause of all these enormous and shocking evils. With one voice, they ascribe them to the government. Their unanimity in this opinion, is no trifling circumstance. It is a satisfactory proof that a sound mode of thinking, on the state of man in society, prevails among our countrymen. The authors who agree in this opinion are not of one sect, or of one party. Few of them incline to the popular, most to the aristocratical class of opinions. Yet while they all agree that Sicily is beyond measure, and almost beyond example wretched, they also agree, that, of its wretchedness, the government is the only cause.

‘It would be altogether superfluous,’ says Mr Blaquiere, ‘to enter into a more lengthened examination of the multiplied defects so evident in every part of the Sicilian government; where the sovereign’s will is a law, and the administration of justice a mere object of commercial speculation; and this at the expense of religious obligations, moral duty, and public happiness. A further continuation of this subject might tend to express my own feelings, upon the miseries of a people, sacrificed as those of Sicily are; yet I feel language unequal to express the shameful and horrid transactions which are daily rising before my eyes. If I could hope (he says) to be heard, I would address his Sicilian Majesty in the elegant simplicity of Fenelon, and call his attention to the following important truths, written for the instruction of one who sprung from the same illustrious family:—*Mais quelle detestable maxime, que de ne croire trouver sa sûreté que dans l’oppression de ses peuples! Ne les point faire instruire; ne les point conduire à la vertu; ne s’en faire jamais aimer; les pousser*

par la terreur jusqu' au desespoir ; les mettre dans l'affreuse necessité, ou de ne pouvoir jamais respirer librement, ou de secouer le joug de votre tyrannique domination—est-ce là le vrai moyen de régner sans trouble ?

'All advantages,' says Mr Thompson, 'are lost, and will remain so; whilst the government continues what it now is; whilst it encourages that gross superstition into which the lower class of people in society are sunk; and continues to pursue its present despotic system of governing, which paralyzes every effort of industry, and makes a desert of the most delightful country the sun ever shone upon.... Nothing is seen, but misery and oppression on all sides, and a government sunk into the last stage of weakness—forgetting the numerous advantages it possesses by nature—forgetting that, although it has lost the better half of its territory, it still possesses a country that might be made, under a patriotic ruler, great and powerful.... I must say, in favour of the people, that, with little or no encouragement, they only want example and a good government, to become a most industrious race;—ingenious, they are already.'

Mr Kelsall makes an enumeration of the causes of the miserable condition of Sicily; but they all belong to the political class.

The object which next presents itself for consideration, is a circumstance of peculiar importance. That government of Sicily, which is arraigned as the cause of so many evils, is founded, like the government of Great Britain, upon the principles of the feudal system; and contains within itself, all the great constituent elements of which it is the boast of the British constitution to be composed. It is a government in which the monarchical, the aristocratical, and the democratical forms of polity, correcting, controlling, and checking one another, are combined. It is a government in which the three modes of power, the executive, the legislative, and the judicative, are separated. There is a Parliament, consisting of Lords and Commons: and to this Parliament the sole power of granting taxes belongs. The King commands the army, and collects and disburses the revenue: and the Judges administer the laws.

Of all those elements, on which the panegyrics of the English constitution are commonly founded, it is not easy to point out any one which in Sicily is wanting. But if England be happy, and Sicily wretched, it is very plain that the happiness of England must depend upon something which Sicily has not, and England has. It is therefore an important inquiry to ascertain, what it is which England enjoys, and of which Sicily is destitute. If any thing in the whole field of politics be instructive, this inquiry, it should seem, must abound with instruction.

First of all, Sicily has no *liberty of the press*, either according to law, or in spite of the law. In England, it is agreed, even by

Mr Burke, that there is no liberty of the press according to law. And it has often been remarked, that *libel law* does include every thing which, in any country, any government would desire to prohibit; that every thing which even the most despotic government would wish to interdict, is interdicted by the law of England, and exposed by it to an unlimited infliction of imprisonment, fine, pillory; to any punishment, in fact, short of death and mutilation, which the arbitrary will of the judge may direct him to appoint. This on other occasions we have already proved; and may at present proceed upon it as a point beyond dispute. But, notwithstanding the law, it is equally certain that, in England, we do enjoy a great degree of the liberty of the press. We enjoy it; because the law is not put in execution; and because there are authors among us who have sufficient magnanimity to take upon themselves the risk of free speech.—A considerable degree, then, of the liberty of the press, is one point of distinction between England and Sicily; and one to which we are persuaded that England is more deeply indebted, than to any thing else.

Sicily has a parliament; but it has no report of their proceedings: The public have no knowledge of what is performed, or of what is spoken within the walls of the three Sicilian houses; except it be of the taxes which are imposed. ‘Figure to yourself,’ says Mr Blaquiere, ‘a population of nearly two millions, without there being a single newspaper, or periodical print, published, to inform them of their situation, or how things are passing.’ Between a parliament of which the proceedings are published, and a parliament of which the proceedings are not published, we acknowledge the difference to be immense. It is such a difference as that which exists between a court of justice which is open, and one which is secret. In a court, the proceedings of which the public have adequate means of overlooking, it is impossible that the ends of justice, where men are sufficiently instructed to know what they are, should not to a considerable degree be pursued. In that which is secret, it is impossible that the private interests of those who compose it should not have the lead.

Another remarkable circumstance, by the possession of which England is distinguished, as much as Sicily is by the want of it, is a great and respectable body of Dissenters. That this is of prodigious importance to England, no enlightened mind, we are persuaded, will dispute. As it has been justly remarked, that the Reformation improved and reformed the Romish church herself, by forcing her upon such attentions as might enable her to sustain some sort of comparison with the Protestant churches of

the same age; so the existence of the Dissenters in England has most assuredly operated to the amelioration of the English church, by compelling her clergy to sustain a comparison with the zeal, the activity, the piety, the frugality, the morals and talents, of the dissenting pastors; and (which has perhaps been still more efficient), by compelling her to consider the magnitude and increase of the dissenting portion of the community. Had the church of England succeeded,—as she laboured strenuously, for several ages, and with the use of some of the worst instruments of persecution, to do—namely, in imposing *conformity* upon the nation, we can scarcely doubt that the church of England would have been at this day in a situation in which, to any good purpose, she would have too much resembled the church of Sicily. The reasons are conclusive:—there would have been the same interests to generate corruption; and there would have been as little to prevent it. The interests which are at work in the church of England, have generally been found adequate to produce submissiveness to the views of rulers, and often an active cooperation with them. A single instance, in which, by the restoration of popery, the clergy and church were equally threatened with destruction, is an exception which confirms, rather than disproves, the general rule. But the interests of the rulers in England have been exactly the same as those of the rulers in Sicily; and had English rulers been equally free from obstacles, and equally assisted with instruments, those interests would have guided them into the same channels of government. This is in fact so indisputable, that it is almost an identical proposition; for it is only saying, that a prince who has nothing to resist his will, is despotic. Now, had the influence of the Church of England been increased an hundred fold, as, by the total extinction of Dissenters, and the unlimited operation of its powers both coercive and persuasive, over the whole body of the people, it would most certainly have been; and had all this influence been given to the confirmation of arbitrary power, by which that influence itself stood, and with which it must fall, there are few persons so prejudiced, or so ignorant, as to need to be told the consequences.

After the preceding circumstance, we need hardly mention freedom of conscience, or toleration, as another among the distinctions of England; because the one is, in some degree, included in the other. They are not however exactly the same. Could we suppose toleration to exist without dissenters, unless the church to which all belonged were (what is impossible) absolutely perfect, and incapable of corruption, a great proportion of the benefits of toleration would be lost. The grand benefit

of toleration is, that it produces dissenters ; because the existence of dissenters is highly conducive to the interests of religion, morality, and good government. It is not however impossible for dissenters to exist without toleration. They existed for some ages without it in England ; they existed as long without it in France ; and the time during which they existed in France is the only time during which its government improved, and France was progressive. From the hour of the cruel extirpation of the Protestants, the government proceeded from one stage to another of corruption and disorder, till the wheels at last threatened to stand still ; and the Revolution, the fatal violence of which the catastrophe of the Protestants had powerfully contributed to prepare, scattered, by its explosion, the fragments of the ancient establishment over every country of Europe.

Another circumstance remains, of which it is important to form an accurate conception. Though it is true that in the Sicilian constitution, as in the British, are three great and distinguishable parts ; may it not happen, that these in the two constitutions have been combined in different proportions ; and that hence the difference of their effects may have arisen ? In the Sicilian constitution, the popular part has borne a less proportion to the other two ; and in the frame of the two constitutions, this seems to be the only great difference which it is possible to discover. The fact is of the highest importance. It is calculated to impress upon the minds of our countrymen, one important truth, that to the *strength* of the Commons, their constitution does in fact owe all its advantages ; that if the popular part had been as weak in England, as it has been in Sicily, the government would have been equally mischievous ; that if the strength of the democratical part of the English constitution should ever be permitted to decline, the government would then become of the same nature and description with the government of Sicily. In what an extraordinary light does this great lesson of experience set the conduct of a formidable body among us, who exert themselves incessantly to lessen the power of the popular part of our constitution, and who appear determined never to rest satisfied till they have utterly deprived it of the substance, and left it only the shadow of power ? When one regards the House of Commons, in which the popular part of the constitution must be sought for ; and when one observes, in the first place, how great a portion of it is filled with the connexions of peers, and is by consequence aristocratical ; next, how great a portion is filled with rich commoners aspiring to the peerage, and with their connexions, who in their endeavours all lean the same way ; how great a portion is filled with ministers

and other officers of state, with their connexions, whose views and efforts are all monarchical; it will be found that the proportion of those in whom the popular influence can be supposed to reside, is reduced to limits that are narrow indeed. If we consider, too, the enormous quantity of influence which exists in the hands of the ministers of the Crown, ready to be applied to that small portion in whom the democratical influence may still be supposed to reside, and to gain over as many of them as possible to the monarchical ranks, we cannot surely be free from uneasiness. Of all this, the natural issue would be what Mr Hume has denominated the *euthanasia* of the British constitution: and to this, Mr Hume himself declared, that it was the unceasing tendency of our constitution to descend. The British government, therefore, according to this sagacious author, must, unless prevented by incessant correction, terminate at last in being what the Sicilian government has been.

The circumstances which we have already enumerated will, upon strict inquiry, be found, we believe with little exception, to include the causes by means of which England has been a better governed country than Sicily. There is, however, another circumstance, which will probably be suggested, and that is, trial by jury. It is supposed that jury trial, by giving the popular part of the community an immediate share in the administration of justice, prevents that perversion of it which the other branches might attempt for their own interests. But, as the independence of juries supposes the general prevalence of a free spirit; as the mere circumstance of having jury trial among us, has in former times been found to oppose no resistance to arbitrary power; and as some states have effectually resisted tyranny without it, we ought not, how sensible soever of its inestimable merits, to enumerate it as a leading cause of the difference between the two countries in question.

Beside these considerations, which refer more to legislation than administration, there are a variety of topics suggested by our assumed relation to Sicily, which have a more immediate bearing upon the executive policy of the British government. These, however, we shall more briefly discuss; both because they are of less importance; and because, with regard to them, our means of forming an accurate judgment are far less complete.

Whether or not we have any thing to do in Sicily at all, is the first question of this sort, to which an answer is demanded. The expense which we suffer is enormous: What benefit equal, or not equal, do we derive? We keep out, it will be said, the enemy. The question then resolves itself into this; whether

the preservation of Sicily from his dominion, be an advantage of magnitude sufficient to compensate the great mischief of the expense with which it loads us?

Supposing that the policy of keeping Sicily free from the enemy, at any cost, is good; next comes the question whether the means pursued for that purpose are the best. On this head, we have again to complain of the want of parliamentary information. It is truly astonishing that so much of the national property should have been spent in Sicily, and that the guardians of the public purse should to this hour possess only the most vague and unsatisfactory information with regard to the objects of that expenditure; and no information whatsoever as to the mode, whether adapted to the ends in view, or unfavourable to them,—whether honest and economical, or corrupt and wasteful.

In this state of our knowledge, we should hesitate to form an opinion. Travellers indeed, with hardly any exception, though some of them claim strong relation to the courtly class, condemn in vehement terms the course of our procedure in Sicily. A government, too weak and too corrupt to defend itself, to encourage the people, or to be worthy of our confidence, was, they say, the grand cause of all the mischief, and all the danger which regarded Sicily. A wise and effectual reform of that government, would have given the country's strength—would have roused the energies of the people—would have called forth the vast productive powers of the island—and either would have rendered all expense on the part of England unnecessary, or would have furnished the means of amply repaying it. On the other hand, the maintenance and preservation of that government, with all its inherent diseases, has more and more diminished the remaining force and resources of the island, withered her productive powers, thinned and corrupted her people, called for the prolongation of an enormous expense at the hand of England, and cut off all prospect of compensation.

‘I do not,’ says Mr Thompson, ‘hesitate to affirm, that, provided the oppressive laws relative to grain were repealed, and the power of the nobility curbed by salutary laws, which would give the poor the secure possession of their little property, and justice, when oppressed,—then this country would again become the finest in the world: and that, instead of having only an exhausted treasury, with the absence of all resources,—and instead of being disliked by its subjects, the government would be powerful and rich;—its resources would daily increase;—it would be loved by its own people, and respected by surrounding nations.’

Though the tone of Mr Thompson's book is abundantly monarchical, (for he is even an admirer of the Sicilian Queen),

yet on this subject he declares that 'the awful state of our own country, in the lavish profusion of public expenditure;—the enormous and increasing expense of carrying on the war;—the evident disapprobation of the people at the measures pursued by Government,—with the heavy pressure of the times on all classes of society, more particularly on the laborious part of mankind,—accompanied by the fact of our resources for meeting these increasing difficulties being in a state of daily deterioration, render it the duty of Government to avail itself of every opportunity which presents a prospect of lessening the burthens of the people.' And in furtherance of this, it is the chief object of this book to prove how much England is interested in the welfare of Sicily. 'No country,' he says again, 'has been worse used, in general, by its allies, than England; and I must say, it is my own opinion that our ministers owe it to their country, not to allow all our efforts for the protection of Sicily to be thrown away, merely because there are persons whose interest it is to create jealousy and dissatisfaction between the two countries.'

With regard to the sentiments of the people, he says, 'The common language to Englishmen was, You are come into this country to protect us.—Of what use is your protection, if we cannot derive any advantage from it? We are labouring under all the evils of a bad government;—any alteration would be for the better;—and we would rather be without you, if you will not produce a change in the measures pursued.—What answer,' continues Mr Thompson, 'can be made to this?'

Mr Blaquiere, whose sensibility to the sufferings of the people, and disgust at the corruptions of Government are much more intense than those of Mr Thompson, arraigns, in almost every chapter of his book, the prolongation afforded by the English government to the Sicilian system of misrule. In one passage he says, 'The devoted populace continued, as usual, to bend under every kind of oppression that defective laws, and the corruption of their rulers could devise; while, on our side, we were manifesting a stoical indifference to their sufferings, and thought more of perfecting our soldiers in the "*goose step*," than bringing the government to a sense of duty and propriety.'

It is the less necessary, however, to multiply authorities on this head, that our rulers themselves have at last pronounced the condemnation of their own conduct. After being for a series of years the tool of a wretched government, which they wished to rule, though they did not endeavour to reform it; a government, however, which liked as little to be ruled, as to be reformed; which thwarted them; intrigued against them; and, while it eagerly devoured their resources, corresponded with their enemies—the resolution has at length been taken, which our travellers say ought to have been adopted from the begin-

ning—the resolution of accomplishing a radical reform of the government.

Of the antecedent transactions of the English in the two Sicilies, there is only one which appears of sufficient importance to stop, on the present occasion, for the purpose of offering it to the consideration of the reader. It is forced upon our attention by the strong emphasis with which it is mentioned by Mr Blaquiere. A thick cloud has indeed been attempted to be thrown around it, by reason of the relation it bears to the character of a man whose name is deservedly dear to the British people. But it is extremely injurious to the interests of morality, that a bad action, as soon as it is performed by a man to whom we are obliged, should have all manner of efforts employed about it, to make it assume the colours of goodness. This practice needs only to be carried to its full extent, to pervert entirely the moral sentiments of the nation; and make them regard every action, not as it is in itself, but according as it is by one or another man that it is performed. But every man's partiality is strongest towards himself. It is therefore easy to see in whose favour this pernicious latitude of interpreting evil into good, will be the most frequently exercised; and, if it should meet with encouragement, to what deplorable consequences it would infallibly conduct. The rulers of mankind need not imagine that for their own actions they can set up to the people one rule of judgment, and that the people will practise another and a more severe, with regard to their own. If the people adopt a lax morality, for judging of the actions of those who occupy a conspicuous place in their eyes, they are sure to adopt one of equal laxity in judging of their own.

Mr Blaquiere relates, that in 1798, ' though the British government, ever ready to aid the common cause, and even to cooperate with its most deceitful and imbecile allies, had come forward on this occasion; and though a few days perseverance on the part of the Neapolitan government might have destroyed the French army, that government sealed its own disgrace by a most shameful armistice; and his Sicilian Majesty left his capital to become a scene of revolution and anarchy. It is superfluous' (continues Mr Blaquiere) ' to repeat the subsequent events, that led to the establishment of a republic at Naples—they have been often related. The campaign of Suwarrow in 1799 having ended in the liberation of Italy from French domination, it was determined to restore the royal authority at Naples. The spirit of liberty that had been infused into the Neapolitans, stimulated as it was by all the talents of the country, would have easily sustained the republican form of government, and at all events defied every effort of the king's party, had not the known fanaticism of the people been successfully worked upon by Cardinal Ruffo. The

Lazzaroni, that community of miscreants and assassins, * were called upon; and knowing, as experience has since demonstrated, that the permanent dominion of France would be the signal for their extirpation, crowded to the royal standard, which they were the very first on a recent occasion to abandon. It was with such auxiliaries, and the rabble of Cardinal Ruffo, some Russians and Turks, that the squadron of his Britannic Majesty, under the orders of Sir T. Trowbridge, and afterwards of Captain Foote, were destined to cooperate, for the restoration of the Neapolitan monarchy. Here it would afford me infinite pleasure, if I could silently pass over succeeding events, and leave this part of the Neapolitan history till the Royal Family's second flight: But truth and justice forbid it; and I am under the necessity of going on. The efforts of the gallant Sir T. Trowbridge were at Civita Vecchia crowned with success; and his conduct to those patriots, (whom he was directed by a superior power to arrest—but whom, with the characteristic humanity of a British officer, he saved), will for ever redound to his credit, while the recollection of such an action must increase our regret at his premature and melancholy fate. In the bay of Naples, and its vicinity, the patriots made a desperate stand, though opposed by powerful assailants. In one fortress, Avigliano, sooner than surrender to the royal party, they, with a degree of firmness by no means prevalent in these degenerate days, consigned themselves to a voluntary death. And it being found impracticable to reduce the castles of Uovo and Novo, into which the provisional government had retired with their adherents, a solemn capitulation was concluded between them and all the allied commanders, by which they were permitted to proceed to France unmolested. While in the act of fulfilling the above sacred compact, our fleet, under Lord Nelson's command, arrived, June 24. 1799. And although the garrisons were both embarked, ready to sail for Toulon—the greatest naval hero that either England or any other country ever produced, was, by an unaccountable fatality, persuaded to annul the capitulation!—I say persuaded; for I will never be brought to believe for an instant, that the magnanimous, humane, and enlightened Lord Nelson, would have committed such an act, if the officious and insidious agency of those around him had not been most improperly exerted. A frigate was despatched for the Royal Family. They came into the bay of Naples on the 10th of July. When the scene of death commenced:—and in giving a loose to the most vindictive and ruinous passions of human nature, his Sicilian Majesty's government forfeited—I really believe for ever—the attachment of his Neapolitan subjects. To increase our ignominy on this sanguinary occasion, the very representative of our Sovereign, and his lady, were on the spot—nay in the ship of the British Admiral—and had fortitude enough to witness the sickening specta-

* But see, upon the groundless prejudices respecting this class—Eustace's Tour, in our last Number.

cle!—"Thus," (says a Neapolitan, while giving vent to his broken spirit)—"thus, the soldiers of Great Britain, the sons of the English nation, the first-born of liberty in Europe, the heirs of so many philosophers, who were the founders of public morality, and of the rights of nations—thus the acknowledged defenders of the principles of freedom throughout the world, found themselves humbled to the condition of becoming satellites of the cruelty of the King of Naples, and *gens-d'armes* of his tribunal of blood!"

And for this unparalleled enormity, the two prettexts were, that the Queen of Naples was our ally, and that they, with whom all faith was broken to please her, were *Jacobins*!

'To form,' says Mr Blaquiere, 'a clear and unbiassed judgment of that and succeeding transactions, by which the British character was so dreadfully tarnished, it is absolutely necessary that you should read Miss Williams's 'Letters,' published in 1801; and a recent pamphlet, entitled, 'Captain Foote's Vindication,' published in 1810. In the first of these productions, the fair author paints them in colours, not more glaring than they most certainly deserve. And as to Captain Foote, he not only establishes his own character, but confutes his calumniators, the catch-penny biographers of the hero of Trafalgar, in a manner the most ample and satisfactory.'

A few reflections on the kind of change which has been effected in Sicily may be permitted before we conclude.

First of all, it surely is sufficiently remarkable, that so unusual an operation as the subversion of an ancient government, in a considerable kingdom of Europe, and the erection of a new one, by the executive branch of the English government, should have taken place, without any official information having been rendered to the deliberative branches of the constitution. The usual plea of secrecy and delicacy—a plea so often made use of to cover the repression of information which ought to be rendered—cannot apply to transactions which, by their very nature, are public.

The historical circumstances by which the event was preceded, are shortly as follows. Toward the conclusion of the year 1811, discovery was made of a formidable conspiracy against the English, or, which comes to the same thing, in favour of France. Its ringleaders were tried by a military commission; but none of them were capitally condemned. The antipathy of the queen to the English; and her views in favour of France, which had been disguised by our government, but by several of our countrymen plainly stated, and averred in print, gave countenance and strength to those dangerous attempts. Her complete ascendancy over the imbecile mind of the king, and thence her command of the powers of the government, were secrets to no one. A number of the most popular barons who had been

carried from Sicily, and consigned to dungeons in the neighbouring islands, for opposition to the measures of the court the preceding year, were now recalled. The king, under the pretence of bad health, resigned the government to his son. The queen was ordered to reside at a distance from the seat of affairs. A meeting of the Parliament of Sicily was called; and they proceeded, under instructions from the sovereign, to form a sketch of a constitution, of which that of Great Britain was avowedly to be the model. That all these important transactions took place, under the authority, and by influence of the irresistible power, in Sicily, of the British government, no one has attempted to disguise. Lord Castlereagh is said to have alleged, that the resignation of the king was voluntary, and, by an admirable command of language, to have denominated it ‘a temporary substitution of the authority of one man to the authority of another—not an abdication.’ But we need not stop to point out the meaning of such terms. In the month of July 1812, a list of articles, containing the heads of the future constitution, was drawn up by the Parliament, and received, in part, the royal assent, at the hand of the hereditary prince, the new sovereign, under the title of the Vicar-General. The leading regulations, on which a few observations seem required, we shall shortly state.

At the head of all stands the following article. ‘The religion shall be the Catholic, Apostolical, Roman, alone, to the entire exclusion of every other.’ This is a comprehensive clause. It covers about as much power as any established monarchy could desire. It includes the prevention of all discussion upon religious subjects; and we can have no doubt that it extends to the persecution of every sect. The power of the clergy, thus guarded against all opposition either from the pulpit or the press, in their hands, and strengthened by the influence of their great wealth, it must be extremely difficult to match or to resist. It is asserted on all hands, that one third of the whole landed property of Sicily belongs to the Church. How steadily this weight will be thrown into the scale of the governing power, and how nugatory it must render all attempts to model the government on the plan of our own, is self-evident.

The Sicilian government is proposed to consist, as in England, of a King, in whom the executive power is to reside, and two Houses of Parliament, who, with him, are to exercise the legislative power. The Aristocratical house is to be composed of all those barons and ecclesiastics who had seats in the Baronial and Ecclesiastical Houses of Parliament under the ancient constitution. Of what, and how the Commons are to be

composed, is not yet determined. That, as if it were a secondary circumstance, is left to future regulation. As it is the cardinal point, on which the character of the whole fabric, and the good or evil effects which it is to produce, must depend, we cannot help forming strange conjectures of the intentions with which it is pushed aside, as a matter of subordinate account.

Under the ancient constitution, the Barons formed one house, the Ecclesiastics another, and the Commons a third. As their voices were equal, the Baronial house and the Ecclesiastical house, needed only to unite, which they uniformly did, to render the Commons a perfect nullity. The Barons and Ecclesiastics however, being hereafter to form only one house, will be deprived at least of this mode of paralyzing the Popular member of the constitution; and so far the chance of improvement is increased. What other means the Monarchical and Aristocratical members of the constitution will possess of influencing the Popular one, we can only judge when the terms and mode of its composition are known. It is not easy indeed to see, what materials remain in Sicily, of which it is possible that a House of Commons, efficient to any good purposes, can be formed. As there has never been industry, manufactures, or commerce in Sicily, there is in it no property, deserving that name, except property in land. But the Clergy possess one third of the land, the Barons another, and the Crown the last. The People, of whom the second house of parliament is to be composed, must be the people living in poverty and ignorance upon the lands of these three orders, and dependent upon them in ways that are innumerable. There are many persons among us, who, if they can only see a thing with the outward trappings of the British constitution, though deprived of all the circumstances to which solely the good part of its effects are owing, immediately conclude that all must go well;—persons who, provided they have the form, care but little (as indeed they understand but little) about the substance. If, in the incipient and imperfect state in which every thing remains in Sicily, we may venture to form any conjecture of what will be the ultimate effects, from the bearings and tendency of what is already done, we should say, that the power of the Monarchical branch of the government is about to be diminished, without any efficient addition being made to the power of the Democratical branch; and that hence the Aristocratical, consisting of the Baronial and Ecclesiastical orders, will be considerably increased. One of two consequences must ensue. If the aristocratical power is rendered an overmatch for the monarchical, the monarchical will just be reduced to a cypher, and afterwards extinguish-

ed. If the monarchical is still able to maintain its ground, the monarchical and aristocratical branches must form another practical compromise; and share between them, after a new fashion, but to the same purpose, as they did before, the benefits of misrule. We of course put out of view the adventitious circumstance of foreign interference, and are supposing the machine to work itself.

In the terms of this proposed draught of a constitution, we see that every thing is sacrificed to the nobles. In the pretended resignation of the feudal government of their estates, they have given up, with great patriotism, the part which was burthensome to themselves; that is to say, the obligation of military service, which, in their favour, had been commuted into a pecuniary contribution. All, however, that was burthensome to the people—the right of exemption from taxes—the right of preventing the free sale of the produce of the soil, for the sake either of selling their own commodities at a monopoly price, or of extorting money by the sale of the monopoly—they have found a contrivance to retain. They have refused to give up the whole set of *dritti angarici*. They have only offered to sell them; and at a price, in every sense of the word, beyond their value. They have offered to sell them at twenty years' purchase; which, we fancy, is more, a good deal, than land itself in Sicily (though a close monopoly) is worth. As the public is perfectly unable to make this purchase, and known to be unable, the offer which the nobles have made to part with their destructive rights, is equivalent to a declaration of their resolution to preserve them.

What progress has been made in carrying this plan of a constitution, such as it is, into effect; whether so much as an attempt toward that end has yet taken place; whether the only change yet effected is not the dethronement of the king, and the elevation of another; whether the people are not as wretched as ever, and as wretchedly used; whether as much disaffection does not exist, and as much hostility to the English:—on all these points we are left completely in the dark.

In the mean time, the public owes its hearty acknowledgements to those authors whose dispositions are so much in favour of instructing it. Among these, after Mr Leckie, from whom, long ago, we received most valuable information, Mr Blaquiere is by far the most instructive. He enters more into matters of detail, and has given a more minute, full, and entertaining picture of the country, than any of his competitors. He is not altogether insensible to the effects of misgovernment upon the mass of those who are governed. He has arraigned the miscarriages,

both of our own and of other rulers, with a freedom which, in his situation, as a junior officer in his Majesty's navy, was hazardous to a great degree. We are happy to understand, that his patriotism has not been injurious to him. He has received, we believe, a ship, since the publication of his book. We mention this to the honour of the persons on whom this promotion depended. Be they who they may, they have done a just and a liberal-minded act.

ART. VIII. *The two last Pleadings of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Caius Verres. Translated and illustrated with Notes.* By Charles Kelsall, Esq. Author of a letter from Athens. To which is added, a Postscript, containing Remarks on the State of Modern Sicily. 8vo. pp. 370. White, London, 1812.

A FREE translation of two chosen Orations, without any apparent object of illustration, and with no great felicity of execution, is evidently a proceeding which calls for the cognizance of the Courts Critical. Mr Kelsall does not profess to give his book as a help to learners of the Latin language. He has added so few notes to the text, that explanation is clearly not his purpose; he propounds no new readings, nor discusses those of other commentators. Excepting a page of advertisement, he gives nothing by way of remark upon the original, or the matters connected with the history of the cause; and the Postscript concerning Sicily is so avowedly unconnected with the body of the work, that he apologizes for introducing it. We are reduced therefore to the necessity of concluding that his view in this publication, is to clothe the two celebrated orations in an English dress, and exhibit a specimen either of Roman eloquence to those who are ignorant of Latin, or of English diction applied to the topics and sentences—in a word to the composition—of the Roman orator. An adventure more alarming to such as have well studied the original, and are masters of the comparative niceties of the two languages, cannot easily be conceived, unless perhaps the translation of Tacitus or the *Georgics*—which seems to be quite impossible. We suspect that Mr Kelsall's literary courage would be somewhat diminished by a more intimate acquaintance with the tongues which it is the nature of a design like his to bring into contrast and competition. A few words may be premised upon both parts of the design.

The object of enabling mere English readers to taste the beauties of ancient oratory, seems scarcely worth the pains which it

requires. For, in the first place, there are not many persons who care much for ancient oratory, to whom it is not accessible in the original languages,—a remark peculiarly applicable to the Latin : and then it is clear, that the success of this attempt must be necessarily very limited, since the most exquisite translation, one which should be both perfectly close and perfectly English, would after all be only English oratory, in the part of rhetoric which consists of diction strictly so called. But it is plain that in order to enter into the spirit of the original thus far—in order to relish all its beauties save those peculiar to the Latin—not merely a perfect translation would be required, but such a knowledge of customs, history, institutions—in short of every thing belonging to the Romans except their language—as can scarcely be expected to exist in any one ignorant of that language. Without such a knowledge, however, the best possible translation must be a motley work in most cases ; a production full of incongruity, and neither a Latin speech nor an English one.

The other object then seems to be the only one which deserves much attention ; and doubtless there is a good deal to interest us in the experiment upon the genius of the two languages. The point is to show how the ancient orator would have expressed himself had every thing been as it was in Rome, except the language,—and to see how near an English speech we can come, by skilful translation. As this must be a mere experiment on language, there can be no advantage in chusing subjects which tend to perplex it by presenting forms of expression peculiar to ancient times. Nor, indeed, where the plan is to obtain a piece which will read as nearly as possible like an English speech, ought we to take one, the topics of which must perpetually remind us that it is a translation. The manners of the nations of antiquity were so different from ours—their religious systems, more especially, present such a contrast—and their mythology exercised so constant an influence upon their feelings and habits of thinking, that scarcely any of their oratorical compositions can be found, which will not in some passages, translate it how we may, forcibly, and rather violently recall to us its ancient origin, not merely by references to peculiar customs, but by the tone of sentiment that pervades them. Actions are observed to rouse the old orator's feelings, and events to interest him, which to us appear nearly indifferent, or such at least as would not bear to be dwelt upon before a modern audience. Many things with the Greeks and Romans most venerable, have not merely lost their sanctity in our eyes, but present contemptible, and even ludicrous ideas to us : hence, any allusion to them, or any expression of the feelings connected with them, or even a reference to the habits of thinking

which those feelings have produced, must have an operation most unpropitious to the project which we are now contemplating. Yet something may be done by a sort of sympathy, where such passages are very splendid in execution, and do not occur at every step: we may work ourselves into a temporary state of feeling, similar to that of the orator and his audience; and, at all events, their infrequent recurrence may prevent any serious interruption of the design. But surely to select orations almost entirely composed of them,—founded altogether on the peculiarities of the classical manners,—perpetually addressed to feelings, which no modern can, without an effort of recollection, a commentary, a history, and a pause, enter into, and which he must be a scholar to understand at all,—is to adopt the precaution best adapted to secure the failure of the experiment. It is equally obvious, that to take for translation a speech more interesting for the substance than the composition,—valuable rather on account of the facts detailed in it, and the light which it throws upon ancient times, than for its rhetorical excellence,—is sacrificing the object which we are supposing to be in view, and recurring, to the other, first mentioned, in its most questionable shape; there being little chance of finding persons ignorant of the original language, especially if it be Latin, yet so much interested in the concerns of those who spoke it, as to search after them among the remains of their oratory, instead of consulting histories and didactic treatises.

These remarks apply, we much fear, with no ordinary force, to the work before us; the production certainly of a sensible and accomplished man, and one whose opportunities appear to have been enviable of observing the remains of ancient arts; a man, too, whose turn of mind, and cast of sentiment, we have every inclination to approve, from all the specimens of them that appear in his writings. Our first objection to his book is, that he has chosen the wrong orations.

It cannot be doubted, that, in the conduct of the great cause against Verres, Cicero displayed the whole resources of his vast genius. He was in the prime of life; he had the novelty to stimulate him of appearing for the first time as an accuser; he had, by a previous successful conflict, obtained the uncontrolled management of the impeachment; it was a child of his own care from the beginning. In collecting the materials, he had, as nearly as possible, been an eyewitness of the facts; he had arranged the cause with a view to his own exertions; he had an audience of all that was noble, enlightened, virtuous, or refined, from every part of Italy; he addressed a tribunal at once popular and

select; his clients were the oppressed people of a mighty province, in importance rivalling the imperial state; but, above all, he had such a subject, so copious, so various, so abounding with the very topics which an orator would fancy to give his talents their full scope, that it was scarcely a merit to handle it with eloquence. Such a wonderful combination of circumstances never yet prepared the field for the triumphs of the art;—so grand an occasion for the display of forensic power, will, in all likelihood, never again exist. It is enough to say, that the orator surpassed by his execution, the singular excellence of his materials; and, instead of being overwhelmed by their magnitude, only drew from thence the means of another perfection, in the skill and discretion of his selection. So at least all appears upon paper. But it abates somewhat of the interest which we feel in this renowned cause, to reflect that, with a trifling exception, it exists on paper merely; and that none of the orations against Verres were delivered but the first, which is only a short and general introduction to the subject.* Among the rest, the two which Mr Kelsall has translated, were written only and published after Verres had brought the whole affair to a close, as far as judicial proceedings were concerned, by going into voluntary exile. Here, then, is our first objection to Mr Kelsall's choice. It appears that the ancients so highly venerated the oratorical art, and were so much in the habit of regarding it as an art, and its productions as works extremely artificial, that they saw nothing absurd in what has among us become almost proverbially ridiculous, 'a speech intended to have been spoken.' They had not, moreover, the other facilities of publication which the press gives us; and, referring every thing to their ordinary mode of communication, in popular meetings, they wrote and published speeches pretty much as our modern orators sometimes speak pamphlets; and would probably have held a speech made for the sake of being published, in as great ridicule as we do one that is published without having been delivered. Even the grand Philippic itself, the '*conspiciæ divina Philippica fumæ*,'† was in this predicament; and there seems some reason to doubt whether the finest of all his orations, the *pro Milone*, could have been delivered more than in form, under the circumstances of tumult and disorder which

* The *Divinatio*, of course, we pass over, as not belonging properly to the case.

† *Kolueris a prima quæ proxima*—a form of expression which we do not criticize, because accustomed to it as Juvenal's; yet no modern poet durst use so lame and prosaic a mode of reckoning, to fill up his metre.

marked the day. Now, to pass over other considerations with the knowledge of these particulars, nothing can be more grating to a modern reader, whose idea of eloquence is that of something natural, heartfelt, inartificial, and extemporaneous, than the manifest conviction of using artifice and preparation, which the orator incurs as often as we come to a passage only adapted to a speech, and still more in those instances where he had anticipated something which was to happen while he went on, and provided himself with an *extemporaneous* burst for the occasion. There are few passages of any merit or distinction, which do not fall within the first part of the observation; but we confine ourselves to the more glaring absurdity, as it strikes modern readers, of those passages that belong to the latter description. ‘*Superiore omni oratione*’ (says Cicero, in the *Oratio Frumentaria*, alluding to one which was no more delivered than that one its self) ‘*perattentos vestros animos habuimus: id fuit nobis gratum admodum.*’ † The judges appear to have continued equally attentive to the end; for, in the *De Supplicio*, we find him acknowledging again — ‘*Quæso, ut fecistis adhuc, diligenter attendite.*’ ‡

So in the Second Philippic. which was written with the intention of not being published for some time, and certainly never meant to be spoken at all, sitting at his Formian Villa, he complains of Antony for filling the place in which he is speaking with armed men, and alludes to the senate being held in the temple of Concord, § which draws from him a passionate exclamation; and he afterwards gives a lively picture of the effects of his statement upon Antony, present and suffering under it. He is first terrified when a particular topic is mentioned. ‘*Non dissimulat, Patres Conscripti; apparet esse commotum—sudet—pallet. quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minutiæ fecit.*’ || Then, after going through the topic, he mentions the effects which it had produced. ‘*Num expectas dum te stimulis fodiam? Hæc te, si ullam partem habes sensûs lacerat, hæc cruentat oratio.*’ The Romans regarding an oration as we do a dramatic performance, in the light of a composition professedly prepared most elaborately, were probably no more offended with such marks of art, than we are in reading the dialogue and stage-directions of a play. But any thing that impresses upon *our* minds the idea of ‘*getting up*’ any thing *theatrical*, is so far from being tolerated in a speech, that we are

1 2

† Act. II. lib. 3. c. 5.

§ Phil. II. c. 8.

‡ Act. II. lib. 5. c. 17.

|| Phil. II. c. 34.

thus wont to characterize it by names drawn from the stage, and never fail to feel disgusted with its introduction into the business of real life.

It appears somewhat doubtful to us whether Mr Kelsall had obtained a very accurate knowledge of the history of the cause against Verres, when he began his Translations! Certainly some things occur in the first of the two, which look as if he thought they had been actually delivered. Towards the beginning of the *De Signis*, speaking of two statues, Cicero says they were called Canephoræ; and proceeds as if he had forgotten the artist's name, and was reminded of it; 'sed earum artificem, quem? quemnam? recte admones, Polycletum esse dicebant.'* In the note to this passage (p. 116), our author observes, 'Here, probably, some one reminded Cicero of the name of the sculptor;' whereas, it is only one of the artifices to which we have been alluding, and of which the same oration affords a similar example, in the passage where he affects to be reminded, by a ring of Piso's, of something which he had almost forgotten.† The translator, however, has in another place committed a similar mistake in a more serious manner. It is where Cicero, arguing upon evidence, contends vehemently, and in abrupt sentences, that he has the most irrefragable proofs of Verres having carried the statue of Mercury away, and insists that it is vain for him to deny it. 'Publicæ litteræ sunt,' he says, 'deportatum esse Mercurium Messanam sumptû publico. Dicunt quanti; præfuisse huic negotio publice legatum Poleam. Quid? is ubi est? præsto est: testis est. Proagori Sopatri jussû. Quis est hic? qui ad statuum adstrictus est. Quid? is ubi est? testis est. Vidistis hominem et verba ejus audistis.'‡ Our author supposes Poleas and Sopater to be actually called as witnesses, and examined during this part of the speech. He translates it thus. 'There are written documents, and I do proclaim, that the Mercury was transported to Messina. They ask for how much? I say that Poleas was commissioned to do it. Where is Poleas? Here he is, listen to his testimony.' (*Here Poleas is brought to the bar, and says, 'It was removed by order of Sopater the Mayor.'*) 'Where is he who was strapped to the statue? Call him in. Listen to his deposition.' (*Here Sopater probably gave his deposition; and having done so, left the Court.*) 'You have seen

* Act. II. lib. 4. c. 3.

† Act. II. lib. 4. c. 26. Quintilian mentions both these passages as examples of the same figure. IX. 2.

‡ Ib. c. 42.

the man, and heard his testimony.' (p. 68.) Now the whole of this is mere imagination, founded in mistakes of the sense, and humoured by twisting and adding to the text. The orator clearly asks all these questions, and answers them himself. He had been immediately before giving the history of Sopater's ill treatment; and, coming to grapple with the argument upon the proof that Verres had carried away the statue, he shows it to be complete in all its parts. The passage should run as follows; for there are almost as many faults as words in Mr Kelsall's version.

'The despatches state that the Mercury was conveyed to Messana at the public expense; they tell us the amount; they inform us that Poleas was publicly deputed to superintend this business. What Poleas? and where is he? He is here, he is a witness. But Sopater the magistrate gave the orders? Who is *he*? Why the very man who was bound to the statue! Where is he? He too is a witness; and you have yourselves seen him and heard his evidence!'—It argues no common inattention in our author to have fallen into this blunder; for in the part immediately preceding, Cicero refers several times to Sopater as having already given his evidence, (see c. 39. & 40.); and professes to give his account of the treatment of Sopater from the evidence. We will venture to say, that in the whole of the unspoken speeches against Verres, there is no such fiction as Mr Kelsall's translation here imputes to Cicero, that of suffering a witness to be called, and to give a particular deposition. In fact, the only evidence introduced in the course of these orations, consists of documentary evidence, read by the officer of the court; either despatches, or accounts, or depositions taken in Sicily, or those taken in the first action—a reference to which last he evidently makes in the passage above. We are pretty sure, indeed, that no one can read those orations, without being convinced that Cicero purposely relied on the evidence already adduced; for though he several times affirms, that he has witnesses to carry his case further, he holds this to be quite superfluous, after the body of proof already adduced. This is clearly the course which his excellent judgment would have pointed out, even if the orations had been delivered: but how much more expedient was it to rely on that evidence alone, when he was only writing against Verres speeches never to be spoken, and without the means of going beyond the testimony already adduced? In another passage, (note 36. p. 132.), our author appears still to treat these orations as having been delivered: but at the end of the notes to the *De Suppliciis*, that is, in the last two pages of the work, he

states the fact as it really was. One is almost tempted to suspect that this important circumstance had till then escaped him.

Another objection to the choice of these orations, is their length. The experiment would have been much more conveniently tried upon a smaller scale. They are in fact the two longest of all Cicero's orations. In the space occupied by one of them, he might have included four or five of the most finished orations; those too which are less incumbered with details, and the beauties of which consist more especially in the composition.

But the radical objection to the choice of these specimens is derived from the nature of their subjects. That both of them are monuments of the transcendent genius of the master, and that their workmanship is exquisitely perfect even in the parts least attractive to ordinary modern readers, we readily admit. But with a reference to the design of making that which shall as nearly as possible resemble an English speech, both subjects are faulty. The Romans regarded the statues and pictures of their gods, the chief object of Verres's pillage, with religious veneration; and accordingly that pillage was viewed also as sacrilege. The vehemence of the orator, therefore, in exposing it, and the importance attached by him to every minute particular respecting the fate of each work, cannot fail to appear excessive in our eyes. Nothing can more clearly show the difference of the feelings with which the original and the translation must be read by those to whom they are respectively addressed, than the peroration of the whole cause. It consists of apostrophes or prayers to all the deities, to direct the judges in their determination: but the topics by which he implores them, are almost entirely drawn from the injuries offered to their statues and temples by Verres. His most enormous crimes—crimes that in all ages, and in every form into which society can be moulded, must excite equal horror, scarcely afford the matter of a single adjuration. If they are alluded to, it is in passing on to the matter more personally interesting to the gods and goddesses, and therefore more awful to the feelings of the audience. So it is in various other parts of these orations; where, after working our feelings up to the highest pitch, by the finest painting of vicious excesses and their miserable effects, the whole is wound up with what to us seems a pure anticlimax, a disrespect to some 'Nymph of the Grot.'

The '*De Suppliciis*,' which comprehends in fact the naval and military administration of Verres, as well as his cruelties, affords certainly a wider field, and presents us with new topics of perma-

nent and universal interest. Yet there are few passages of it that do not in some particulars address themselves to feelings, in which a modern reader can partake very little. The severity of Roman manners in some points, how lax soever in others, stamped a peculiar odium upon certain acts, to us merely indifferent. Other things, which we either consider as innocent, or at most regard as excusable levities, were proscribed as contrary to that capricious, but stern decorum, the violations of which shocked their feelings more than the greatest enormities. Hence such deviations are reprehended by the Orator with a gravity which to us seems ludicrous; and even if we can get over that sensation, they are placed in such a manner upon the scale of delinquencies, as to jar with our most rooted feelings. When he is making the father of Verres sum up his iniquities at the close of one noted division of the oration, the first acts enumerated are those of culpable negligence—the next of official corruption; then follows the connivance at and protection of piracy; then the judicial murder of citizens in furtherance of his collusion with the pirates:—and after these enormities follow those of inviting matrons to a banquet, and appearing in public with a long purple robe. This last crime is frequently insisted upon, and the denunciation of it composes the chief part of that famous passage, so much praised by Quintilian for its picturesque effect, in one place, and for its uncommon dignity in another. ‘*Stetit soleatus prætor populi Romani, cum pallio purpureo, tunicâque talari, mulierculâ nixus in litore.*’* No translation can be given of this, which shall have any pretensions to the climax, as well as dignity of the original; though certainly Mr Kelsall does not lessen the difficulty by disjointing it, and throwing in his favourite ‘*My Lords,*’ there being by the way no ‘*judices*’ in the original. The harshness of the Roman feelings on many subjects presents still more grating passages. There is no more vehement declamation in the whole speech, than that against his sparing a pirate’s life; and this not because the motive of the clemency was corrupt, but because it was intolerable that an enemy of the Roman name should be suffered to live longer than was absolutely necessary. His chief topic is, that even the general who obtains a triumph, only keeps the hostile captains, ‘*ut, his per triumphum ductis, pulcherrimum spectaculum, fructumque victoriæ populus Romanus percipere possit;*’—and then, the instant the car sets out from the forum, they are flung into prison, and put to death;—the which seems to give the orator a wonderful

* Act. II. lib. 5. c. 33.

satisfaction: † Yet we presume no one but an Indian orator would now venture on such a topic. But this adoration of the majesty of the Roman people, is the diversity which most frequently and most violently offends the modern reader; indeed it runs through almost every part of the oration. Thus, after describing the corrupt intrigue, by which Cleomenes was entrusted with the fleet, (for the same reason that Uriah was placed in the front of the battle), he breaks out into an ungovernable transport, and all because this Cleomenes was a *Syracusan*. He asks where he is to begin upon such a shocking subject; and after the most passionate strain of interrogation, and apostrophizing Verres, he exclaims, ‘O dii immortales! Quid? si harum ipsarum civitatum navibus,’ &c.—‘Syracusanus Cleomenes jussus est inperare? Non omnis honos, ab isto dignitatis, æquitatis, officique sublatus est?’—and therewithal continues the topic in new details. The oration is indeed planned with a direct reference to this national feeling; which, far from exciting our sympathy, is to the modern reader almost as intolerable as it must have been to the unhappy sufferers under it. Having gone through Verres’s maladministration in all its branches—his peculation, extortion, and cruelties; having described scenes of cold-blooded murder, to which we verily believe Rome alone could ever furnish a parallel; after leading us through scenes, in which, among other sights, we behold wretched parents dragged to the place where their children are tortured, that they may be compelled, by their intreaties, to purchase with their wealth the relief, that is, the death of the sufferers, he comes to something far surpassing all this, and which therefore he reserves for the last place, and makes a distinct head of. What went before, he says, he had received in trust from the Sicilians; but he now comes to those topics ‘quæ non recepta, sed innata, neque delata ad me, sed in animo sensûque nato penitus affixa atque insita.’—Such, it seems, was the Prætor’s ‘furor, sceleris et audaciæ comes’—such the ‘amentia quæ istius effrenatum animum importunamque naturam oppressit’—that he ordered Roman citizens to be flogged; nay some were put to death in prison by his sentence of condemnation. Nor does the Orator inquire with what justice; that seems to make no part of the aggravation; it is, that Verres would not listen to the famous plea of ‘*Civis Romanus sum*,’ which proved an effectual security all over the world. But is there any worse act of phrenzy to be conceived? It seems Verres has even sur-

passed this, by a deed reserved for the close of the speech immediately before the peroration; but of such a nature, that when first related to Cicero, he thought he should not dare to make use of it; and now that he has made up his mind to relate it, he knows not 'quâ vi vocis, quâ gravitate verborum, quo dolore animi' he shall tell it. Therefore, as no words can exaggerate it, he thinks best to state it simply, and let it speak to their hearts. It seems Verres had first flogged, and then crucified a Roman citizen. The consummate Orator indeed breaks his word, as to telling the story simply—for he involves it in such a burst of eloquence, as we shall in vain seek to parallel, except in his own works. In the whole, not merely of these orations, but of antiquity, is there no piece which exceeds this in dignity, and at the same time in the rapid and fervent torrent of the composition. It is a storehouse from whence the finest examples of almost every kind of figure have been drawn; and yet more wonderful than the boldness and propriety of those figures, is the beautiful and judicious disposition of them. Nor is there a doubt that the admirable discretion of the passage crowns the whole, and exemplifies the Orator's own rule, the golden canon of the art, that whatever does not promote the main object of the orator is to be rejected as a deformity, how fair soever it be to the eye; for, having called to our recollection what were the feelings of the Romans on such subjects, we cannot question the prodigious effect which such a passage must have had upon them if delivered. Yet with all these temptations to the task, we have no hesitation in pronouncing the translation of this great specimen impossible, were it for no other reason but because an English reader has not the feelings and associations to which almost every word of it appeals. The leading idea of the cross and crucifixion, and consequently the words that convey it, are consecrated by religious associations: The inviolable nature of a Roman citizen, his inexpressible dignity in the eyes of barbarians, can only, in modern times, be felt by white colonists in the West Indies. Whatever feelings we may have of this topic are merely reflex, the result of thinking and effort and recollection.

We have been seduced into so long a disquisition on these points, that we must hurry over the other general remarks which present themselves, and only observe, that the vehemence which distinguishes the finer parts of these orations, is another reason against having selected them. Ancient eloquence, in general, deals much more in exclamation than our southern and northern temperaments can bear. We somewhat resemble those Romans

who piqued themselves on a close imitation of the chaste Attic style, and carried it so far as to become cold rather than chaste, and thus to lose all resemblance with their models.* The best kind of oration, then, to translate, would be one of less vehemence and abrupt passion than those against Verres, which have the fervour of Roman declamation in peculiar excess.

We now come to the more important question, in what manner our author has attempted a task thus infinitely difficult;—what approaches he has made towards a success clearly unattainable. In order to execute well a translation undertaken with the views in question, a person must not only know Latin thoroughly, but English; and, moreover, he must be himself an orator. This is quite essential; as much so, as it is for a translator of Latin poetry to be a poet. We much fear it will be found that Mr Kelsall has mistaken his forte, as well as his book; and appears in the light of one who, unable to write verses, should translate a part of Virgil, and chuse for his part the second *Georgic*. We should conclude, from any one page of his book, that he never had turned his attention to the art of oratory. To say that he has utterly failed in rendering the *De Suppliciiis*, then, is only like telling one who handles a violin for the first time, that he does not make it ‘discourse music.’ We mean no further disrespect to Mr Kelsall, than this. His work is not a volume of English eloquence; and if he writ it with any other design, our criticism does not touch him. To give instances of this cardinal defect, would be endless. We shall select one or two of the most noted passages, and see how he has treated them; observing, that he has the peculiar bad fortune to be guilty of mistranslations in some of the most critical parts, and sometimes to commit at the same moment another mistake, still more common in these pages, the introduction of a ludicrous or undignified English expression.

The first shall be that celebrated climax and personification—

‘*Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum: Scelus verberari; prope parricidium, necari; quid dicam in crucem tolli? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest. Non fuit his omnibus iste contentus. Spectet, inquit, patriam; in conspectu legum libertatisque moriatur. Non tu hoc loco Gavius, non unum hominem, nescio quem, civem Romanum, sed communem libertatis et civitatis causam in illum cruciatum et crucem egisti.*’

Our author thus renders it—

* Cicero, in his *Brutus*, rallies them pleasantly, by saying, let them be as Attic as they please, I expect to empty the benches as soon as they begin.

'It is contrary to law that a Roman citizen be bound; it is a crime to submit him to stripes; it is almost parricide to put him to death: What can I say if he be crucified? So nefarious a deed cannot be expressed in adequate language. But he was not content with the infliction of all these *punishments*; "Let him die," he cries, "as he beholds his native shores; let him die in the presence of *his own laws*,—of liberty." It was not here that you crucified Gavius, nor any Roman citizen; you nailed to the cross the common cause of Liberty and of the Republic.'

Now, here is both omission and redundancy. The words in italics in the Latin are left out in the translation; while, for the words similarly printed in the latter, there is no authority in the former. The meaning is misconceived in other parts. *Civitatis* is evidently here the right of citizenship in the abstract; *legum, libertatisque*, are not *his own*: And '*It was not here*,' &c. is equally wrong; the original is, '*It was not Gavius*,' &c. But though this is by no means one of Mr K's worst passages, our objection to it is general. Perhaps the following comes somewhat nearer a mark, necessarily removed to an unapproachable distance.

'It is criminal to bind a Roman citizen—it is a wickedness to scourge him—to put him to death is all but parricide—What shall we say if he be crucified? Language has no name for so flagrant an enormity. Yet did not all this satisfy that man. "Let him be placed in view of his country, he cries; let his dying looks be turned towards liberty and the laws!" It was not Gavius; it was not an obscure individual; it was not a single Roman citizen; but the common cause of freedom, and of all the citizens of Rome, that you there crucified and tortured.'

The next shall be a passage of singularly beautiful diction in the original.

'Homines tenues, obscuro loco nati, navigant: adeunt ad ea loca quæ nunquam antea viderunt; ubi neque noti esse iis quo venerunt, neque semper cum cognitoribus esse possunt. Hac unâ tamen fiducia civitatis non modo apud nostros magistratus qui et legum et estimationis periculo continentur, neque apud cives solum Romanos qui et sermonis, et juris, et multarum rerum societate juncti sunt, fore se tutos arbitrantur; sed quosunque venerint, hanc sibi rem præsidio sperant futuram.'

Our author translates it thus—

'Men of small property, born in an obscure place, traverse the seas, and touch at places which they never before saw, who are neither able to make it known whence they came, nor can they be always recognized: they are nevertheless thinking themselves secure by confiding in the protection of the name of Rome;—not merely from our magistrates, who are obligated by law and other risks of

losing reputation—not merely from Roman citizens who are connected with them by language, laws, commerce;—but wherever they go, they believe that this name alone will afford them protection.

First, as to the Latin: *Obscuro loco nati* is not ‘born in an obscure place,’ but men in an humble condition. *Quo* is *whither*, not *whence*. *Cognitores* means *vouchers*, or sureties, not persons who recognize.

The following is our author’s translation of the fine passage where he closes the account of the murders committed in the hope of suppressing evidence.

‘Who was so callous, so inexorable, but you alone; as not to be affected at their misery, age and condition? Was there any one who could refrain from tears? Who did not think that the calamity came home to them, and that the fortune of all was endangered? They are decapitated. You exult and triumph in their groans; you rejoice that the witnessess of your avarice are out of the way. You was mistaken, Verres, you was vehemently mistaken, if you imagined that the spots of your depredations and iniquities could be washed out by the blood of our innocent friends. You was hurried headlong by phrensy, in thinking that the wounds occasioned by your avarice could be healed by your cruel proscriptions.’

The spirit of the original is here flattened in every line; thus ‘*avaritiæ vulnera crudelitatis remediis sanare*’ is an epigram wholly lost by the translator. ‘*Omnium gemitû*’ certainly refers to the bystanders, not the victims. *Decapitate* is a very bad phrase. *Diaus* and *firreus* are ill rendered by *callous*; and *inhumanus* by *inexorable*. *Illo tempore* is omitted. The passage may be better given thus.

‘Who was there at that moment, of so hard, so iron a nature—what creature except yourself alone so inhuman, as not to be touched with the venerable age, the illustrious rank, the cruel sufferings, of those wretched men? Who could refrain from weeping, or fail to see in their fate a kindred destiny and a common danger? They are beheaded. You exult, you triumph in the midst of the groans which everywhere arise; you rejoice in having got rid of the witnessess to your extortions. You deceived yourself, Verres, you egregiously deceived yourself, if you hoped to wash out the stains of your rapine and profligacy with the blood of our unoffending allies! Headlong in frenzy must you have been borne, to fancy that cruelty could heal over the wounds which avarice had inflicted!’

The last instance shall be from that beautiful passage where he describes the steep and difficult path by which he is forced to rise in the state, and contrasts it with the hereditary eminence of his supposed audience; complaining too, of the cold and unkind treatment which men of his rank were accustomed

to experience from the aristocracy. It is difficult to read this passage without being reminded of Mr Burke's celebrated letter, in which he says, 'I was not swaddled and rocked and dandled into a legislator: *Nitor in adversum*, is the motto for a man like me.' * The whole is worthy of being compared with the original Latin. Mr K.'s translation is not like either.

'Some one, perchance, will ask, will you then undergo this labour, will you brave the enmities of so many individuals? Certainly I do not court their hatred. *But I am not to act as those noblemen who receive with indifference the benefits heaped upon them by the Roman people. I must run a very different course in this commonwealth.*

'We have lately witnessed L. Fimbria, C. Marius, and C. Coelius, contending, with no moderate share of exertion and enmity, to arrive at those honours which you have attained by trivial occupations and neglect. This is the path I intend to tread; these are the examples I purpose to follow. We see how much the virtue and industry of heads of families is obnoxious to the envy and hatred of certain nobles. If we cast our eyes ever so little askance, snares are immediately at hand: If we disclose any grounds for the suspicion of guilt, wounds must be received. We see we must be ever on our guard, ever on the alert. Are these then enmities? let them be braved. Are these then labours? let them be undergone. Indeed, occult and secret hatreds are more to be dreaded than declared and manifest. Scarcely do any nobles look upon our exertions with a favourable eye. It is impossible, with all our endeavours, to attract their good will. As if disjoined by nature and species, so are they abhorrent of us in will and disposition.'

The whole meaning of the original is here lost. The lines in Italics are a perversion of the sense. The Latin is '*Non idem mihi licet quod iis qui nobili genere nati sunt, quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur: longe alia mihi lege in hac civitate et conditione vivendum est.*' To call *novi homines*, heads of families, is absurd; he must mean founders of families. '*Suspicioni aut crimini*' is suspicion or charge, not 'suspicion of guilt.'

Although we certainly do not accuse the author of ignorance of Latin, yet his carelessness does most frequently subject him to suspicious of this sort. Thus, in p. 248. he renders '*commemoratio mei nominis*' '*the remembrance of my name*,' in the supposed address of Verres's father; whereas it is plainly the '*mention*' of it by the unhappy wretches whom he was tortur-

* Works, 8vo Edit. Vol. VIII. 28. See, too, a striking remark in one of the volumes just published, respecting the constant suspicions of having some interest in view, to which his zeal exposed him.—IX. 155.

ing. In p. 214. '*vir accumberet nemo præter ipsum et prætextatum filium*' is rendered, apparently in order to introduce a *bull*, as well as a false translation; 'no man but himself and his son, a mere youth, had access to him,' instead of 'no man sat down to table.' In p. 210. '*pœne damnatus*' is turned into 'even in the jaws of damnation,' by a still more absurd blunder; and in p. 226. '*importuni tyranni*' is rendered by 'an importunate tyrant; instead of '*restless*.' He is not by any means careful in the readings of the original which he adopts, and frequently throws away the most accredited emendations of the Ernesti edition, which he yet seems generally to use. In p. 215. he retains the enumeration of *mules*, *tents*, and *corn*, among the classes of PERSONS, as quæstors, lieutenants, &c. whom the orator is proposing as fitter than Cleomenes to command a fleet. *Vid. Ed. Ern. ad Act. II. lib. 5. c. 32.* And in p. 234, he keeps the unmeaning words rejected by the same excellent commentator, '*et recte nihil videtur*,' that he may translate them 'in troth they cannot.' *Vid. Ern. ib. c. 34.*

After all, however, it is with his English that we find most fault. Perhaps the very title-page, and certainly the dedication, give but a slender hope of seeing justice done to Cicero. Why should our English ideas be confounded with the name of *pleadings*, when *orations* was at hand—and, as if to make it worse, printed in black letter? The dedication, of nine lines, to Sir S. Romilly, contains two, if not three errors in language. He addresses that eminent person as the enemy of '*Verrine proceedings*,' and of all sinister practices, whether '*behind the shop-board* or the Exchequer'—probably meaning the *counter*; shop-board is the seat appropriated to tailors. But these are trifles. Of the language of the translation itself we have given specimens, and those among the best in the book. Every delicate passage is sure to be interrupted with something that grates and jars. Are the names of liberty, &c. to be addressed—? it is '*O the dear name of liberty!* *O the excellent laws of our republic!* *O the Porcian*, &c. *O the power of the Tribunes*,' (p. 263.); much as Hostess Quickley says, '*O the father!*'—If an exclamation is made on the torments of the prisoners, it is '*O their unhappy destiny!* *O their insupportable agonies!*' p. 236. Then, in the 2d page, Verres is already '*that fellow*,'—'*Sed mehercule, judices*' is '*But, in troth, my lords*,' p. 271.—and '*delecto consilio*' is '*this honourable court*,' *ibid.* Modern phrases are most injudiciously used. Thus, *verdict* *passim*; and, four times in one page, p. 175, *lectica* is always a *lettiga*; and we have *speronaras* *passim*; *feluccas*, p. 208; *cash*, p. 201; *ridicule*, p. 180; (*reticulum*) *bondon*, p. 187. These things are not

trifling in a work of mere composition. We repeat once more, that if Mr Kelsall had any other plan in view, our remarks are at an end.

After contemplating the rich remains of ancient eloquence, through which this work has carried us, we are not unnaturally led from reflecting on the kind of feelings which it addressed, and the effects it produced, to consider its mere external qualities or accompaniments. We do not mean to enter upon the *verata questio* of the tones and delivery,—whether the orators were not, in the finer passages at least, in the habit of using somewhat of *recitativo* intonation. Certain it is, that some of the musical effects ascribed to the rhythm of those passages seem scarcely intelligible, if we imagine the same manner of speaking to have been used then as among us, and that a pitch-pipe was sometimes used as an accompaniment in their assemblies, (which, however, A. Gellius treats as a vulgar error *); while, on the other hand, we know that their delivery could not have been much slower than ours, by the time said to have been consumed by several of the orations still preserved. But we will say a word or two upon the mode of pronunciation; and without meaning at all to infer from thence that any change would now be advisable, we cannot help thinking it quite clear, that the foreign, and to a certain degree the Scottish—perhaps most of all the modern Italian manner of pronouncing—approaches much nearer the Roman, than that which is peculiar to England.

For this position, various general reasons may be given. The very circumstance of the English mode being peculiar, is a strong one. It is improbable that all other traditions should be wrong, and this right. The place, moreover, where we might most reasonably expect a correct tradition, is Italy. Again, in the chief peculiarity of the English method, the sound of the letter *I*, a third reason occurs: the English make it a diphthong. Now, that any one vowel should be either long or short, is intelligible; but that a diphthong should be sometimes short, appears quite anomalous.—But there seems to be more precise and conclusive proof still, in the writings of the ancient critics.

If we examine the directions given by Quintilian respecting the *hiatus*, and the remarks on the force of the vowels, on which his rules are founded, we shall find that they accord more nearly with the Italian than any other mode of pronouncing them,

* Noct. Att. I. c. 11. Cicero's own account¹ of the matter applies also rather to the notion of a pitch-pipe, *De Orat.* III. c. 60. Indeed, the idea derided by A. Gellius was not strictly what we call an accompaniment, but rather a continued modulation.

and are most of all inconsistent with the English. * Thus, '*E plenior littera est, I angustior*;' but he adds what is decisive, that those two vowels coming together at the end and beginning of two consecutive words, make no great hiatus from the nature of their sounds; that they easily run into each other—a remark wholly inapplicable to the sound of *E, I*, in English, when they thus follow, as *omne idem*. Thus, too, the use of the *ecthlipsis* by Cato, who used 'to soften *m* into *e* in *diem hanc*:'—If the *e* were sounded as in English, there would be the most complete hiatus here; it would scarcely be possible to sound the two words without the *m*; and still more, if both the *i* and *e* were so pronounced: but pronounce the *i* and *e* as in Italian, or the former as the English do *e* in *ego*, and the latter as they do *a* in *amo*, || and the *ecthlipsis* melts the vowels into each other completely. So Quintilian tells us, that the final *m* is scarcely sounded in '*multum ille*' and '*quantum erat*;' being used only as the mark of a pause between the two vowels '*ne coeant*.' Were those vowels, or were the *u* only, sounded as in England, there would be no fear of them running into each other, nor would there be a possibility of pronouncing the *u*, and dwelling upon it, without the *m*—so where the *m* is cut out after *u*, and before a consonant, as *serenum fuit*. The soft sound of *s*, as in *ars*, and its differing from the sound of the same letter at the beginning of a word, is equally inconsistent with what Quintilian says of the *rixatio* of similar consonants. *x* following *s* he says is bad—but '*tristior etiam (rixatio) si binæ collidantur stridor est, ut ars studiorum*.' Similar inferences may be drawn from other sources, particularly several parts of the *Orator*, as c. 48; with respect to the guttural in *ch*. † See, too, A. Gellius, VII. c. 20.; XIX. c. 14. §

With respect to the letter *I*, we ought to mention that some authors have held that it had one sound among the ancients similar to its English pronunciation; and J. Lipsius † says, that

* Lib. ix. c. 4.

|| We mean the Eton, not the Winchester mode.

‡ It is not quite clear whether it is the guttural, or only the aspirate, that is ridiculed in the well known epigram of Catullus,—'*Chommoda dicebat*,' &c. but probably the aspirate; a charge frequently made against the modern Tuscans.

§ The latter passage, and others which might be cited, show that the pronunciation was different, in some letters, from all modern usage.

† *De Recta Pronunciatione Latine Linguae*, cap. viii.

he understands this sound only to be preserved in Britain. The ground of the opinion is, that a long *I* is sometimes found in ancient monuments written for *E I*; and that in old books *ei* is used where later ones have *i*. But the examples which he gives, and especially the first from Cicero, are equally applicable to the two modes of pronouncing both the letters.—We must, however, repeat, that we draw no inference, practically, against the English method, nor in favour of a narrow-minded adherence in this country to the old Scottish one; on the contrary, the assimilation of our mode of pronouncing is highly expedient, indeed necessary, as a matter of convenience; and we believe there are few persons of the present day so bigotted in their admiration of antiquity, as to feel with Milton, that ‘*to read Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French.*’

ART. IX. *Travels through Norway and Lapland during the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808.* By Leopold Von Buch, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Translated from the original German by John Black: With Notes and Illustrations, chiefly Mineralogical, and some Account of the Author, by Robert Jameson, F. R. S. E. F. L. S. &c. Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh. *Illustrated with Maps and physical Sections.* pp. 484. 4to. London, 1813.

VON BUCH, like the celebrated Humboldt, is a Prussian, and one of the most zealous and active disciples of the Wernerian school. Prompted by that enthusiasm which seems almost inseparable from the German character, he has at different times visited, with a discriminating eye, a considerable part of the Continent of Europe, and has thereby not only contributed to extend and improve the system of his revered master, but has thrown much important light on the mineralogical structure of those countries. In Silesia he found large beds of coal in a district of red sandstone, contrary to the opinion universally entertained by our practical miners. He discovered that Rome was built on strata which could have no volcanic origin; and that the supposed craters in its vicinity were nothing else than the cavities of old quarries. He has examined likewise, and accurately described, the composition of Monte Albano, and of the famous Mount Vesuvius. The survey of Auvergne, in the south of France, exercised his penetration. He there ascertained the undoubted vestiges of many extinct volcanoes: but

though the lavas with which that singular country abounds are closely related to the true basalt, he yet hesitates to decide their origin, and thinks that they might have been formed either by the action of fire, or the operation of water.

The latest and the most generally interesting of Von Buch's productions, is the work now before us. His travels through Norway and Lapland contain much curious and instructive information respecting the natural features and constitution of the Arctic regions. The author ascertains minutely the geological structure of those savage countries—examines the mean temperature and the peculiar character of their climate—determines, by barometrical measurement, the altitudes of the principal chains of mountains, and of other stations that occur in his route—and traces the contracting limits of elevation at which the growth of the hardier vegetable tribes become gradually stunted and finally extinguished, by the prevalence of cold in such high latitudes. Occupied with these researches, he seldom ventures to touch on other topics, and scarcely stops to notice the moral and political condition of the forlorn inhabitants. He indulges himself indeed, and not unfrequently, in the license of digression; but his remarks on such occasions, though tinctured with the extravagance of the German schools, are neither very striking nor profound. The narrative of the Travels has all the appearance of being merely a careless transcript of his original journal. It is written in a very negligent, rambling style; and thrown together without the smallest regard to method or arrangement. Yet the reader who can overlook such faults, and relish spontaneous unpolished effusions, will derive entertainment from the perusal of the volume, and reap valuable information concerning a variety of objects which had not been hitherto examined with skill or attention. Von Buch is undoubtedly a man of sense, of enterprize and observation; and, though he will not rank very high as a philosopher, he displays a thorough knowledge of mineralogical science, and seems well acquainted with the branches of physics that are more immediately related to it. The great facts which he has discovered respecting the structure and the climate of Norway and Lapland, deserve, besides, the more attention, as they are fortunately corroborated by the observations of two other intelligent travellers, Professor Hausman and Dr Wahlenberg, who had about the same time, explored different parts of the Scandinavian territory.

M. Von Buch left Berlin in the end of June 1806,* and traversed the heaths and tame sandy tracts which extend to Hamburg. After a short halt in this commercial city, he proceeded through the rich and beautiful province of Holstein, to

Kiel, a town situate on the shore of the Baltic, not far from the mouth of the great Schleiswick canal, and the seat of a small university. The road which at first winds through verdant fields, amidst scattered groves, or beside the margin of lakes, then runs along the heights, and ascends the hill of Segeberg, a singular insulated rock of about 200 feet in altitude, composed almost entirely of gypsum, and containing, like the mass at Lüneburg, some cubic crystals of boracite. On the 10th of July, he embarked for Copenhagen in the regular packet-boat, of which he found the cabin crowded with passengers, and the hold filled with Prussian deserters, who had entered into the service of Denmark, and were to be sent to her foreign garrisons. The weather was fine, and they passed near the sandy islands of Laaland and Femern, and admired in their progress the rich meadows and chalky cliffs of Moën. The scene became now more animated; innumerable vessels from the Sound appeared on all sides; at length the towers of the Danish capital were descried above the water; and, bending their course along the populous coast of Zealand, they saw the noted batteries of Copenhagen, and reached its harbour after a passage of two days.

This short voyage afforded our scientific traveller the first opportunity of examining the saltiness of the Baltic; which, resembling a vast lake, with but a narrow and intricate communication with the main ocean, feels not the influence of tides, and therefore presents scarcely any beach; and being fed likewise by large rivers, and suffering little waste from evaporation, it has only a brackish taste. While the water of the ocean contains about the 30th part of its weight of salt, the water of this inland sea holds only from the 200dth to the 100dth part. The specific gravity of water, drawn up about the middle point between the islands of Laaland, Femern and Moën, was found by him to be 1.00937, at the temperature of 66° on Fahrenheit's scale. Professor Wilke had before observed, that the specific gravity of the water of the Sound near Landskrona, varied from 1.0047 to 1.0060 during easterly winds, but would sometimes amount to 1.0189 when the north-west winds prevailed, and impelled from the ocean a salt current into the Baltic. Dr Thomson has recently found, that water taken up at the mouth of the Firth of Forth had a density of 1.02900, while the density of that near the Scaw was 1.02037; of that in the Sound 1.00701; and of that beside Tunaberg 1.00476.

The neatness and beauty of Copenhagen cannot fail to please a stranger; and M. Von Buch was so much occupied with viewing the various libraries, cabinets and mineral collections with which that city abounds, and which are opened to the public with a liberality quite unknown in England, as, notwithstanding

the advanced season of the year, to prolong his stay for twelve days. He was particularly struck with the magnificent specimens from Iceland; its chalcedonies and zeolites, and the compact silicious incrustations of the Geyser. The collections from Norway were not less beautiful, particularly the *leucite* of Fredericksvarn, which contains 24 *per cent.* of potass. The specimens from Arendal, in immense variety, resemble, by their aspect and intermingled combinations, the unaltered products ejected by Mount Vesuvius.

Copenhagen owes its regularity to the destructive fires, by which, in common with the other towns of the north, it has repeatedly suffered; the several quarters having each time been rebuilt after an uniform plan. Its streets have the luxury of foot-paths, and which are paved with large flags of granite. These occur in detached blocks, scattered on the sandy plains of Zealand, and of the smaller adjacent islands; and it is extremely difficult to conceive by what mighty operation of Nature they had been removed from their primeval rock to that alluvial territory.

To prosecute his journey into Norway, Von Buch engaged a place in the *silver-waggon*, a sort of light carriage or stage, established to transport the products of the silver-mine of Kongsberg to the royal mint, but which likewise accommodates passengers, and conveys to the capital during the winter season immense quantities of grouse, ptarmigans, and other game. The passage across the Sound from Elsinore, was enlivened by the gay prospects on the Danish side, and by the sight of innumerable vessels of all nations sailing up or down the strait. On his landing at the small port of Helsingborg, he was astonished to find the Swedes constructing a mole of hewn granite, more than twenty feet broad, and already far advanced into the sea. What great things this clever active people would have achieved, if they were not steeped in hopeless poverty, and oppressed and dispirited by a long course of intolerable misgovernment!

Our naturalist now trode on that northern continent which it was his object to explore. But his valuable observations in this new field of inquiry, are so wrapped up in the peculiar language of his school, as to appear scarcely intelligible, without continually reverting to the geological views of its celebrated founder. The nice discrimination of the external characters of fossils, joined to patient and assiduous investigation, has enabled Werner to produce a revolution in mineralogical science, similar to what the introduction of the sexual system, aided by the zeal of Linnæus, had already effected in botany. The Saxon professor, placed at the head of a mining establishment and living in a mountainous district, has enjoyed opportunities of studying

the grand operations of nature, which are denied to the recluse philosopher. The habit of contemplating every thing on the great scale, fitted him especially for the cultivation of that most difficult and interesting branch of mineralogy—the classification of rocks: And whatever we may think of his theoretical assumptions, we must admit that his labours in this high department, are extremely important; connecting in a regular system a multitude of very striking and splendid facts. A concise abstract of the geological system of Werner may therefore be acceptable.

The first great step towards an arrangement of rocks was made by the sagacity of Lehman; who distinguished them into *primary* and *secondary*,—the former composed of purely inorganic matter, and the latter containing animal or vegetable remains. But these secondary rocks have been again separated by Werner into two kinds, which, in the spirit of subdivision, he denominates the *Transition Rocks*, and the *Floetz Rocks*. * He supposes the terraqueous globe to have been for ages entirely covered to a vast height by the general ocean, in which all the materials that constitute the present external crust, were suspended in a state of chemical solution. From the fluid mass, a series of depositions was slowly made, being at first merely chemical, and distinguished by their crystalline structure. This regular process formed the elevated beds of *primitive* rocks, consisting of granite and its kindred species, slate, granular limestone, trap, serpentine, porphyry and quartz.

But the waters of the ocean gradually subsided, leaving the summits of the mountains at last uncovered, and ready for the occupation of the simpler organic beings. The ancient rocks became thus exposed to the incessant action of waves and currents; and their partial *debris*, mixed with marine *exuvie*, were dispersed through the heaving mass. At this epoch, a new series of depositions in the bosom of the waters took place at a lower level, and in which the chemical precipitates were to a certain degree blended with mechanical deposits. As this succeeding class of rocks was formed during the transition from the chaotic to the habitable state of the world, they are termed by Werner *Transition Rocks*. They consist of limestone trap, or greywacké, which either betray marine petrifications, or show traces of mechanical admixtures.—The ocean still continued to sink in its bed, and to retire from the land, allowing ampler space for the extension of organized bodies, and the multiplication of new races of animals. Agitated, besides, by violent commotion, it

* Meaning *flat* or *floated*, apparently from the verb *flößen*, or, in Lower Saxon, *flößen*, to *flow* or *float*.

incessantly wore down, and washed away the portions of older rocks, which were exposed to its fury. In this turbid state of the waters, when the mechanical *debris* were profusely and violently commixed with the general chemical solution, another great series of depositions took place at a much inferior level, constituting the third class of rocks, and which being conceived to be formed by a sort of streaming or floating, are therefore called by Werner, the *Flætz Rocks*. They occupy the bottom or the gentler declivities of primitive mountains, and are distinguished by their tendency to horizontal beds, their confused composition, and their containing numerous petrifications both animal and vegetable, some of known species, but mostly the remains of extinct races of organic beings. The *flætz* rocks are very metalliferous; and it is in them likewise that bituminous substances, which derive their origin from animals or vegetables, make their first appearance. This class of rocks is very extensive; including red sandstone, compact limestone, different kinds of gypsum, fossil salt, chalk, coal, and trap.

These three great series of depositions, being conceived to form the various kinds of fundamental rocks, are hence denominated *formations*. They are believed to be universal, and to invest the whole globe of the earth with successive coats, at different elevations, according to their respective age; the oldest class of rocks maintaining generally, though not invariably, the highest situation.—But there besides exist two partial and subordinate formations, of comparatively recent origin,—the *alluvial* and the *volcanic*. The former consist of decomposed fragments of preceding rocks, collected and deposited on land, in nearly horizontal strata, at the bottom of ancient lakes, or along the shores of the ocean. The latter are composed of the blended materials which have been altered and ejected by the action of subterranean fire, occasioned chiefly by the inflammation of beds of coal.

The geological system which we have now attempted to sketch, is evidently, notwithstanding its high pretensions to the mere exhibition of facts, as wildly hypothetical as were ever the productions of a more brilliant fancy. Many of its assumptions are indeed utterly at variance with all the known principles of physics. But, in the actual state of geology,* it would be

* Werner and his followers prefer that elegant term *geognosy*, leaving to their unfortunate opponents the older word *geology*, as expressing mere hypotheses. In this view of the matter, *geognosy* bears nearly the same relation to *geology* that *astronomy* does to *astrology*, a name which has likewise fallen into disrepute.

exacting too much perhaps, to look for consistent and luminous theory. In the infancy of natural science, classification is a main object; and the Linnæan arrangement would still be retained with advantage, although the sexual system of plants were entirely exploded. The pupils of Werner, it must be allowed, are infinitely better acquainted with the complex minerals than the disciples of any rival school; and if the data from which the professor of Freyberg sets out, should approximate to the truth, we could, in the mean time, disregard the incongruities of his theory, and might admit, without scruple, what tends at least to aid our conception, and to connect in the memory a multitude of striking phenomena.

Theoretical considerations appear even to have occasionally directed Werner to the nicer discrimination of some kindred minerals. Thus, he has divided *granite* into two later and subordinate species—*gneiss* and *syenite*. *Granite* was so called from its granular composition, and is an aggregate rock, consisting of felspar, quartz, and mica; the felspar being generally the predominating ingredient. *Gneiss*, again, is a term used by the Saxon miners, to denote the mouldering stone which forms the sides of veins. It consists of the same components as granite, only the mica commonly predominates; and is disposed in parallel extended planes, so as to present a slaty or stratified appearance. But *syenite* is what was anciently called Red, or Egyptian granite, having been quarried near the town of Syene, in the Thebaid, and transported, in the time of the emperors, to decorate the palaces of Rome. It is an aggregate of felspar and hornblende, the former being the principal ingredient, and generally of a reddish colour.

This separation of cognate species must be deemed a real improvement in the classification of minerals. But in some other instances, the followers of Werner appear unconsciously to betray a disposition to accommodate their observations to preconceived theory, and to magnify the dubious shades of difference into important and essential distinctions. The most skilful naturalist may sometimes hesitate to name a fossil from the inspection of a small specimen; but if he should at any time previously require to know the relative position which it occupied in its native rock, he incurs the charge of employing that vicious mode of logic—the reasoning in a circle.

But we return to our author.—His journey from Helsingborg led him along the Swedish shore, over a dreary low country, thinly peopled, and miserably cultivated. At Engelholm he was struck with the boldness of a hanging bridge, newly constructed, and about 50 feet above the surface of the river; and which was

rendered the more picturesque, from the savage aspect of the surrounding trees and rocks. The country became insensibly bolder and more craggy. Numerous detached blocks of stone were seen lying scattered over the fields; and which, on close inspection, appeared to be gneiss. The river Gotha presented vertical sections, distinctly, of the same material; and the farther progress of his journey soon convinced our intelligent traveller, that the basis of Sweden is not the ancient granite, as it had been commonly represented, but a rock of later birth—the striped and slaty gneiss. All his future observations have concurred with those of Haussman and Wahlenberg, to establish this general conclusion—that the whole of the Scandinavian territory, from the gulph of Bothnia to the coast of Norway, and the shores of the Frozen Ocean, rests on a vast extended bed of gneiss. The country assumed a more varied and picturesque appearance as he approached to Uddevalla, a thriving sea-port town seated in a narrow indented vale. The road continued to lead over a broken rocky tract; and the proximity of the western ocean was already marked by the scantiness of the trees. Our traveller crossed the dark confined inlet of Swinesund, which bounds the Swedish territory; and climbing the opposite steep ascent, he now surveyed the heights of Norway, and drove through a country enlivened by the succession of rich and romantic prospects. The fortress of Frederickshall, before which Charles XII. perished, was seen frowning from the summit of lofty rocks studded with pines. Frederickstadt, another fortification of great strength, lay farther in advance. Ferrying across the rapid Glomme, * the principal river of the north, Von Buch reached Moss, a place of great activity from its forges and saw-mills; and proceeding by a hilly road, he descended from the height of 550 feet through the remains of old Opslo, and on the 30th of July reached Christiania, the chief town of Norway, delightfully situate at the bottom of a fine bay or *firth*, † in a fertile district, and exhibiting a variety of the richest and most enchanting prospects. In this agreeable abode, he passed the rest of the season

* We have taken the liberty, in this and a few other instances, to restore the right orthography; as our author seems to have overlooked the peculiarity of the Northern languages in postfixing to substantive nouns the definite article *en* or *et*.

† Our Scottish term *Firth* is the same as the Scandinavian *Fiord*, signifying a *deep inlet of the sea*. Dr. Johnson, whose ignorance of etymology was notorious, has been followed incautiously by some authors in writing it *Frith*, as if it were derived from the Latin *Fretum*, * *strait*, of which the meaning is obviously different.

and the whole of the succeeding winter, making frequent excursions to explore the mineralogy of the circumjacent country. Christiania is a neat, regular town, with a population of only 9000 souls. It carries on a considerable trade in exporting timber, and supplying the interior of the country with what foreign commodities are wanted. Its annual fair, which is held in the month of January, presents a stranger with a lively and singular spectacle. Here the peasants of both sexes are assembled from all the remotest upland dales, clothed substantially in their finest attire; the inhabitants of each district appearing in their peculiar *costume*, which descends unaltered through successive generations, and often shows an air of venerable antiquity. This, too, in the North, is the season of gaiety and convivial meetings; when the earth lies bound up with frost, and the ordinary labours are completely suspended. But the Norwegians have, with their increasing wealth, grown more refined; and the deep potations of former days have given place to the elegant entertainment of plays, concerts, and assemblies. They seem to be particularly attached to dramatic performances; and the small town of Christiania itself can boast of no less than two private theatres, in which translations of the best German and French pieces, and occasionally some native productions, are acted with great spirit. The opulent merchants acquire information by foreign travel; but the provision for the education of the youth at home is very scanty and confined. A *gymnasium*, or school of the highest order, in which the mathematical sciences are taught, and the graceful and manly exercises not forgotten, has for a long time been established at Christiania. But the wish of the patriotic Norwegians to have an University erected among them, has been constantly resisted by the Court of Denmark, from an apprehension that such a privilege, by preventing, or at least diminishing, the resort of the youth to Copenhagen, would have a tendency to rivet their provincial feelings, and weaken their attachment to the Danish government. We understand, however, that probably in consequence of the difficulties arising from the prolongation of the war, this boon has been recently granted to the faithful Norwegians; and that very liberal funds are already provided for the support of the University, by a subscription among the wealthier classes of the community.

During his stay in Christiania, M. Von Buch undertook several excursions to explore the geological structure of the neighbouring country; and at every step he discovered proofs of its belonging to the transition formation. The Egeberg, which towers over the plain of Christiania, consists wholly of a fine

slaty gneiss, that near the bottom of the hill passes into a black aluminous rock. This mine of alum is wrought for exportation on a large scale; and the procedure is facilitated by the action of the sulphuric acid, disengaged by roasting the thin beds of pyrites which occur in the slaty mass. Large lumps of a harder substance, having a lenticular form, intersected sometimes by narrow veins of calcareous spar, are rejected from the pit as intractable. Further onwards, the gneiss entirely disappears, and the clay-slate becomes more distinct, alternating frequently with dark-coloured limestone. Near the steep falls of Aggers Elf, * this ancient limestone showed vestiges of the *orthoceratites*, or *belemnites*, a straight tapering fistular petrification, the simplest of primæval forms, and which, distinguishing the transition formation, belongs to a prior state of the habitable globe. The clay-slate in this district is intersected by thick dikes of porphyry, which, while the rock through which they stretch moulders away, resist the impressions of the weather, and are therefore employed by the country people as materials for building.—To ascertain the connexion of this porphyry with the other rocks, a tour was made along the ridge of mountains which, at an elevation from 1200 to perhaps 2500 feet above the level of the sea, stretch towards Brageruass, on the river Dramme. It was thence inferred, that the transition formation in the vicinity of Christiania, is composed of ten different kinds of rocks, the newest lying uppermost. 1. *Zircon-syenite*, consisting of coarse granular felspar, mixed with hornblende, and containing minute crystals of zircon: It occurs in large blocks plentifully scattered over the high grounds. 2. Below this lies true *granite*, but finely granular, and apparently of a newer formation. 3. *Porphyry*, widely extended. 4. *Sandstone*. 5. *Flinty-slate*. 6. *Compact greywacké*, resembling clay-slate. 7. *Clay-slate* and *black orthoceratite limestone*, which compose the low hills. 8. *Granite*, again, in extensive masses, and at great elevations. 9. *Clay-slate* and *limestone*, probably under the granite. 10. *Gneiss*, the general fundamental rock of the North. The perturbed flötz formation seems never to have extended to the arctic regions; and no trace of coal, of sandstone, or of the shelly limestone, has been yet found in Norway or Sweden.

While M. Von Buch was detained during the winter months at Christiania, he enjoyed abundant opportunities of observing the tone of society which prevails in that busy place. As the trade of the southern parts of Norway, is chiefly with Britain, the people, from the habits of long commercial intercourse, are

* *Elf*, in the northern languages, signifies a *river*.

naturally very partial to the English character. Though they could not forbear exclaiming loudly at the gross abuse of power displayed in the bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet, yet they were anxious to exculpate our national honour, and to charge all the blame of that inglorious exploit upon the ministry alone. The richer merchants have their *liikken* or country-houses, and live in a style of elegance and even splendour. The two brothers of the family of Ankers were, by their talents, their opulence and their public spirit, entitled to be regarded as the Medici of the North. The elder, named Bernard, was a man of polished manners and elegant accomplishments, who had travelled over Europe, and spoke most of the modern languages with great fluency and purity. He died lately, unmarried; and left the bulk of his fortune, to the amount of 250,000*l.* Sterling, under trustees, for the purposes of general charity—the relief of the poor and needy—the support of widows and orphans—and the fitting out of scientific persons to travel in foreign countries. His rich library and philosophical instruments, bequeathed to his brother, have been generously transferred to the Gymnasium.

The winter at Christiania is scarcely more severe than in the north of Germany. Observations kept during the two years 1807 and 1808, in the vicinity of the town, give 44° of Fahrenheit for the mean temperature of the climate, and 68° and 20° as the greatest heat and cold in summer and winter. On the approach of spring, after the snow has melted from the hills and smiling verdure appeared, great exertions are made to put the loaded vessels to sea. Sometimes a passage is cut for them through the field of ice which covers the bay of Christiania, perhaps to the thickness of two feet. This operation is performed with much dexterity and expedition. A body of about fifty men, ranged on opposite sides, briskly saw the ice into large oblong blocks, which they press forward under the extended sheet; and the ship, immediately following their progress, advances quickly, and almost without interruption.

The winter was yet scarcely past on the 21st April, when M. Von Buch began his toilsome and adventurous journey to Drontheim and Lapland. The snow still covered all the higher grounds; and no objects were seen to refresh the eye. He travelled with difficulty in a sledge; but, as he advanced to Hedemarke, the face of the country became flatter, and he could perceive the grateful marks of industry and cultivation. Indeed the peasantry throughout the greater part of Norway, enjoying many privileges under a wise and mild government, are, notwithstanding their inhospitable climate, generally wealthy, abundantly clothed and substantially lodged, and breathe a decided

air of independence. The road lay over a tract in which clay-slate alternates with gneiss, till the latter at last recovers its predominance. Between Vang and Bienke, the greywacké makes its first distinct appearance; but, lower down the mountains, it gives place to strata of the dark compact limestone. Higher up, again, the greywacké becomes more finely granular, and passes at last into close-grained sandstone. The decomposition of these secondary rocks contributes much to the fertility of the soil.

In some parts of Norway, it is dangerous during winter to pursue one's journey in the dusk of the evening, as the fierce and hungry wolves then leave the forests, and collect in packs on the surface of the frozen lakes. The mode of preventing the attack of these ravenous animals, is to hang a thick rope from the end of the sledge, which scares them by its quick and constant dancing. But the remote peasants are often obliged to defend their dwellings, by surrounding them with a quickset hedge, over which the wolves will not venture to spring. In those desolate quarters the inhabitants themselves are not always exempt from the cruel visitings of hunger, and are sometimes reduced to the wretched necessity of devouring the most unsavoury and unwholesome substitute for bread. This consists of the inner bark of the young fir trees, dried, pounded, and ground to a powder, which is mixed up with chopped straw, the husks of corn or moss seeds, and then baked into a thin bitter cake.

In the narrow pass of Kringelen, the peasants pointed out with enthusiasm to our traveller a wooden cross, erected to commemorate the catastrophe of a Colonel Sinclair, and a regiment of 900 Scotch, who, in the summer of 1612, were surprised, and 'dashed to pieces like potsberds' by an handful of the natives. This officer, in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, had been despatched by him to recruit in Scotland; and, on his return, finding the coast of Sweden blocked by a Danish fleet, was compelled to land on the western side of Norway, whence he advanced into the country, crossed the great chain of the Dofra Fjäll,* and had nearly traversed the entire breadth of that kingdom, when he was suddenly overwhelmed by the sturdy mountaineers. Only sixty of the whole regiment were spared, and these afterwards fell victims to the untamed ferocity of their conquerors.

* The Scandinavian term *Fjäll* is of the same origin as the word *Fell*, still preserved in the north of England—signifying an *high or alpine tract*.

In those upland vales, some of which are elevated 2000 feet above the level of the sea, it requires the most painful industry to rear a miserable crop. Lest the sudden melting of the snows in spring should wash down the soil from the sloping banks, the peasants are accustomed to intersect the ground by small temporary hedges; and, that the ears of corn may not be withered by the parching droughts of summer, they conduct water from a great distance, and spread it over the fields in slender rills. As the harvest approaches, new precautions become necessary; and, to prevent the standing corn from being lashed or laid flat by the violent winds, hurdles are planted over the field. But, in spite of all their care and watchful attention, those keen frosty nights which chequer the advance of the season—the *Jörn Nätter*, or *iron nights* as they are called by the Swedes—often disappoint the hopes of the Norwegian farmers.

The wind howled furiously along the desert, when Von Buch ascended the Harebacke, at the height of 4575 feet above the sea. At length the lofty pyramidal form of the Snähätta, covered with eternal snows, like another Mont Blanc, rose into view. The road now gently declined, and conducted our shivering traveller, after it was dark, to Fogstue, one of the four inns or *hospices*, founded in the year 1120 by the benevolent King Eysteinn, for the reception and gratuitous entertainment of passengers intending to cross the tremendous Dofra Fiäll. Here a good fire and comfortable lodging made him soon forget his fatigues and the raging storm. Next morning he was accommodated by the landlord with clothing suited for the formidable journey which he had to perform: It consisted of a cloak of wolveskin, with a large sheepskin cap and gloves, leaving no part of his body uncovered but the eyes and mouth. In this grotesque attire, he proceeded, in a light sledge, over a chain of frozen lakes, to the pass of Jerkin, beyond which the road reaches its highest elevation of 4563 feet above the sea. He then descended a ravine, formed by the torrent Drifa, now fortunately frozen; and worked his arduous way, amidst the huge fragments of fallen rocks, to Kongsvold, the third of those friendly inns or stations. The journey henceforward, being in descent through a savage glen, was extremely dangerous, as the ice had become soft and loose. But the hamlet of Drifstue, the last of the hospitable stations, afforded a welcome asylum. This spot is too high for raising grain, being 2457 feet above the sea; but the vale itself and the adjacent hills afford excellent pasture. Following still the course of the Drifa, the valley spread out by degrees; and about the latitude of $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, it appeared covered with pines, at an elevation of 2343 feet. The

great mountainous chain terminates at Opdal; but the plain which stretches thence to Orkedal lies so very high, that in the beginning of May every thing had yet the aspect of winter, and the thermometer did not rise at mid-day above the freezing point. Near Sundset, at an elevation of 1580 feet, the spruce fir began to reappear, mixed with the pines, but which it entirely displaced in the lower grounds.

The majestic Snöhätta, the centre of the great chain, and the loftiest of all the Norwegian mountains, was first ascended in the year 1800 by Esmark, who observed its height by the barometer to be 8120 feet above the level of the sea, or little more than half the elevation of Mont Blanc, and found that its rocks were composed of mica-slate. Lower down, and near the defile of Kongsvold, this mineral was distinctly visible; but, still lower, appear strata of beautiful slaty gneiss, and under this the mica-slate again breaks out. But much lay concealed beneath the snow; nor was it possible to trace satisfactorily the connexion between those kindred formations.

Von Buch pursued his journey down the great Orkedal by help of the twilight, which in that northern latitude, and at this season, rivals almost the brightness of day. The snow being nearly melted away, he was frequently obliged to drag his sledge across the new ploughed fields; and he could not reach the inn of Bierkages before midnight. The people of the house were sadly alarmed by his untimely intrusion; and our traveller was not less surprised at the appearance they made in starting from their sleep; for, in this part of Norway, as he afterwards learned, the peasants of all ages are accustomed, as in Italy, to go to bed entirely naked. Next day he drove through the beautiful valley of Guldal, rich, populous, and flourishing. It was a *ting** or court-day, and the farmers were cheerfully paying their taxes or quit-rents to the royal collectors, with every appearance of mildness on the one hand, and of firm attachment on the other. After traversing a fertile tract of country, sprinkled with numerous hamlets, and crossing a low range of hills, the venerable city of Drontheim, with its ancient cathedral and its lofty buildings, near the bottom of a winding stream, presented in the vista an enchanting prospect.

Drontheim, with a population of only 8840, is yet distinguished by its refinement and elegance of manners. Nor can a stranger help being surprised at meeting with so many polite and well-informed men in such a remote place. Not depending, like Christiania and Bergen, on foreign commerce, the inhabitants of Drontheim have a more direct interest in the internal pros-

* From this word, are derived the names of *Tain* and *Dingwall*, the chief towns of Ross-shire.

perity of the soil, and feel more intensely the exclusive spirit of patriotism. This sentiment has no doubt been heightened, by the repeated attempts of the Swedes to wrest from them such a desirable portion of their country. The great body of the people throughout Norway, as it might be expected, most cordially hate and despise their poor and restless neighbours; and at this moment, when the court of Stockholm openly proposes, by way of indemnification for the loss of Finland, to appropriate to herself at least the province of Drontheim, every feeling of animosity on the part of the Norwegians must operate with redoubled force.

Drontheim is a remarkably clean and handsome town, though the houses are all constructed with timber, the public edifices only being built of stone. Some manufactures have lately been introduced into it, particularly the preparation of the noted dye from lichens gathered on the rocks. A seminary for the higher branches of education, and an academy of sciences, have also been instituted; and the bequest of several valuable libraries and collections of curiosities has enriched this joint establishment. Villas are frequent in the environs of Drontheim, placed in charming romantic sites. But the oak ceases to grow at this high latitude; and consequently the variety of the forest scenery is very much limited.

The poverty of the climate, and the wretched economy which it exacts, are strikingly marked by a singular fact, which our author relates. We are not told whether the horses of the neighbouring dales are occasionally indulged with the use of grain, though they generally pasture on the wild herbs of the field; yet their dung is carefully collected, and boiled with water and a slight mixture of rye-meal in large kettles, into a disgusting mess; and this half-digested substance is greedily eaten by the cows, and even employed to feed the pigs. The very geese and ducks and hens partake of it; nor will the horses themselves, it is alleged, reject such extraordinary food. The scantiness of vegetation over the most part of Norway is indeed very distressing. In the rocky islets along the southern and western coasts, the fishermen are accustomed to support their cows, during the greater part of the year, on sea-ware, and the heads and garbage of fish.

On the 20th of May, Von Buch resumed his journey into Lapland. He crossed the dreaded morass of Tellegröd in safety, but not without considerable apprehension of danger. This low swampy ground is frozen during winter to the depth of several yards, and is not again completely thawed till the summer has been far advanced: The surface may appear dry and solid; but as the heat still penetrates downwards, the icy floor which

supports it, gradually softening and melting, comes to bend and tremble under the shock of pressure; at last it gives way, and horses, carriages, and passengers—all sink into the abyss. Near the mouth of the *Fjord*, or Firth, a bed of clay-marl was seen distinctly mixed with small shells. Similar appearances occur along the southern shores of Norway; and the fact is the more remarkable, since no fossil-shells have been ever found in the interior of the country. This marl, however, is only a local formation, and rests on the fundamental gneiss.

After a fatiguing journey through half-melted snows, and across swelling torrents, our traveller reached the island of Ryoë, a small fishing station: It is a dreary naked spot, yielding scarcely any produce, and not affording the settlers even fresh water, which they are obliged to fetch from the mainland. But these hardy people derive a niggard subsistence from the surrounding element; and the eggs of the sea fowl, especially of the gulls which breed numerous in the low adjacent islets, constitute, during the season, their principal food. Such islets are called *vårs*, in opposition to the rocky eminences which are termed *holms*. Each *vår* is held as a sort of patrimonial possession, part of the eggs only being taken away, and the birds allowed to hatch undisturbed.

The rest of the journey was chiefly performed by rowing or sailing along the craggy shore. In those arctic seas, the storm which often rages through the day is generally observed to subside into a perfect calm during the night. But dense fogs very frequently cover the water, and conceal the cliffs from view. On the 7th of June, our traveller arrived at the flat island of Sör Herroë, bordering on the polar circle. The snow was now melting fast away, forming innumerable streamlets that dashed in cascades down the sides of the hills; forests of pine and spruce fir* became visible; luxuriant birches and alders enlivened every crag; and vegetation, after a long slumber, seemed at length to put forth all its force. The thermometer did not stand lower than 49° during the night; and it rose to 59°, and once even to 70°, in the heat of the day. Beds of white limestone were frequent along the shore, wrapped in mica-slate. Above the slate lay granite; which must therefore belong to a later formation, though it contained large and beautiful crystals of felspar.

* The great forests of Norway and Sweden consist almost entirely of pine or Scotch fir (*pinus sylvestris*), and spruce fir (*pinus abies*): The former, called *toll* by the natives, is exported in the shape of logs under the name of *red wood*; the latter, termed *gran* in the North, is generally sawed into deals, and forms the *white wood* of commerce.

Not far from thence, is Vestenfiord, the most northern point at which oysters are found. Beside the gigantic rocks of Alstahong, occur some extensive plains, which are esteemed fertile and well cultivated. Here, on a Sunday, the Nordland fishermen were seen going to church. They had a very singular appearance, being all clothed precisely alike in a close brown frock, edged with blue trimming, having large white trousers drawn over their boots, and a red woollen cap under their hat. Nor were they less distinguished in their persons from the native Scandinavians. Instead of having the usual fair complexion and soft round visages of the north, they seemed remarkably swarthy, with black dazzling eyes, and high prominent features. The learned Schöning has even attempted to prove, with great ingenuity, that this coast of Norway was really the ancient Thule, and that the fishermen themselves are descended from a colony of Phœnicians.

The high projecting rock of Lovunnen, is a great resort of the puffin or *alca arctica*, which is much sought for on account of its feathers. This silly bird is very easily caught. The fowler lets down an iron hook, or sends a dog trained on purpose, into the narrow clefts or holes of the rock, where the puffins sit crowded together; and the first bird being pulled out, the next one bites and lays hold of his tail; and thus in succession, till the whole family, clinging together like a chain, is dragged to light. The neighbouring island of Luroë is not unfertile, abounding with sand and calcareous shells; and it must have been inhabited from ancient times; for three or four immense barrows remain upon it. On the other side, this island terminates in a frightful perpendicular rock, the snowy summit of which was found by the barometer to be 2187 feet above the *gaard* or farm. Still more tremendous were the cliffs which frown over the ocean at Kunnen, in the latitude of 67° : Here the alternate thawing and freezing of the lower range of snow had formed a great icy wall or glacier, which descended almost to the surface of the water. Yet it was already the 15th of June, and the radiant sun appeared at midnight, diffusing a sensible warmth. The uncovered rocks consist of mica-slate, and not of gneiss, and have garnets plentifully interspersed through their substance. The same composition of rock occurs a degree farther north at the island of Laskestad, the residence of a clergyman and a few peasants; whose rising grounds afford but poor herbage, though the plain below contains burrows and obelisks inscribed with Runic characters, which attest its ancient occupation. The birch here seemed to rise no higher than 1360 feet, and the elevation

of the top of the conical mountain of *Præstekonentind*† was found to be 2132 feet. From the inspection of this and other lofty ridges along the coast, it seemed to result, that the strata of the larger islands or promontories always dip towards the land and the higher mountains.

At Lødingen, about the latitude of 68°, the pines, which in the southern part of Norway were capable of growing at an elevation of 3000 feet, did not ascend higher than 690 feet above the level of the sea. The birch mounted to a greater height, yet was here confined to the limit of 1250 feet. It was the 24th of June, the eve of the festival of St John the Baptist; and the people flocked from all quarters to sport the whole night round a blazing fire, kindled on the top of an adjacent hill; a practice common, about the time of the solstice, to the whole of the Gothic tribes, being a vestige of that most ancient worship of the resplendent image of the Divinity, the glorious luminary of day.* Not far hence lies Vaage, the great centre of the northern fisheries, in which 18,000 men, and nearly 4,000 small boats are employed. About sixteen millions of large tusk and cod are caught annually among the creeks and islands, where they come to cast their spawn.

The fish were formerly taken by means of long lines; but this method has been gradually superseded by the introduction of large wide meshed nets, which are let down at night perhaps to the depth of 60 or 80 fathoms in the water. The cod or tusk, so caught, are carried ashore, and dried in the spring under sheds erected and hired for the purpose. The produce is afterwards carried for sale by a long and fatiguing navigation to Bergen. But wretched is the life of those poor fishermen, who being exposed without shelter to continual damps or raging storms, are apt to crowd together, and thereby contract acute disorders which prematurely terminate their existence.

Beyond this station commences the province of Lapland, which the Danes, however, call Finmark. At the island of

† The termination *tind* means a *peak*, in the Norwegian dialect; the same as *stött* in Swedish, and *horn* in German. The corresponding term in the language of Lapmark is *tjokko*. It may be remarked, that the word *tind* is preserved in the names of some of our Scottish mountains, as in *Tinto*, and *Tyndrum*.

* The same custom obtains in Germany, and is still retained in the motier parts of Scotland under the name of *Beltane*, which some etymologists fancifully suppose to be derived from *Baal* or *Be-
l*. With us it is celebrated on the first of May, being apparently confounded with the *floral games*. In reference to this idea, may we not conjecture that the word *beltane* is only a corruption of the French *beautems*, anciently *beltems*, the *fine season*?

Sengen, the coast appeared rocky as before; but the hills, though covered, on the 29th of June, almost entirely with snow, were only 690 feet in height. Close by the shore, a thick bed of white limestone projects, and above it lies a stratum of fibrous tremolite, on which again rests a dark solid bed, consisting chiefly of massive garnet, very highly magnetic; the whole being surmounted by mica-slate, the newer granite, and fine gneiss. Above 500 head of rein-deer annually swim across the Sound, to feed in summer on the low hills of Sengen. They belong to the roving Laplanders, a poor miserable race, who, though they are hardly able to satisfy the bare cravings of hunger, will, like the lowest of savages, part with all their skins, whenever they can find an opportunity to purchase brandy, and procure the delirium of intoxication. The Norwegians hold them in the most sovereign contempt, and will scarcely deign to look upon them as human beings. But a few families of sober, patient, and industrious settlers have lately been transplanted into this quarter from the southern vales of Norway. In the space of ten years, they were increased to about fifty families; they had cleared spots of ground which yielded crops; and they pastured numerous herds of cattle. These colonists had gladly received a visit of the Moravians, the most harmless of all the missionaries.

Sailing with a light breeze, our traveller was hurried northwards by the tide, along a bold coast crowned with snowy mountains, to the islet of Tromsøe, hard by the *Storstennüß** or *Great Rocky Cape*. Here, in the latitude of 69° 38', a village has been lately founded under the protection of the Danish government, and endowed with peculiar privileges and immunities; being intended to facilitate the exchange of commodities, and to diffuse the benefits of civilization over these sequestered regions. It was now the 4th of July, and the sky continued invariably bright and cloudless. For two whole months at Tromsøe the sun never sets; and as he wheels his oblique apparent course, he skirts the northern horizon at midnight, and again ascends with fiercer beams in progress of the day. The variation of temperature is confined to a narrow range: The greatest heat was observed at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the thermometer rose to 61° or 62° of Fahrenheit; and the greatest cold at one o'clock in the morning, when the thermometer stood at 50° or 52°. This low islet is covered with birches, though the prospect was saddened by patches of snow lying still unmelted on the streets, the gardens, and the fields.

Still farther northwards, the eye was refreshed by the sight of the banks of the Eidsfiord. Thickets of aspens, birches, and

* *Stor*, in the Scandinavian dialects, signifies *great*; and hence our words *store* and *storhouse*. L 2

alders, were sprinkled along the shore; innumerable clear streamlets gushed down the declivities; and hundreds of rein-deer appeared feeding on the green hills. But from a neighbouring height which our traveller climbed, he commanded a wide prospect of a most savage mountainous region, the nearest snowy peak having perhaps an altitude of 2770 feet above the sea.

The rocks are rich, here, in different formations. First occurs beautiful gneiss; then mica-slate, with small garnets or staurolites, and divergent hornblende; next pure quartz, of various colours; and above all these, the compact red garnet, or porphyritic trap. Returning again to the boat, and pushing forward, he arrived, on the 21st of July, in the beautiful bay of Talvig, about midnight, the sun shining bright, and the thermometer standing at 54°. He saw ships from different parts lying in the harbour; and thence proceeded to the governor's residence, about nine miles distant, at a farm near the mouth of the great river Alten.

Here he staid two days, during which the thermometer rose as high as 70° or 72°, though the poverty of vegetation was very striking, since the pine did not ascend beyond the altitude of 700 feet above the sea. A singular geological fact was presented by a steep hill which rises like a fortification from an isthmus at the bottom of the bay. The rock appears rent to the depth perhaps of 100 feet, with perpendicular clefts, varying from 6 to 30 feet in width, and which Von Buch, following out his system, considers as real veins that had never been filled up. The neighbouring country is the most populous and best cultivated part of Lapland, owing entirely to the introduction of a body of industrious strangers, who have gradually dislodged the native race. These settlers are the Quäns, a colony of Finns, who retain the dress, language, and habits peculiar to this people. They were probably driven out of their country by the ferocity of the Russians in the wars of Charles XII., and compelled to migrate round the gulf of Bothnia by Tornëa,* whence they descended about the year 1708 to Alten. There they have, by perseverance, succeeded in raising some scanty crops; and the slothful Laplanders already begin to dread their extension. Perhaps this ancient breed, like the savage tribes of America, is destined to be finally extirpated before the superior talents and energy of their invaders.

The firths beyond Alten are the resort of numerous troops of small whales, which sport in a lively manner on the water; but, amidst their gambols, they are dangerous to boats in the pairing season. They are, besides, so lean, as not to be considered worth the trouble of catching. The neighbouring island

* Pronounced *Torneo*.

of Hammerfest, covered with continual fogs, has a most dreary sterile aspect. It is, however, visited by ships from Copenhagen, Drontheim, and even the Russian port of Archangel; and brandy, flour, hemp, or linen, are bartered with the Nordlanders for dried fish and eider-down. The Russians, during their stay, even apply themselves to fishing, at which they are said to be remarkably dexterous. Here the rocks no longer contain mica-slate, but perfect gneiss, with small red garnets interspersed.

But we will now gratify our readers by extracting the author's description of his arrival, about the end of July, at the famous North Cape, which lies in the 71st degree of latitude.

Towards evening I was conveyed over the Fiord, which is about nine English miles in breadth, to the Sound of Mageröe, by Norwegians. The violent current out of the Sound was against us; we run into *Finnbugt*, about the middle of the Sound, and on the island of Mageröe itself, to wait for the return of a favourable tide. The Norwegians* live there in earthen huts, which being covered over with grass, bear a resemblance to small hillocks; dwellings like those of the Tungusians, or like the *Gammers* of the Finns. The interior, however, looks more like a house. When we squeeze ourselves through the three-feet-high door, which is made to shut of itself, we go through a dark passage to the various compartments of the hut; a similar door opens into the dwelling-room; and this apartment differs in nothing from the usual dwelling-place of the peasants at Bergen. It is constructed of logs, quadrangular up to the roof, which is a quadrangular pyramid, with a square opening in the middle, that at night is closed with a blown-up fish bladder, and through which the light enters, and the smoke issues out during the day. The furniture consists of a table, and a bench behind it; the bed of the master of the house, and a cupboard or press, and chests are ranged around. The children and servants sleep on the outside of the room, or beside the cow. The kitchen is a large chimney in the corner of the room. This is actually the most convenient manner of laying out a house in climates like these, where not a twig for firing is grown. The thick earthen wall makes a cellar of the hut, in which the temperature does not come in contact with the external temperature for weeks. Whether it storms or snows without, whether it is winter or summer, cannot be felt in one of these earthen huts; but in a common northern log-house, every external change is felt in a few hours in the inside. The air penetrates through doors and windows, and finds its way over the whole house. It is singular, that the richer class, the *Storkarle* (*great fellows*), as they are called by the Laplanders, or the *Lords*, as they are called in the canton of Schwitz, or the people of *condition*, as they call themselves, do not adopt this mode of constructing houses of earth, and pass the summer in the larger log-house, and the winter between earthen walls. For nothing

* It should be *Nordlanders*. R.

prevents them from ornamenting the inside as well and comfortably as the taste of the inhabitants can wish; and though in such a dwelling there is little light, and almost no prospect, during four months of continual night, little of either can be expected. p. 273, 274.

The mountains towards the North Cape gradually descend, the highest not exceeding 1100 feet in altitude. Naked fantastic rocks are seen piled up in wild confusion, and no vestige of animated nature appears. The pitiless storm often rages with irresistible fury, and the cowering fisherman, unable to keep alive the smallest spark of fire, is every moment threatened with being swept, in his lonely hut, into the ocean. The rocks of Magerøe are interesting, however, to the geologist. The beds which occur in succession, are the older gneiss, mica-slate, clay-slate, gneiss again, and fine granite; and, surmounting these, the granular smaragdite and the coarser smaragdite. Among the slates are sometimes found beds of pot-stone, resembling jade in appearance, but much softer. At the promontory of Porsangernäss, huge beds of beautiful white quartz were seen, enclosed between strata of mica-slate. The interior of the island of Magerøe is occasionally visited by herds of rein-deer, which discover, by rambling, some scattered tufts of herbage. But they are exposed to great danger from the descent of *avalanches*, or the sudden sliding down of whole fields of snow.

M. Von Buch, having thus reached the extreme point of his journey, prepared to descend by the interior of the country, through the pathless wilds of Lapland. He therefore engaged a native for a guide, or *pilot*, as the Northern fishermen aptly styled him. In a previous excursion which he made from Al-tengaard, the first object he met with was a *gamme*, or Lapland hovel, resembling a baker's oven, about eight feet wide and four feet high, composed of branches loosely thatched with grass, and having a square opening at the top, that serves both for the admission of light and the escape of smoke. The men had gone to fish on the coast; but the women, each in her place, sat crowded round a small hearth, occupied with sewing or knitting. These *gammes* are constructed only for the season, and their frequent erection occasions a most wasteful consumption of the woods; for the inconsiderate rover, in collecting his materials, breaks off merely the top branches of the birchen bushes, the stems being concealed almost the whole year beneath the snow. This destruction is farther increased by the necessity of having continual fires, even during summer. As soon as the warm weather begins, immense swarms of gnats issue from the marshes, and torment the hapless Laplander, who is forced to seek refuge from their pursuit in columns of smoke.

In his return to the Governor's house at Alten, our traveller was overtaken, as he crossed the Firth, by a most tremendous storm of thunder, accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning, which might scarcely have been expected in such a northern climate. The rain fell in large congregated drops, and the hail-stones, as large as peas, made a hissing noise as they struck the water. This hail had not a snowy composition, but consisted of real icicles of a pear-shape, which must have been frozen during their descent through the air. After resting one day, he passed over to Talvig, and climbing the lofty precipitous rocks, he surveyed a wide scene of desolation. The pines gradually disappeared; the birches became stunted; the alpine willows ceased to grow; and the crude berries, and rein-deer moss, were no longer visible. The mountains, though not here of great elevation, were covered with perpetual snow; and the formation of glaciers along the chain of heights impendent over the sea, was distinctly perceived. The lower mass of snow being exposed to alternations of temperature, is by degrees converted into a field of ice, which at last separates from the main body, and plunges with dreadful shock into the firths. From a hasty view of the surface, it was likewise possible to estimate the limits of vegetation at the latitude of 70°: *Birch* ascends only to the height of 1600 feet above the level of the sea; the *whortleberry* (*vaccinium myrtillus*) to 2030 feet; the *whortle-leaved willow* (*salix myrsinites*) to 2150 feet; the *dwarf-birch* to 2740 feet; and the *downy willow* creeps near the line of perpetual snow, at the elevation of 3510 feet. The lowest rocks consist of shining clay-slate, under a mass of beautiful green smaragdite, above which the clay slate again appears, including a thick bed of fine white marble; and the predominating mica-slate succeeds, and crowns the mountains.

On the 3d of September, M. Von Buch took his final departure from Alten, attended by his guide, and with two-rein deer to carry a few necessaries for his journey. He proceeded nearly southwards along the valley of the great river. In five days, he reached with difficulty the heights of Nuppi Vara, the most elevated part of the table land, and 2655 feet above the level of the sea. The snow had indeed melted away; but hardly a bush could rear its head, and all nature seemed torpid and dreary. At length, as he thence continued to descend, the barking of dogs from below, announced that a Lapland family was at hand. He discovered their *gamme* planted near the edge of a great marsh; yet, though the wind and rain now beat furiously, he was admitted with reluctance under shelter, and he soon witnessed the sulkiness of those selfish and inhospitable barbarians. This hut was larger and more carefully constructed than the one which he first saw; it was besides protected by sail-cloth, and

had the luxury within, of seats covered with flannel or deer skins. These pastoral tribes lead a life of excessive toil and weariness. Men and women, boys and girls—all keep watch by turns; and their faithful dogs, scouring the hills, collect the rein-deer, and prevent them from straggling and falling into the jaw of the famished wolf. We present our readers with another extract.

‘ We had scarcely set our feet out of the door of the *gamme* in the morning, when in less than half an hour the house was entirely destroyed, and the rein-deer laden with all the utensils, and in motion to the new place of destination. They were bound together, in rows of five, with thongs, like the beasts of burden on St. Gotthardt; and they were led by the mother and daughter over the mountains, while the father went before to prepare the new dwelling, and the other children conducted the free herd to their place of pasture. The flock amounted to about four hundred head. We had yet seen none under three hundred. With this number a family is said to be in moderate prosperity. It can be maintained on it. They can afford to kill as many rein-deer as are necessary for food and clothing, shoes, and boots, and to sell besides a few rein-deer skins, hides, and horns, to the merchants for meal or brandy, or woollen stuffs. On the other hand, a family lives very miserably on a hundred of these animals, and can hardly keep from starving. Hence, if they are brought down so low, they must give up the free pastoral life on the mountains, and draw towards the sea, and endeavour as Sea Laplanders to gain from that element what they can no longer find among the mountains. But their desires are always fixed on the mountains; and every Sea Laplander eagerly exchanges his hut and his earnings for the herd of the *Fielde*-Laplander. The charms of a free life among the mountains, and of independence, may have less effect on the producing of this inclination than the actual good living of the *Fielde* or Mountain Laplanders, which the Sea Laplander cannot even procure on holidays. Every day I have seen rein-deer flesh cooked in all these *gammes* for the whole family, and generally of young fawns, in large iron kettles. Each person certainly received more than a pound for his share. When the flesh was cooked, it was immediately torn asunder by the master of the house with his fingers, and divided out among the family; and the eagerness with which each person received his allowance, and the rapidity with which they strove as for a wager to tear it with teeth and fingers, are almost incredible. In the mean time the broth remains in the kettle, and is boiled up with thick rein-deer milk, with rye or oatmeal, and sometimes, though seldom, with a little salt. The broth is then distributed, and devoured with the same hungry avidity. The Sea Laplander, on the other hand, has only fish, or fish livers, with train-oil, and never has either the means or opportunity of preparing such costly soups. The former not only relishes his flesh, but finds in it a strong nour-

ishment. In fact, how few boors in Norway or Sweden, or even in Germany, can compare their meals, in point of nutrition, with this ! In winter, the food of the Laplanders is more multifarious. They then catch an incredible number of ptarmigans (*Ryper*, *Tetrao Lagopus*), wood grouse (*Trüren*), and a number of other wild birds, partly to eat, and partly to sell. They not unfrequently also shoot a bear, which they eat like the Norwegian peasants. They have then also no want of rein-deer flesh ; for the frozen pieces may be long preserved. They can even preserve the precious milk in winter, although they can then derive none immediately from the rein-deer. They expose it in harvest to the frost, and preserve the frozen pieces like cheese. When melted after a lapse of several months, this milk still tastes fresh and deliciously. When a stranger then enters the gamme, whom they wish to see, the frozen piece of milk is immediately set to the fire ; the guest receives a spoon, with which he skims off the softened exterior in proportion as it melts. When he has enough, the rest is preserved in the cold for other guests. Such pieces are not unfrequently brought by the Laplanders down to Alten, and then disposed of to advantage ; for the inhabitants of Alten eagerly purchase this milk. They use it like cow-milk, and can mix a good deal of water with it without injuring its quality. In its pure state it is even too fat for domestic purposes. Notwithstanding, even in the middle of summer, each rein-deer yields but little milk, it would be quite impossible, especially for any length of time, to consume the whole quantity at once. In October the milk season generally ceases, and recommences about the end of June or beginning of July. The rein-deer calve about the middle of May. The Laplanders call a doe or female rein-deer a *vaija*, when it has calved in the third year. It is allowed to suckle the fawn for six weeks, which is then slaughtered, or allowed to provide its own nourishment ; and they can then have milk for three or four months. A moderate *vaija* about the end of July yields the quarter of a Swedish *kinne* per day. With a herd of a thousand head the quantity procured from all the *vaijas* would be very considerable, and perhaps sufficient to maintain a whole family on milk alone. But their prosperity necessarily requires the possession of considerable flocks, that they may always be able to slaughter a deer when the wants of the family require it, without thereby injuring the flourishing condition of the herd. A great part of the Swedish Laplanders in *Kemi-Lapmark*, and especially in the *Församling* of *Enare*, live in quite a different manner. They live there for the most part by fishing, and have but seldom a few rein-deer ; on the other hand they generally possess eight or ten sheep, but no cows. In summer they scarcely eat any thing but fish from the fresh-water lakes, and drink with great eagerness the water in which the fish has been boiled. In winter they must put up with dried fish (*Sick*, *Salmo Lavaretus*), and with soups (*välling*) of water, fir bark, and rein-deer tallow. They peel off, in summer, the innermost bark of the firs, divide it in long stripes,

and hang them in their dwellings to dry for winter stores. When used, these stripes of bark are minced in small pieces along with the rein-deer tallow, boiled together for several hours with water, till in consistency they form a thick broth, and then eaten. A little ewe milk, and a few mountain bramble-berries (*Hortron*, *Rubus Chamomorus*), contribute very little to the improvement of this wretched diet.

The surface of the country, as our traveller advanced, became insensibly lower, and at Kautokejno he was again gratified by the sight of cows and sheep feeding in green meadows. This place is a small village, in which a church has been founded by the care of the Danish government. It has a mixed population of Quäns and Laplanders; of whom the former only remain through the whole year, the latter migrating always in summer to fish in the northern firths. But the residence of a clergyman in the midst of them, joined to the acquisition of fixed property, must have a beneficial influence in humanizing this wandering race. It is difficult however to correct inveterate habits; and Christianity has made slow progress among them, and often serves merely to disguise their ancient superstition. Till very lately, they generally brought with them to church a cloth, into which they used to spit out the communion bread and carry it home as an infallible charm against injury and disease, to be distributed in crumbs to each individual of their flock. The older Laplanders, too, are accustomed, from motives of suspicion or parsimony, to deposit their little treasure, comprized perhaps in a few pieces of coin, under stones or other hiding places. By the death of the proprietor, the hoard is often lost; and in this way the circulating medium of Denmark is believed to suffer a considerable annual waste. The superior industry of the Quäns, or settlers from Finland, has materially improved the grounds about Kautokejno; but as the village lies in the 69th degree of latitude, and 830 feet above the level of the sea, they have not succeeded here in their attempts to raise corn or culinary vegetables. From this point to the frozen ocean, the mountainous range consists of granite, supported by primitive clay-slate, smaragdite, and sometimes mica-slate.

M. Von Buch had now approached the sources of the river Alten, and was about to cross the ridge which separates the Swedish Lapland. He dismissed his rein-deer, which he found to be but feeble animals, fit only for running, and soon worn out by the fatigue of carrying the smallest burden; and he engaged the parish-clerk of Kautokejno and two Quäns, to accompany him in the rest of his journey to Tornea. These fellows, under a conductor whom they so highly respected, proceeded with great alacrity and vigour. Being provided with a small portable boat,

they launched it as often as opportunity occurred, and pushed it rapidly along a chain of narrow lakes, which, notwithstanding their excessive coldness, abound with the *sik* or *salmo lavaretus*, a species of salmon resembling a trout, though of a blueish colour, with a projecting snout. At the close of a long day, the party took up their quarters on the border of the frontier lake at the foot of steep hills; the moon shone full upon the unruffled surface of the water, and scattered a pale light over the tops of the projecting birchen bushes, while the Quäns lay round a blazing fire, busy roasting their fish on the points of sticks. Next morning, though in the middle of September, and at an elevation of 1380 feet above the sea, the moss had only a slight sprinkling of hoar frost, which disappeared in a moment. They now followed the course of the *Muoniojocko*, * which runs almost due south; and after shooting dexterously over a succession of water-falls, they arrived at a miserable fishing hut below the Songavara, the highest hill in this part of the country, and which gave for the limit of the pine, about the latitude of 68°, an altitude of 850 feet, and for that of the spruce fir only 480 feet. Symptoms of comparative wealth began to appear among the industrious Finnish colonists. At Lower Muonioniska, our traveller found a large village; and he was ushered into a separate room having glass windows, and served with silver spoons. Yet the corn here scarcely ever ripens, being cut by the early frosts. The potatoe, however, protected under the soil, comes to tolerable perfection; and this most useful root furnishes the inhabitants with their chief sustenance. He had to descend for the space of a mile through a frightful succession of rapids and cataracts; and it required the utmost address and steadiness to avoid the dangers of the passage. The river again resumed its placid course, and flowed through a thick spreading forest, variegated with different kinds of trees; birches, willows, alders and wild cherries fringing the banks, and spruce firs clothing the back ground. The country softened by degrees; and already the Swedish dress and manners had begun to prevail; and when he reached the romantic village of Kängis, in sight of saw-mills and forges, all was activity and animation. The iron-stones in the whole of Lapmark, as well as in Sweden, form thick beds in the gneiss, and are so fixed and indestructible, as to remain above like magnetic mountains after the surrounding rock is removed. The ore consists of small adhering crystals, accompanied by green talc and foliated tremolite. The beds of pure iron-stone in this dis-

* *Jocko*, in the Lapland language, signifies *river*, the same as *Elf* in the Swedish and Norwegian.

trict, are of prodigious extent and thickness; they are commonly worked to a depth of 200 feet, and the iron hill of Kirunaavara rises even 800 feet. But these treasures, besides that, without other admixture, they do not yield the best sort of iron, are in a great measure lost, from the difficulty of transporting the ores, and the want of wood or coal for smelting them.

From Kängis our traveller, in a loaded boat, swiftly descended the river, shooting through the incidental rapids of the stream. He was now traversing a scene which has been rendered classical by the measurement of a degree of the meridian in 1736, by the French academicians, and its rectification and extension by Svanberg in 1799. He entered the very hut in which Maupertuis and his associates passed the winter at Pollo, and found it still remaining in the same state as they have described it. The prevailing rock in this tract, is a coarse red granite, called by the natives *rapa kivi*. Strata of white gneiss likewise occurred. The banks of the river were lined with cottages: but all beyond them appeared a dismal boundless forest. At Pullangi he saw, in the inspector's garden, ripe peas, large yellow turnips and potatoes, which had been fresh dug. Still descending the stream, near the close of the day, he descried the Church of Upper Tornea towering above a mass of buildings, and heard, with pleasing emotions, the deep sound of bells wafted along the broad surface of the Muonio. How gladsome it seemed, after wandering so many months through dreary solitudes, to mingle again in the busy hum of men!—Next morning on landing at Pakkila, he mounted a small car, and was driven with furious rapidity by a young Finlander, along an excellent road, and through a rich and populous country. He met crowds of people returning home from church, dressed in their best attire; youths and maidens hurrying gaily along; while the elderly persons, clad in a long dark mantle, girt with a yellow sash, and having a small black cap on their head, marched with stately gravity. But he was much disappointed in entering Tornea, which, though built after an uniform plan, consists mostly of detached cottages, and contains only 630 inhabitants. The streets are very broad, and, not being paved, they are grown over with grass, on which the cows regularly pasture. The inhabitants, a mixture of Finns and Swedes, have the character of being idle, and extremely given to drunkenness. Yet the adjacent country, chiefly through the industry of the Finnish settlers, is rapidly improving; and the population of the province of Lapmark appears to have advanced much faster than that of any other part of Europe. In the year 1751,

this, according to Baron Hermelin, was 27,000; in 1772, it had increased to 31,000; but in 1801, it amounted to 52,000.

Here the Lapland tour of M. Von Buch was ended. He had sailed along the whole west coast of Norway, in sight of the lofty ridge which defends the continent, and had again descended by the eastern declivity of that chain of mountains. In the course of such a fatiguing journey, he noticed as many particulars relative to the structure of the rocks as the shortness of his stay at any place would allow. But the climate and the natural productions of Lapland, have lately been examined with most careful attention by the zeal of Dr Wahlenberg, who, at the charge of the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, performed in the years 1800, 1802, 1807 and 1810, four several journeys, to explore the botany of that forlorn region. His remarks are contained in a small tract, written in the Swedish language, and translated into German by Professor Haussman, and again more fully stated in the introduction to his excellent *Flora Lapponica*, both published last year at Berlin. In his principal excursions, Dr Wahlenberg carried with him a portable barometer, and compared its indications, as often as he could, with corresponding observations made at Umea, or in Finmark. The results thus obtained, he is aware, cannot be strictly accurate, owing to the sudden and violent changes of the atmosphere in the northern latitudes; but, even admitting the error from that source to amount sometimes to the fortieth part of the whole, such a degree of approximation to the altitude of sequestered tracts may be judged sufficient for all the general purposes of science. The highest of all the mountains of Lapland, and which the natives have long regarded with a sort of awe and dread, is the Sulitelma,* situate in the latitude of $67^{\circ} 10'$, near the margin of a lake that communicates with the Western Ocean. It forms three peaks, which have the several elevations of 5520, 5620, and 5910 feet. These peaks are covered with an accumulation of eternal snow, compressed into an extremely hard substance, of the depth perhaps of an hundred feet. The sides of the mountain, at the altitude of about 2500 feet, exhibit real glaciers, consisting of icy vaults, sometimes three hundred feet high, clustering with sharp pointed pyramids of solid ice. The ice itself is perfectly clear and colourless, but its

* This word and *Ben-le-di*, the name of a remarkable mountain in Perthshire, have the same original; meaning, in the Lapland and Gaelic languages, *the Hill of God*; the rude inhabitants of both countries being accustomed anciently, at certain seasons, to perform religious rites on their summits.

clefts appear blue. Near the base of this mountain, the lake Lommijauri,† with an elevation of only 2265 feet above the level of the sea, has a great deal of snow lying on its banks through the whole year. Half a degree farther north, the Virijauri, at an altitude of 1900 feet, is still covered with hard ice in the middle of summer. These observations agree very well with theory, which gives from 2325 to 2230 feet, for the height of the mean boundary of congelation in those latitudes. A little below this limit we may place the ordinary site of the glaciers, which seem to owe their formation to the alternate influence of thaw and frost, in changing, by degrees, the lower zone of snow into an icy wall. The beautiful and fantastic groups which these glaciers often present, are, by the simplicity of the northern tribes, ascribed to the invisible powers of magic. They are hence called *Jegna* in Lapland, and *Jöckel* in Iceland, or *Gyckel* in some parts of Norway, from the Gothic verb *gyckla*, the same as the German *gaukeln*,* to *trick* or *bewitch the eye*—a word which may be traced in the composition of our own language. As the glaciers, from their low position on the mountains, are in a state of necessary though gradual decrease, the melted water that flows from under them washes down quantities of mud and small gravel, which sometimes accumulating near the border of the ice, form a soft ridge or mound, of various height, from one fathom to six, or even ten fathoms. Such collections of stony fragments, which, in the Swiss Cantons, receive the name of *Moraines*, are called *Jöckelsgjörde*, or *glacier-carths*, in Iceland. But when the sides of the mountain are steeper, the weight of the glacier at last overcomes its cohesion: it cracks, separates, and precipitates itself, with tremendous crash, into the valley below. This sort of accident is, in the higher parts of Norway, termed *Jöckels-bruken*.

Dr Wahlenberg gives a curious scale of the geography of plants in Lapland. Assuming 3° centigrade or 37½ of Fahrenheit for the mean temperature at the level of the sea, he conceives the *Lower Woody Region* to ascend to the height of 400 feet; producing the *carex stellulata*, the *festuca elatior*, the *calla palustris*, the *schœmus albus*, the *daphne mezereum*, the *fragaria vesca*, the *salix myrtilloides*, the *trifolium pratense* and the *arundo*

† *Jauri*, in the Lappish language, which is totally distinct from the dialects of the Gothic stem, signifies *lake*.

* A singular grotto, near the lakes of Westmoreland, is named *Gingle-cave*. May not the words *goggle*, *giggle*, and even *boggle*, have the same derivation? The Scottish term *gowk*, applied also to a *cuckoo*, is evidently of that descent.

lapponica. Above this limit, or about the height of 850 feet, occurs the *Upper Woody Region*; yielding the *nymphæa lutea*, the *trifolium repens*, and the *pinus abies* or *spruce fir*. Next comes the *Shrubby Region* at the altitude of 1300 feet above the sea; bearing the *salix pentandra*, the *arundo phragmites*, the *pinus sylvestris*, or *pine*, the *rubus idæus*, the *populus tremula*, and the *salix lanata*. The *Subalpine Region* forms a zone at the temperature of $34\frac{1}{2}$ Fahrenheit, and at an elevation of 2000 feet: It contains the *alnus incana*, the *crica vulgaris*, the *sonchus alpinus*, the *aira atropurpurea* and the *azalea procumbens*. The *Region of the Inferior Alps* corresponds to the temperature of one degree centigrade, and supports the *tussilago frigida*, the *salix hastata*, the *geum rivale*, the *rubus chamæmorus*, the *aira flexuosa*, the *silene acaulis*, and the *phaca montana*. The *Region of the Upper Alps* extends to the boundary of perpetual snow, which is placed at the elevation of 3500 feet: It bears the *astragalus alpinus*, the *potentilla nivea*, the *gentiana glacialis*, the *campylnula uniflora*, the *stellaria cerastoides*, the *empetrum nigrum*, and the *ranunculus pigmæus*. But even beyond this boundary, a few mosses and lichens are able to live beneath the snow.

In his estimate of the gradations of cold corresponding to the ascent from the surface, Dr Wahlenberg has evidently been led into some mistake by the deceitful appearance of the country during summer, when the continued action of the sun greatly deranges the general average results. The most correct theory, supported by concurring observations, gives 40° by Fahrenheit's scale for the mean temperature in the latitude of 67° at the level of the sea, and 2325 feet for the mean height of the limit of congelation, or that altitude at which the ground internally would continue on the verge of the freezing point through the whole year. Nor will the facts mentioned in the introduction to the *Flora Lapponica*, if duly examined, appear to be inconsistent with this statement.

Hellant found that the heat of a copious spring, probably at some elevation, in the island of Wadsoë on the Frozen Ocean, at the latitude of $70^{\circ} 6'$, was $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit; and this ought from computation to be 38° at the level of the sea. The village of Enontekis in the latitude of 68° , has an elevation of 1430 feet; whence the mean temperature of the ground at this place should be 34° , exactly what Dr Wahlenberg makes from the observation of springs. He pretends, indeed, that its atmosphere was considerably colder, or only 27° at a medium, and states as a general conclusion, that the mean temperature of the air is always several degrees lower than that of the ground. Into this singular opinion he has been led by the careless mode in

which meteorological registers are too generally kept. To obtain accurate mean results, the indications of the thermometer should be marked at equal intervals, reckoning from the hottest time of the day; for instance, at six o'clock in the morning, two in the afternoon, and ten at night. Some philosophers have proposed to take the mean between the highest and the lowest temperature every day; and this method of proceeding is adopted with implicit confidence by Dr Wahlenberg. But an arithmetical mean will evidently not give the true result; for the heat must advance, through the day, with a retarding progression to its stationary point. Hence, instead of the half, it would be nearer the truth to take two-thirds of the whole accumulation of heat from its lowest extreme. But the ground obviously derives its whole temperature from the impressions of the atmosphere, whose variable influences become blended at a depth of perhaps fifty feet below the surface, since no variation is observed in penetrating farther into the bowels of the earth. The heat, however, which belongs to summer, will insinuate with little diminution a foot or two into the soil; and hence the Flora of the arctic regions is much richer than could be expected from the consideration alone of their mean temperature. The transient warmth diffused by the slanting, but incessant rays of the sun, in those high latitudes, awakens the powers of vegetation, and brings forth the quick growing plants; though it allows not time sufficient for the ripening of the more perfect kinds.

On the 21st of September, M. Von Buch left Tornea. The pine forests appeared tall and vigorous. As he proceeded along the western shore of the gulf of Bothnia, the Finnish gradually gave place to the Swedish character. The country, however, looked tame and uninteresting. At Innervikin, he was much struck with the tokens of the retiring of the sea; the low grounds formerly washed by the flood being now converted into meadows. The subsidence of the Baltic has been ascertained by marks made in its rocky islets. It is slow, but regular. How is this phenomenon to be explained? The general ocean is certainly not sinking at present; and it would be difficult to conceive or admit the rising of the Scandinavian Continent. The waters of the Baltic being almost fresh, must stand about one-fortieth part higher above the bottom of the sea, in order to maintain their hydrostatic equilibrium. Were the Baltic therefore estimated to have a depth of only forty fathoms, it would subside one fathom if it were to acquire the saltiness of the ocean. May we not conjecture, that it is becoming gradually saltier, and consequently sinking in proportion? Nice experiments would in a few years decide this curious and interesting question.

Our traveller was not inclined to halt in this comparatively champaign country; and the noted excellence of the Swedish roads enabled him to proceed with great expedition. The only mountain that occurred in his route was the Skula, which, though it has only an elevation of 950 feet, serves as a landmark to the mariners. Near Gefle, about the latitude of 60° 40', he saw the first solitary oak in Sweden. The general rock which appeared through the whole tract was gneiss, and of a still purer and more beautiful kind than what abounded in Norway. It passed frequently into fine granite, and sometimes contained subordinate beds of limestone. The singularly romantic city of Stockholm has attractions, which, if the season had not been far advanced, might have tempted our traveller to prolong his stay. From this capital he was conducted by a winding road over a wavel rocky surface, diversified with frequent lakes—an almost continued forest with only a few patches of cultivation;—and after meeting with some obstruction from the new fallen snows, he at length reached Christiania on the 27th of November 1807. Here, during the winter, he reposed from his fatigues, and enjoyed, with new relish, the pleasures of refined hospitality. When the season returned, he made excursions to ascertain more fully the peculiarities in the structure of the adjacent country. War having now broken out against Sweden, he was prevented from returning home through that kingdom, while numerous English cruizers effectually obstructed the passage at the entrance of the Cattegat. In the beginning of October, he proceeded to Christiansand, in hopes of catching an opportunity, as the nights became longer, of crossing the narrow sea which separates Norway from Schleswick. As he waited for this purpose at Helliesund, he had occasion to observe the lobster fishery; and was informed, that before the war with England, about 30,000 of those shell-fish were annually sent from the neighbouring coast to the London market. After repeated attempts to put to sea, he at last gained the Continent on the 20th of November, having very narrowly escaped the dangers of shipwreck and of capture. A few days more brought him home in safety to Berlin.

We now take our leave of this intelligent and adventurous traveller, whose work, on the whole, we have perused with interest. Of the translation we are sorry that we cannot speak more favourably: It has every appearance of being got up in haste; it is bald and literal, and greatly wants smoothness and freedom. The original is indeed cast into such a desultory form, that to retain its spirit was no easy task. But the translator appears unskilled in the German language, and still

less acquainted with the subjects which come under discussion. Though he generally renders the sense of his author, he mistakes at times the meaning of particular words and phrases. But we will not descend to such minute criticism as to point out the verbal inaccuracies, though we have occasionally corrected them in our abstract. He has created some confusion, too, and much inelegance, by not converting at once all the measures into English. The mechanical part of the execution is equally deficient. The paper and print are inferior to what we commonly meet with in books of the present day; and the plates are copied servilely, with a mixture of different scales, and of German miles and Parisian feet.

Professor Jameson has annexed to the Translation, a few short but judicious notes. As he has allowed his name to be placed conspicuously in the title page, we wish that he had given more extension to his learned remarks. Any incidental observations must be esteemed valuable that come from the pen of a gentleman so profoundly versant in the history and details of mineralogical science.

ART. X. *Chemical Researches on the Blood, and some other Animal Fluids.* By William Thomas Brande, Esq. F.R.S. Communicated to the Society for the Improvement of Animal Chemistry, and by them to the Royal Society.

(*From Philosophical Transactions for 1812, Part I.*)

WE owe this paper to the same ingenious chemist, to whom, upon former occasions, we have expressed the obligations due to his skill and industry as an experimental inquirer.* To these he has now added considerably, by a course of analytical experiments, in which several material points appear to be satisfactorily ascertained with respect to the animal system, and particularly that fluid which has so large a share in its constitution and movements. The inquiry was undertaken with a view to settle the question, whether the red colour of the blood is owing to the iron which has long been known to exist in it. Led by rather vague analogies, as the red tinge given to mineral substances by iron in different states of oxidation, the

* See No. XXXVII. and especially No. XXXVIII. for accounts of his own papers. Sir Everard Home is also indebted to him constantly in the course of his researches.

French chemists had somewhat hastily inferred, that the blood owed its colour to an admixture of phosphate of iron. Several circumstances in the constitution of this fluid, had led many to doubt the justness of the hypothesis; and Mr Brande's experiments go far towards ascertaining its incorrectness, and setting this part of the question at rest. They have also led him into various other researches, which merit our attention, both respecting the chyle and lymph, and those crassamentous and serous parts, which immediately compose the blood itself.

Our author was enabled to obtain the two first mentioned fluids in greater abundance than other inquirers have possessed them in, from the extensive scale of his friends Messrs Home and Brodie's physiological experiments; and he has accordingly examined their properties more fully. The process which chyle undergoes when taken pure from the thoracic duct, and allowed to stand undisturbed, bears a very close analogy to the spontaneous coagulation and separation of the blood. It speedily becomes still like a jelly; and, in about twenty-four hours, separates into a firm coagulum and a transparent fluid. The coagulum rather resembles caseous matter than fibrine, or coagulable lymph of the blood. It is easily coagulable in alkalies. Sulphuric acid and diluted muriatic acid rapidly dissolve it; but, what is singular enough, from the brownish or yellowish compounds which they respectively formed with it, the alkalies occasion no precipitation. Nitric acid appears not to dissolve it, either in its concentrated or diluted state; but, after long digestion, and standing over it for some weeks, it converts it into the substance termed by the French chemists *adeopocire*. The vegetable acids act slightly upon this coagulum; and, when distilled *per se*, it yields the usual volatile products of animal matter, leaving a coaly residuum, in which are muriate of soda and phosphate of lime, with a slight tinge of iron. The serum of chyle, when heated, deposits albumen; and the remaining fluid gives small crystals, sparingly soluble, on cooling. Our author seems to suspect they contain lactic acid. The destructive distillation of this serum gives a coal, slightly mixed with phosphate of lime, and muriate and carbonate of soda.

The lymph upon which Mr Brande operated was obtained from the thoracic duct, after a twenty-four hours fast had allowed all the chyle to be carried off into the blood. His experiments afford little that is worthy of noticing. It is not coagulable by heats, nor by the exhibition of alkalies or acids; but when exposed to the action of the galvanic battery, there is an evolution at the negative surface of alkaline matter, and coagulated albumen is separated; while at the positive surface, muriatic acid

seems to be evolved. The liquor is found, indeed, to contain a slight admixture of muriate of soda.

The serum of the blood having been more fully examined by former inquirers, our author only details such of his experiments as tend to place the subject in a new light. These all relate to the question, whether it contains gelatine, as the common opinion imports: and, in our apprehension, Mr Brande has very satisfactorily disproved this doctrine. His most decisive experiment consisted in subjecting serum, dissolved in water, to the action of the galvanic fluid, so as completely to separate the solid albumen; and then, on examining the liquid that remained, it was found neither to be altered by infusion of galls, nor to afford gelatine by evaporation. But this experiment being repeated with a few drops of solution of isinglass added to the serum, a copious precipitate was obtained with the infusion. There does not appear to be any more than a very minute portion of iron in this serum.

We now come to the coagulum; and Mr Brande's experiments on it are confined, almost exclusively, to the colouring principle. He first shows that iron has nothing to do with it, and then examines the habitudes of the colouring matter, especially with mordants. When blood is allowed to coagulate by itself, it is well known that it separates at first into the clear serum and dark-coloured crassamentum, which last consists of the fibrine and the colouring particles, separable from each other. But by stirring the blood during this process, the separation may be made to take place somewhat differently; the fibrine being collected by the stick employed in stirring it, and the colouring matter being diffused through the serum. Now, we have already seen, that there is scarcely any iron in the serum itself. By operating in the way just described, Mr Brande took the coagulum from a portion of blood without the colouring matter; while, from an equal portion, he obtained it spontaneously, combined with the colouring matter. He analyzed both carefully, and obtained a very minute portion of red oxide of iron from each, in the same quantity. Had the colour depended on the oxide, it ought to have been yielded, he contends, in greater quantity, by the one coagulum than the other. He next collected the colouring matter from the serum, in which it had been diffused when separated from the fibrine; but the traces of oxide of iron were as indistinct here as in the other experiments. We may observe, that these experiments go far to settle the point; and render it highly improbable, that the oxide should be the cause of the red colour. Let us not, however, conceive, that they remove all doubt, and are in the nature of *experimenta crucis*. For, although they show that there is as much, or rather as little, of

the metal in the parts which are colourless, the fibrine and serum, as in the colouring matter, or the red globules, to give them their common and inaccurate name, * yet, rigorously speaking, this only proves that the iron in the two former parts of the fluid does not produce the red colour which it gives the latter; and unquestionably we may conceive, that the constitution of the one part adopts it to receive the colour in question from the metal, while the other is not so fitted by its nature. Indeed, almost every animal substance contains a minute portion of iron. Parallel cases will immediately occur to the chemical reader. Thus, if we take equal quantities of tincture of litmus, or any other simple vegetable colour, and the liquor called mineral chameleon, and infuse into each the same portion of alkali, the colour of the latter will become green, and that of the former will remain unchanged; while the addition of water, in certain quantities, will make the mineral liquid pass through several kinds of colour, without sensibly affecting the vegetable infusion, except by diluting its colour. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, of the intimate constitution of the parts of the blood, we view our author's experiments only as a near approximation to a proof of the position which he maintains.

Mr Brande gives several important observations, both from his own experience, and from some unpublished inquiries of Dr Young's, (to which he had been allowed access with a degree of liberality highly praiseworthy, and every way becoming philosophers), relative to the red globules. They are not soluble in water, which only dissolves their colouring matter, the globule itself floating on the surface. If the solution of their red matter in water be examined, it will be found, that a temperature of 190° to 200° of Fahrenheit destroys the colour, and renders the matter insoluble, either in water, alcohol, or sulphuric ether; but a portion of it is taken up by muriatic and sulphuric acids. Those two acids easily dissolve the colouring matter, when digested on the colouring matter in its perfect state, and form solutions which are green when viewed by transmitted light; and by reflected light, the muriatic solution is a deep crimson, the sulphuric a bright lilac, and both colours seem permanent, though exposed to light. The vegetable acids produce similar effects; their solutions are green by transmitted light, and red by reflected. The nitric acid wholly destroys the colour, in whatever

* The valuable experiments of Mr Hewson long ago demonstrated that they are not globules, but flat or lentiform bodies, with a deep spot in the centre, floating in the serum.

way it is exhibited. The alkalies form solutions apparently of permanent colours, all reds more or less bright.

Our author next tried some experiments on the application of mordants to the colouring matter. Alumine fails almost entirely; the red colour goes presently. Muriate of tin answered no better; but when to this was added in the process as much potash as might decompose the muriate, a precipitate was obtained, which, though not bright, retained its hue on exposure to light and air. Various other experiments were tried without success, in the hope of fixing the bright red. But by using tannin as a mordant, Mr Brande obtained from the alkaline solution of the matter a red, seemingly permanent, and of the brightness of madder red. Nitrate and muriate of mercury are, however, more effectual; and he gave cloths steeped in those solutions a permanent and pretty bright red, by passing them through the solutions of colouring matter. The colour was unaltered by washing with soap. But we must observe, that the author appears to have declined one obvious test of permanency in these experiments, we mean *time*. He exposed his products for a few weeks, seemingly not more than a month, and wrote his paper before any further time had been allowed. Thus, in p. 105, he says, the solution 'has been kept for a month, and is very little altered.'—In p. 109, the precipitate 'has undergone no apparent change by exposure for three weeks;'—and in p. 110, the colour, 'as far as I have been able to ascertain, is permanent.' It is a much more scientific proceeding to delay, than to hasten, when delay may conduce to the perfecting of our experiments, and render our speculations but a little later, and a good deal more complete.

Mr Brande infers from these experiments upon mordants, that the colouring matter 'may prove more useful in the art of dyeing than has hitherto been imagined, since neither the acids nor alkalies, except the nitrous, have much tendency to alter its hue.' He also conceives, that it is rendered peculiarly adapted to the purposes of the calico-printer, by the readiness with which it is effaced, where no mordant has been used. He then observes, that it has always been used with madder by the Armenian dyers as necessary to give a permanent red. Unquestionably it has; nor do we believe any one acquainted with dyeing will receive the information as very novel, that blood may be made useful in these processes. The red colours now used are quite well understood to owe their colour to the use of ox blood; and the operation of printing upon them has hitherto been performed by the aid of oxymuriates, which act after a certain length of time so as to discharge the colour. They are applied by means of

plates, in which holes of the shape of the patterns are cut, so that the parts of the cloth intended to be kept red, are protected from the acid. Of late, however, a great improvement in this clumsy process has been imported from France, (and we believe a patent has been granted for it), whereby figures of any degree of delicacy which can be engraved on a copperplate, may be printed on the red cloth. It consists in charging the plate with an alkaline mixture or pigment, having a stronger affinity for the oxymuriatic acid than the base which holds it in the figure, and stamping the cloth with it; then dipping it in the oxymuriatic liquor, and in a few minutes washing it. The nascent acid at the moment of decomposition of the oxymuriate, possessing different properties from the same acid in its perfect state of production, as happens in so many cases of chemical agency, * suddenly discharges the red colour from every space and line where the alkaline pigment has been applied, and makes the figure permanently white; while the subsequent washing removes the oxymuriatic liquor from all the rest of the cloth, before it has had time to alter the colour. If further trials shall add to the perfection of the colour obtained by Mr Brande's process, something like the converse of what we have been describing, may be practised by the printers; they may charge the pattern-plate with a mixture or pigment of the nitrate and muriate, and then, having stamped the cloth with it, plunge it in the blood-liquor, and afterwards wash the superfluous colour away. They will give the red pattern, on a white ground, with as much nicety as the improvement on the old mode now gives the white, on the red ground.

This paper concludes with several remarks upon the inferences to be drawn from the experimental details which it contains. We have already, in the course of our analysis, had occasion to state these as we proceeded, and need not now resume them more particularly. The absence of gelatine, where it was formerly supposed to exist in abundance, is the result of most importance, and which also rests on the least questionable grounds;—and it should seem to follow from hence, that this matter, so essential to the animal system, is a product of secretion. The existence of iron in a much smaller proportion than was formerly supposed, and its presence in equal quantity, both in the coloured and the colourless parts of the blood, are also well esta-

* It would furnish a most instructive field of inquiry, to pursue the subject here incidentally noticed—the great difference between the habitudes of bodies, when formed or evolved, and when in their nascent state.

blished points. But of the conclusion absolutely against its having any concern in the colour, we have ventured to express a degree of doubt.

Before closing this article, we wish to suggest an omission that strikes the reader in one particular. The author has not mentioned from what animals the blood, chyle and lymph, used in his experiments, were taken. We presume that where any thing depended on comparative trials, he used the same blood; but as we gather from the introductory part of his paper, that the chyle and lymph were procured from various sources, it would have been more satisfactory had these been indicated. Indeed there is no reason for supposing that the composition of the blood is the same in all warm-blooded animals, but quite the reverse; and the omission complained of is the more notable in a paper like the one before us, generally distinguished by a most laudable minuteness in the experimental details. With these reflections, we have to express again the obligations due to Mr Brande from physiologists and chemists, for his laborious and able researches into a branch of science, not only highly interesting in itself, but connected with whatever is most important to human happiness, in as much as its improvement affords the best chance of solid advances in the healing art.

ART. XI. *Biblioteca Espanola Economico-Politica, por D. Juan Sempere y Guarinos.* 12mo. Madrid, 1801.

IT is the opinion of many eminent authors, that the legal provision made for the poor by the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, was rendered necessary by the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of her father. We are told, that while convents subsisted, the wants of the indigent were relieved by the charity of the monks; but when those institutions fell a sacrifice to the rapacity of Henry and his courtiers, that the poor, deprived of their ancient benefactors, were reduced to such intolerable misery as to call for the interference of the Legislature, which, after several ineffectual experiments, produced the present system of a compulsory poor's rate. Dugdale, a bigotted admirer of antiquity, has remarked, that 'while the convents stood, there was no act for the relief of the poor, so amply did those houses give succour to them that were in want; whereas in the next age, there were no less than eleven bills brought into the House of Commons for the purpose.' Smith observes, that 'when, by the destruction of monasteries, the poor had been deprived of the charity of these religious houses, after some other ineffectual attempts for their relief, it was

enacted by the 43d of Elizabeth, c. 2, that every parish should be bound to provide for its own poor.' Blackstone is persuaded, that 'till the statute of 27. Hen. VIII. c. 25, the poor were left to such relief as the humanity of their neighbours would allow them.' 'The monasteries,' he adds, 'were their principal resource;' and to the dissolution of these he attributes 'the abundance of statutes made in the reign of King Henry the Eighth and his children, for providing for the poor and impotent.' An opinion, thus sanctioned by the authority of Smith and Blackstone, has been received without doubt or hesitation by a crowd of inferior writers. Sir John Sinclair, in his history of the revenue, states as an historical fact, that 'the suppression of the monasteries, was the source of one of the heaviest burdens (meaning the poor's rates) to which this country is at present subject.'

This account of the origin of the poor-laws has not, however, passed without contradiction. Mr Alcock, who published observations on the defects of the poor-laws in 1752, has strongly objected to it. 'The religious houses,' he observes, 'did no otherwise than the religious houses abroad, and the hospitable masters of other houses did and do now,—live generously, keep a plentiful table, and give the surplus to the poor.' He adds, 'If the abbies maintained the poor, how came the poor not to have been equally destitute in other Protestant countries on the secularization of them? And how came the Poor laws not to have passed here in England immediately on the dissolution or secularization, when the poor, we must suppose, were most to seek for a maintenance, and no new resources were yet opened? How did they subsist in the latter part of Henry the Eighth; all the reign of Edward the Sixth; of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth, till about a year before her death, that is, near seventy years in the whole?' The same train of argument is pursued by Mr Daines Barrington in his observations on the more ancient statutes. 'It is generally supposed,' says he, 'that the dissolution of monasteries occasioned the provision for the poor in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, which I should much doubt. In the first place, I do not find that great numbers of the poor are subsisted by the monasteries, which still continue in the Roman Catholic countries. Dr Ducarel informs us, that he paid a particular attention to this in the province of Normandy, and could not discover that the poor had any considerable charity or support from the religious houses. Besides this, the forty-third of Elizabeth was near sixty years after the dissolution; and, if the poor, at any time, found the difference, it must have been more sensibly felt in the first years after this statute took place.' And he afterwards adds, 'Though

the monasteries were numerous in England, yet it is impossible to suppose they were so equally dispersed, that in all parts of the country the poor could be subsisted by their charity, though ever so extensive and unbounded.' Mr Pettit Andrews, in his continuation of Henry's history of Great Britain, has espoused the same side of the question; and in support of it has remarked, 'That the first act, which immediately affected the poor, was passed by Henry the Eighth some years before the dissolution of religious houses;' which 'remark,' he adds, 'confutes at once the favourite system of those who date the commencement of the poor's rates from the destruction of monasteries.'

We are far from attributing equal weight to the whole of these arguments. Though Mr Andrews was not aware of the fact, it cannot be concealed, that statutes for the regulation of beggars are of much older date in England than the reign of Henry the Eighth. The act 22. Hen. VIII. c. 12, on which he builds the whole of his conclusion, contains no provision whatever for a compulsory poor's rate: And though it be true, that, in the preamble to that act, complaint is made of the increase of beggars and vagabonds, it by no means follows, that when monasteries were afterwards suppressed, these beggars were not reduced to greater misery. Nor is it quite correct to say, that from the 27th and 31st of Henry the Eighth, when the monasteries were dissolved, to the 43d of Elizabeth, when the present system of poor's rates was established, no laws were made for the relief and maintenance of the poor. Many statutes of that description passed in the interval; and though subsequently laid aside as insufficient for the object they had in view, we have no reason to believe that they were entirely without effect. From the 22d of Henry the Eighth, to the 43d of Elizabeth, hardly a parliament sat, in which some laws were not enacted that regarded the poor.

On the other hand, it must be admitted, that no mode of administering relief to the indigent, is more likely to increase the evil which it is meant to alleviate, than the charity of convents. The bounty of a religious society is inconsiderate from system, and undistinguishing from a mistaken principle of duty. It is lavished with the same open hand on all who apply for relief, and therefore serves only to perpetuate a succession of beggars, whose lives are consumed in idleness and profligacy, and whose existence is a burthen and reproach to the community in which they abound. Such charity, instead of diminishing, infallibly augments the number of the indigent; and therefore the suppression of monasteries cannot have been the cause of that enormous addition to the poor, which took place in England during the 16th century, notwithstanding the general improvement of the kingdom at that period, and the manifest increase

of wealth and comfort among the higher and middling classes of society.

But, if we mistake not, there is in the volume before us a still more convincing argument against the popular opinion, which ascribes to the dissolution of convents the origin of our poor laws. The *Biblioteca economico-politica* of *Sempre y Guarinos*, is one of those compilations on political economy, which the example of Campomanes made familiar in Spain. It consists of extracts from ancient Spanish authors, who have written at different times on the decline of their country, interspersed with remarks of the compiler, and with numerous quotations from the laws of Spain and proceedings of the Cortes. The first volume, which is the subject of the present article, gives an account of the regulations concerning mendicity made in Spain from the earliest times to the reign of Charles III.

When we look into this volume, we find that before the 16th century there were in Spain, as in England, laws against vagrants and sturdy beggars; but that these were intended for the punishment of the idle and dissolute, rather than for the relief of the impotent and unfortunate poor. We find also, that from the accession of the Emperor Charles V. the laws of Spain relating to the poor, like those of England on the same subject, took a new and totally different direction. As early as 1523, we meet with a law enacted in Cortes, prohibiting the impotent poor from begging beyond the limits of their township; and in 1525 we have another law by the same authority, forbidding them to ask alms in public, without a license from the Alcalde or Corregidor of the place where they reside. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1528 to make those magistrates execute with care this part of their duty, deputies or commissaries were appointed in every town to look after the poor; and in 1540, a royal proclamation was issued, recapitulating all the former laws with respect to beggars and vagrants, and directing that these should be strictly enforced in future under heavy penalties. It appears from this proclamation that many idle vagabonds and impostors went strolling about the country, who, though able to work, subsisted entirely on charity; and, as might be expected, were guilty of numerous crimes and excesses. Great care is ordered to be taken of the hospitals and pious foundations which charity had erected for the necessitous; and persons are appointed in every parish to collect alms from the benevolent, in order to relieve in their houses those whom a sense of shame prevented from soliciting assistance in the streets. In consequence of this proclamation, many towns took the case of the poor into their own hands; and by voluntary collections and other means, provided funds for the support of those, who could not earn by their labour a sufficiency for

their subsistence. But these exertions, though they might alleviate, were neither so general nor so steady as entirely to remove the growing evil. In 1555, a father of the poor was established in every town, whose business was to find employment for all persons willing to work, but unable to procure the means of occupation. In 1565, fresh complaints were made of the multiplication of idlers and vagabonds. Two overseers were appointed in every parish to look after the indigent, and badges were ordered to distinguish the unfortunate from the profligate. *Nuevas formalidades*, says our author; *no nuevos ni mas eficaces remedios*. In 1578, the evil had made such progress, that the Cortes proposed the erection of work-houses; and in 1598, it appears that work-houses, which afterwards increased to so pernicious an extent, were first introduced into Spain.

To those who are acquainted with the history of the English poor-laws, it is unnecessary to point out, how similar in many respects was the progress of the two countries in this branch of legislation. In the statute 22. Henry VIII. c. 12, passed in 1530, it is declared, that ‘beggars and vagabonds daily do increase in great and excessive numbers by occasion of idleness;’ and it is enacted, that ‘aged, poor and impotent persons have licence to beg within the limits of the district which they inhabit;’ and by the statute 27. Henry VIII. c. 25, beggars are to be supported by the alms of their parishes; and various regulations are made for the collection and distribution of these alms. In the laws of Edward VI. and Mary, the former complaints are repeated of the increase of beggars and vagrants; and many enactments made for the punishment of idle vagabonds, and for the better support of the impotent poor by voluntary charity. Persons in affluent circumstances are to be solicited to contribute to the aid of the necessitous, and if they refuse, they are to be censured; and by the statute, 5. Elizabeth, c. 3, they may be taxed by the justices. By the statute, 14. Elizabeth, c. 5, further powers were given to the justices to raise a rate for the support of the indigent, while the former system of badges and licenses was continued. Hospitals for the impotent, and work-houses for the idle were ordered, by the statutes 39. Elizabeth, c. 3 and 4; and by the statute 43. Elizabeth, c. 2, the present system of parochial poor’s rates was established by law.

In this comparison of the laws of the two countries, the last is the only stage in which the English system departs from the Spanish. In the grievance that called for remedy, both nations were sharers alike; and in the previous steps taken for its redress, the course which they pursued was the same. Whether it was the internal state of Spain that made the establishment of a parochial rate in that kingdom unadvisable, or the charity of

Spaniards that rendered it unnecessary, we shall not stop to inquire. That great sums were expended in support of the poor in Spain, cannot be doubted. In Seville alone, we are told, the pious foundations for the relief of the indigent, produced, about the end of the 16th century, seven millions of reals, or more than 70,000*l.* a year. In this statement there may possibly be exaggeration; but, from what we have seen in our own days, we can readily believe, that the sums employed in charity in that country were immense. What we have at present to consider, is the fact that, during the 16th century, notwithstanding the general increase of wealth among the civilized nations of the West of Europe, the number of the poor, depending on charity for their support, was continually augmenting in Spain, as it was in England. But, if the dissolution of the monasteries was the cause of that calamity in England, how came it to prevail at the same time in Spain, where, instead of suppressing the old monasteries, new ones were founded every day, endowed with magnificent profusion, by the pious, though mistaken zeal of its inhabitants? If we were to fix on the time when the greatest number of monasteries was founded in Spain, we should say in the 16th century; and yet that is precisely the period when the increase of the poor was most constant and alarming. But if monasteries, though preserved, and even multiplied, in Spain, could not prevent the numbers of the poor from increasing in that kingdom, it is difficult to believe, that the same calamity, happening at the same time in England, should have been owing to the dissolution of monasteries.

If we look to other Catholic countries, we shall find that in Flanders, where no monasteries were suppressed, regulations for the poor became necessary about the same period. In 1531, the Emperor Charles V. published an edict in the Netherlands, containing various provisions for the poor, similar in all respects to those which were made about the same time in Spain and in England.

When these facts are taken into consideration, it seems to follow, that the increase of the poor, which led to the English poor's rates, was not owing to the dissolution of monasteries in England, but to some cause of more general operation, which extended its influence to other countries of Europe, that did not embrace the Protestant faith, nor suppress the religious institutions of their ancestors.

That cause, we are inclined to think, was the discovery of America, and consequent depreciation of the precious metals.

Wherever the labouring part of the community receive their wages in money, the condition of the labourer fluctuates with the vicissitudes of the seasons. In plentiful years he lives well,

and lays by, perhaps, part of his earnings. In bad years he fares worse, and spends what he had saved in former good years. A depreciation of money has the same effect on his circumstances as a bad harvest. Commodities rise in price; and if the change in the value of money is progressive for a number of years, he suffers the same hardships as from a succession of bad seasons, which every year become worse. Ignorant of the cause of his distress, he imputes the dearth of every thing to the artifices of monopolists—to the rise of rents—to enclosures—to pasturage—to exportation—to any cause, in short, but the true one, which he never suspects, and is incapable of discovering. His master, equally unconscious with himself of the change in the precious metals, resists violently his attempts to obtain an increase of wages, apprehensive that though prices may fall, wages, if once raised, will never be brought back again to their former level. Ultimately, it is true, the master must give way. There is a point below which the wages of labour cannot be permanently depressed. The labourer must be able to support himself, and to rear a family. If his income be insufficient for those purposes, the population of the country must decline; and, in proportion as the supply of labourers diminishes, the competition of their masters will raise their wages. But long before that extremity can arrive, the distresses of the labourer will, in general, receive some alleviation. The flourishing state of trade will have increased the demand for labour; or the humanity of the master will have induced him, of his own accord, to grant some advance of wages; or, if none of these occurrences has taken place, tumults and disturbances will have arisen among the labourers; and, though the arm of Government is always exerted on such occasions on the side of the masters, the matter commonly ends in a compromise, by which the workman obtains less than he demands, though more than his master would otherwise have given him. But if the money in which his wages are paid continues to sink in value, the relief which he thus obtains is of short duration. The evil from which he flies continually overtakes him. His days are passed in struggling with penury and want; and even after money has acquired a stationary value, many years elapse before he is restored to his former place in society.

Every depreciation of money is, therefore, in the first instance, detrimental to the labourer as well as to the annuitant. Both continue to receive nominally their former income; but as prices have risen, that income no longer affords them the same portion of the necessaries and conveniences of life. The condition of the annuitant is hopeless. He gradually sinks from his former station, and every year sees him deprived of some ha-

bitual comfort or indulgence. While money continues to sink, the labourer, though occasionally relieved by an advance of wages, finds himself exposed, in a few years, to a recurrence of the same difficulties. Rather than submit to the hardships and privations which his situation requires, he will, in many instances, expend the little capital he had saved in better times, in the vain hope that the cause of his distress is of temporary operation, and will thus be reduced to indigence. From indigence to beggary the transition is short. He who cannot maintain himself by his own labour, will seek for support in the benevolence of others. He who has contracted debts which he cannot pay, will fly from his home in order to escape from his creditors. Beggars and vagrants will be multiplied. The children, if they survive the calamities that overwhelmed their parents, will be educated in habits of idleness and mendicity. They will be strangers to the pride of honest independence, and habituated to the roving and precarious life, which necessity had imposed upon their fathers.

These evils would be intolerable if the same influx of money, which raises the price of commodities, did not rouse the exertions of industry, and thus increase the demand for labour. But it depends on the credit and capital of a country—on the security and spirit of mercantile enterprise—on the freedom of trade—and on the system of taxation, how far this impulse given to national industry is able to counteract the mischievous effects of the depreciation of money. In the 16th century there was little capital in England employed in commerce or manufactures; trade was oppressed with monopolies; and commercial exertion damped and kept down by arbitrary licenses and illegal exactions. The benefit from an increased demand for labour was therefore partial and limited, and had little sensible effect in bettering the condition of the labourers.

It is true that the greater number of agricultural labourers receive part of their wages in corn, and consequently suffer less than others from the rise of prices, whether induced by the vicissitudes of the seasons, or by the depreciation of money. But all tradesmen, and all workmen by the piece, are paid for their labour in money; and even agricultural labourers depend, in part, for the maintenance of their families, on that portion of their wages which they receive in money.

It appears, therefore, that the natural effect of a gradual depreciation of money, when not counteracted by an extraordinary, steady, and progressive demand for labour, is to impair the comforts and reduce the condition of the labouring part of the community, and to drive many of them to habits of idleness and begging. That this was the case in England during the

16th century—that the number of the poor was continually increasing—that the country was overrun with idlers and vagrants, we have the authority of the Poor laws to prove, and the concurrent testimony of all contemporary authors to corroborate. To connect this increase of the poor with depreciation of money and deficiency of wages, it remains for us to show, that from the discovery of America to the end of the 16th century, there was a gradual rise of prices in England, not accompanied by a corresponding rise in the price of labour.

That the price of commodities rose throughout Europe during the 16th century, in consequence of the influx of precious metals from America, is a point too certain and too well known to be insisted on. But, if we are not mistaken, this rise was earlier than is generally believed, or than (trusting to the authority of Mr Smith) we supposed, in a former Number, to have been the case. * From the prices of wheat, published by Sir Frederic Eden, in his work on the Poor, it is clear, that before the statute 22. Henry VIII. c. 12, complaining of the increase of beggars and vagabonds, the value of silver was sensibly depreciated with respect to wheat; and though that depreciation does not appear to have gone on afterwards in a steady progress, it is certain that, at no subsequent period of the 16th century, did the price of wheat ever fall to what had been its average price before the discovery of America. In the following table, constructed from the prices published by Sir Frederic Eden, the average value of wheat, with respect to silver, is given from 1464 to 1600, leaving out the years from 1542 to 1554, on account of the great and frequent changes of the coinage in that period. In the construction of this table, the prices taken from Sir Frederic Eden were converted into the currency of 1464; so that the progressive rise of prices shows exactly the rise on the value of wheat with respect to silver.

Average Prices of a Quarter of Wheat, from 1464 to 1600, (omitting the years from 1542 to 1554), reduced to the currency that subsisted in England from the 4th of Edward IV. to the 18th of Henry VIII.

sh.	d.	
6	2½	from 1464 to 1495 (both included), 32 years.
8	6	— 1496 to 1526, 31 years.
11	8	— 1527 to 1542, 16 years.
10	0½	— 1554 to 1560, 7 years.
10	9	— 1561 to 1570, 10 years.
14	0½	— 1571 to 1580, 10 years.
17	6	— 1581 to 1590, 10 years.
22	6	— 1591 to 1600, 10 years.

But during this period, not only was silver depreciated, but the current coin of the kingdom was deteriorated, by diminishing the purity of standard silver, and by coining the pound of silver into a greater number of shillings; so that the price of commodities rose not only in consequence of the change in the value of silver, but also in consequence of the depreciation of the currency. Having given the real rise in the value of wheat with respect to silver, we shall now give the nominal price of that commodity in the existing currency of the realm.

Average Prices of Wheat, as before, in the existing currencies of the times.

sh. d.		
6	2½	from 1464 to 1495.
8	6	— 1496 to 1526.
14	0	— 1527 to 1542.
17	1	— 1554 to 1560.
17	2½	— 1561 to 1570.
22	6	— 1571 to 1580.
28	0	— 1581 to 1590.
36	0	— 1591 to 1600.

As there can be no doubt of the general improvement of England in the 16th century, nor of the diffusion of wealth and comfort among the higher and middling classes of society, it is probable, that if the price of labour had been left to find its natural level, the labourer, though subject to temporary distress from the rise of commodities, would have obtained a considerable advance of his nominal wages. But positive law interfered to prevent him. His wages were regulated by statute, or by the authority of the justices; that is, by his employers.

The first statute, regulating the wages of labour in England, passed in the reign of Edward III.; and in the same year (1351) the earliest law in Spain on the same subject was published by Peter the Cruel. At an earlier period, labourers were serfs, and consequently no laws were required to regulate their wages. The immediate cause of the laws passed in both countries, in the middle of the 14th century, was the plague which laid waste Europe from 1347 to 1349, and carried off a great portion of its inhabitants. The consequence of this devastation was a scarcity of labourers, and a rise in the price of labour; which alarmed the employers of labourers both in Spain and in England, and induced them, in their legislative capacity, to enact laws, which reduced the price of labour to its former standard, and imposed heavy penalties on all who gave or who accepted more. A few years probably restored Europe to its former po-

pulation, and rendered these laws superfluous; but they served as examples to future times, and encouraged governments to interfere and regulate the wages of their subjects. In England, the statute of Labourers was frequently renewed, with such alterations as the change of circumstances required; and, by an equitable provision, the Justices of every county were empowered, by the statute 13 Richard II. c. 8, to meet once a year between Easter and Michaelmas; and after taking into consideration the price of provisions, to regulate, by proclamation, the wages that should be received in the ensuing year. But though this power was confirmed to the Justices by the statute, 5 Elizabeth, c. 4, they seem to have exercised it sparingly; and, when they acted, to have been guided by a steady bias in favour of the masters.

We shall now proceed to a comparison of the real wages of labour in the time of Henry VII., with those enjoyed by the labourer, after the interval of a century, in the reign of his granddaughter Elizabeth.

By the statute 11 Henry VII. c. 22, a common labourer was allowed 4d. a day, without diet, from Easter to Michaelmas. By the statute 23 Henry VI. c. 13, wheat might be exported without a license, when the price did not exceed 6s. 8d. the quarter; and barley, when it did not exceed 3s.: And by the statute 3 E. 4. c. 2, wheat might be imported when above 6s. 8d. the quarter, barley when above 3s., and rye when above 4s. We may therefore consider 6s. 8d. as a moderate and reasonable price for the quarter of wheat; 4s. as a fair price for the quarter of rye; and 3s. as a fair price for the quarter of barley. And, consequently, a labourer, who had 4d. a day, could earn a quarter of wheat by 20 days labour, a quarter of rye by 12 days labour, and a quarter of barley by 9 days labour. The real price of wheat seems to have been somewhat below the importation price. Let us now see what was the situation of the labourer in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth.

By statute 35 Elizabeth, c. 7, wheat might be exported, if not above 20s. the quarter; rye, if not above 13s. 4d.; and barley, if not above 12s. These may therefore be considered as moderate prices of wheat, rye and barley; and in fact we find, that the average price of wheat was at that time, in consequence of a succession of bad seasons, considerably higher than the exportation price. By determination of the justices of the East riding of Yorkshire in the same year, the wages of a common labourer, without meat or drink, were limited to fivepence a day, from the first of March to the feast of All Saints. Consequently a common labourer, in the latter part of

the reign of Queen Elizabeth, could not earn a quarter of wheat by less than 48 days labour, nor a quarter of rye in less than 32 days, nor a quarter of barley in less than $28\frac{4}{7}$ days. That is to say, a common labourer could earn a greater quantity of wheat in 1495, than he could of barley in 1593. If barley was his common sustenance, he could earn more than three times as much in 1495 as in 1593; if rye, $2\frac{4}{7}$ as much; and if wheat, $2\frac{4}{7}$. As far, therefore, as the necessities of life are concerned, the situation of the labourer was not one half so advantageous in 1593 as it had been in 1495. In the interval, America had been discovered, the precious metals depreciated throughout Europe, and the currency of England deteriorated by the operations of the government.

That the situation of the English peasantry was extremely good in the 15th century, and much superior to that of the peasantry of other countries, we have reason to conclude from the celebrated work of Sir John Fortescue *de laudibus legum Anglicæ*. After descanting in terms of suitable indignation on the arbitrary government of France, the following are the terms in which he describes the condition of the peasantry of that kingdom.

‘The people being with these and divers other calamities,’ (we use the old translation), ‘plaged and oppressed, doe live in great misery, drinking water daily, neither doe the inferior sort tast any other licor, saving only at solemne feasts. Their shamewes are made of hemp, much like to sackcloth. Wollen cloth they weare none, except it be very coarse, and that only in their coates under their said upper garments, neither use they any hosen, but from the kne upward; the residue of their legs go naked. Their women go barefoot, saving on holidiaies, neither men nor women eate any flesh there, but only larde of bacon, with a small quantity whereof they fatten their pottage and broths. As for rosted or sodden meat of flesh they taste none, except it be of the inwardes sometimes and heades of beastes that be killed for gentlemen and marchants.’

He then proceeds to a panegyric on the free constitution of his native country, and after enumerating the privileges of Englishmen, he goes on to state, ‘And heereby it commeth to passe, that the men of that lande are rich, having abundance of gold and silver, and other things necessarie for the mainetenance of man’s life. They drinke no water, unlesse it bee so, that some for devotion, and upon a zeal of pennance, doe abstaine from other drinke. They eate plentifully of all kindes of flesh and fishe. They wear fine wollen cloth in all their apparell. They have also abundance of bedde covering in all their houses, and of all other wollen stuffe. They have great store of all hastlements and implements of householde. They are plentifully furnished with all instruments of

husbandrie, and all other things that are requisite to the accomplishment of a quiet and wealthie life, according to their estates and degrees.

As a contrast to this favourable picture, let us take a description of the internal state of England, given by a justice of the peace in Somersetshire, only five years before the 43d of Elizabeth. In enumerating the disorders which then prevailed in that county, the author informs us, that ' forty persons had there been executed, in a year, for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burned in the hand; thirty-seven whipped; and 183 discharged: That those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who could never come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: That, notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the counties were not brought to trial; and the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: That the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch of their sheep-folds, pastures, woods, and corn-fields; that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire; and many of them were even in a worse; that there were, at least, three or four hundred able bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: That if all the felons of this kind were reduced to good subjection, they would form a strong army; and that the magistrates were awed, by the associations and threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders.' *

Both these descriptions may possibly be overcharged. The Somersetshire magistrate may have been actuated by a desire to magnify the duties and difficulties of his own vocation, and the Chief Justice may have been prompted by a laudable anxiety to recommend to his pupil, the unfortunate son of Henry VI., the civil and political constitution of a country which he was born to govern. But after making great allowance for overstatement, enough remains to show, that the situation of the common people of England, at these two intervals of time, could admit of no comparison. Let us hear the complaints of Harrison in 1585, and judge whether they do not confirm our conclusion, that the condition of labourers had declined in the sixteenth century, though the other classes of society had been advancing in wealth and comfort. ' Albeit,' says he, ' that there be much more

* Eden on the Poor, I. 111. from Strype's Annals.

ground eared now almost in everie place, then hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corn continueth in each towne and market without any just cause, (except it be that landlords doe get licences to carie corn out of the land, onelie to keepe up the prices for their owne private gaines, and ruine of the common wealth), that the artificer and poore laboring man is not able to reach unto it, but is driven to content himself with horse-corne, I mean, beanes, pease, otes, tares and lintels; and therefore it is a true proverbe, and never so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foote in the horse-manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rye will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some caterpillers there that can saie so much alreadie. †

A change in the value of money similar to what happened in the 16th century, has taken place in our own times. The precious metals have been depreciated throughout Europe, in consequence of the increased productiveness of the American mines during the last 40 years; and in our own country, the rise of prices which this necessarily produced, has been aggravated by a depreciation of our currency, occasioned by the excessive issue of paper not convertible into specie. What have been the consequences? The price of labour has not risen in proportion to the rise of commodities. But the labourer has the difference made up to him in the shape of poor's rate. An unmarried man can still support himself by his nominal wages. But a married man, who has two children to maintain, receives as a matter of course assistance from his parish. A calculation is made of his wages, and of the price of bread. So much bread is allowed to him, according to the number of his family. What his wages will not furnish, the parish provides. This beneficent system, as it has been called, turns out to be an engine in the hands of masters, to keep wages as low as will suffice for the maintenance of the labourer and his wife, with a provision in the shape of charity for the support of his children. It cannot be doubted, that if such a provision had never existed, the wages of the labourer would have been higher—that what he now receives as charity, he would then have received as his due—and that the operation of this scheme of benevolence is to increase the gains of the rich, and to deprive the poor of that share in the good things of this life, which the provisions of nature, and their own industry, might otherwise have given them. In thus keeping down the wages of labour, the poor-laws have accomplished, under the mask of charity, what the old statute of Labourers had vainly attempted by the infliction of pains and penalties. It is the pride of the Leicestershire farmer, that with

† Hollinshed, i. 168.

the smallest consumption of food, he can produce the heaviest carcase for the shambles, and the greatest quantity of manure for his fields. It matters not to him that the flesh is coarse, and the animal that bears it sickly and deformed. If it sells in the market, he has executed what he undertook. So it is the boast of our modern advocates for the poor-laws, that they have found an instrument, and an efficacious one, it must be confessed, for breeding labourers at the smallest possible expense, who shall perform the drudgery of society, with the least possible chance of emerging from the situation in which they are born, or of ever enjoying a larger portion of the bounty of Nature than is necessary to preserve their existence, and maintain them in strength and ability to toil for their employers. And for what object are three-fourths of mankind thus degraded and kept down? The immediate gain is the master's; but that is only a temporary advantage, followed by a train of bad consequences, from which the master and the whole community suffer. We do not intend at present to pursue this subject farther. There is no practical question in political economy which is so important; and while all must acknowledge that the evil is great, we confess that we are not prepared to say in what manner it can or ought to be remedied.

ART. XII. *De L'Allemagne.* Par Madame la Baronne de Staël-Holstein. 3 vol. 8vo. London, 1813.

MOST of our readers know that this work was suppressed at Paris about three years ago, after having passed through a rigorous examination by Censors. The history of the examination and suppression, and the letter from the Minister of Police, given in the Preface, are extremely curious. They are characteristic of Napoleon's government, and documents for the general history of tyranny over literature. But it is the smallest distinction of this work, that it is the first of suppressed books. On other occasions, the circumstances of the publication would be the most interesting part of the book; but the intrinsic and permanent importance of Madame de Staël's work immediately brings us to the consideration of the subject.

Till the middle of the 18th century, Germany was, in one important respect, singular among the great nations of Christendom. She had attained a high rank in Europe by discoveries and inventions, by science, by abstract speculation as well as positive knowledge; by the genius and the art of war, and above all by the theological revolution, which unfettered the under-

standing in one part of Europe, and loosened its chains in the other. But she was without a national literature. The country of Guttenberg, of Copernicus, of Luther, of Kepler, and of Leibnitz, had no writer in her own language, whose name was known to the neighbouring nations. German captains and statesmen, philosophers and scholars, were celebrated: but German writers were unknown. The nations of the south indeed seemed to slumber. Those of the Spanish peninsula formed the exact contrast to Germany. She had every mark of mental cultivation but a vernacular literature. They, since the Reformation, had ceased to exercise their reason; and they retained only their poets, whom they were content to admire, without daring any longer to emulate. In Italy, Metastasio was the only renowned poet; and sensibility to the arts of design had survived genius. But the monuments of ancient times still kept alive the pursuits of antiquities and philology. The rivalry of small states, and the glory of former ages, preserved an interest in literary history. The national mind retained that tendency towards experimental science, which it perhaps principally owed to the fame of Galileo; and began also to take some part in those attempts to discover the means of bettering the human condition, by inquiries into the principles of legislation and political economy, which form the most honourable distinction of the 18th century. France and England abated nothing of their activity. Whatever may be thought of purity of taste, or soundness of opinion, in Montesquieu and Voltaire, Buffon and Rousseau, no man will dispute the vigour of their genius. The same period among us was not marked by the loss of any of our ancient titles to fame; and it was splendidly distinguished by the rise of the arts, of history, of oratory, and (shall we not add?) of painting.

But Germany remained a solitary example of a civilized, learned, and scientific nation, without a literature. The chivalrous ballads of the middle age, and the efforts of the Silesian poets in the beginning of the 17th century, were just sufficient to render the general defect more striking. French was the language of every court; and the number of courts in Germany rendered this circumstance almost equivalent to the exclusion of German from every society of rank. Philosophers employed a barbarous Latin, as they had throughout all Europe, till the Reformation had given dignity to the vernacular tongues, by employing them in the service of religion; and till Montaigne, Galileo and Bacon, broke down the barrier between the learned and the people, by philosophizing in a popular language. The German language continued to be the mere instrument of

the most vulgar intercourse of life; Germany had, therefore, no exclusive mental possession; for poetry and eloquence may, and in some measure must be national; but knowledge, which is the common patrimony of civilized men, can be appropriated by no people.

A great revolution, however, at length began, which in the course of half a century terminated in bestowing on Germany a literature, perhaps the most characteristic possessed by an European nation. It had the important peculiarity of being the first which had its birth in an enlightened age. The imagination and sensibility of an infant poetry were singularly blended with the refinements of philosophy. A studious and learned people, familiar in the poets of other nations, with the first simplicity of nature and feeling, were too often tempted to pursue the singular, the excessive, and the monstrous. Their fancy was attracted towards the deformities and diseases of moral nature;—the wildness of an infant literature, combined with the eccentric and fearless speculations of a philosophical age. Some of the qualities of the childhood of art were united to others which usually attend its decline. German literature, various, rich, bold, and at length, by an inversion of the usual progress, working itself into originality, was tainted with the exaggeration natural to the imitator, and to all those who know the passions rather by study than by feeling.

Another cause concurred to widen the chasm which separated the German writers from the most polite nations of Europe. While England and France had almost relinquished those more abstruse speculations which had employed them in the age of Gassendi and Hobbes, and, with a confused mixture of contempt and despair, had tacitly abandoned questions which seemed alike inscrutable and unprofitable—a metaphysical passion arose in Germany, stronger and more extensive than had been known in Europe since the downfall of the scholastic philosophy. A system of metaphysics appeared, which, with the ambition natural to that science, aspired to dictate principles to every part of human knowledge. It was for a long time universally adopted. Other systems, derived from it, succeeded each other with the rapidity of fashions in dress. Metaphysical publications were multiplied almost to the same degree, as political tracts in the most factious period of a popular government. The subject was soon exhausted, and the metaphysical passion seems to be nearly extinguished;—for the small circle of dispute respecting first principles, must be always rapidly described; and the speculator, who thought his course infinite, finds himself almost instantaneously returned to the point from which he began. But the

language of abstruse research has spread over the whole German style. Allusions to the most subtle speculations are common in popular writings. Bold metaphors, derived from their peculiar philosophy, are familiar in observations on literature and manners. The style of Germany at length differed from that of France, and even of England, more as the literature of the East differs from that of the West, than as that of one European people from that of their neighbours.

Hence it partly arose, that while physical and political Germany was so familiar to foreigners, intellectual and literary Germany continued almost unknown. Thirty years ago, there were probably in London as many Persian as German scholars. Neither Goethe nor Schiller conquered the repugnance. Political confusions, a timid and exclusive taste, and the habitual neglect of foreign languages, excluded German literature from France. Temporary and permanent causes contributed to banish it, after a short period of success, from England. Dramas, more remarkable for theatrical effect than for dramatic genius, exhibited scenes and characters of a paradoxical morality, (on which no writer has animadverted with more philosophical and moral eloquence than Mad. de Staël); unsafe even in the quiet of the schools, but peculiarly dangerous in the theatre, where it comes into contact with the inflammable passions of ignorant multitudes; and justly alarming to those who, with great reason, considered domestic virtue as one of the privileges and safeguards of the English nation. These moral paradoxes, which were chiefly found among the inferior poets of Germany, appeared at the same time with the political novelties of the French Revolution, and underwent the same fate. German literature was branded as the accomplice of freethinking philosophy and revolutionary politics. It happened rather whimsically, that we now began to throw out the same reproaches against other nations, which the French had directed against us in the beginning of the eighteenth century. We were then charged by our polite neighbours with the vulgarity and turbulence of rebellious upstarts, who held nothing sacred in religion, or stable in government; whom 'no king could govern, and no God could please;' and whose coarse and barbarous literature could excite only the ridicule of cultivated nations. The political part of these charges we applied to America, which had retained as much as she could of our government and laws; and the literary part to Germany, where literature had either been formed on our models, or moved by a kindred impulse, even where it assumed somewhat of a different form. The same persons who applauded the wit, and pardoned the shocking licentiousness of English com-

dy, were loudest in their clamours against the immorality of the German theatre. In our zeal against a few scenes, dangerous only by over-refinement, we seemed to have forgotten the vulgar grossness which tainted the whole brilliant period from Fletcher to Congreve. Nor did we sufficiently remember, that the most daring and fantastical combinations of the German stage, did not approach to that union of taste and sense in the thought and expression, with wildness and extravagance in the invention of monstrous character and horrible incident, to be found in some of our earlier dramas, which, for their energy and beauty, the public taste has lately recalled from oblivion.

The more permanent causes of the slow and small progress of German literature in France and England, are philosophically developed in two beautiful chapters of the present work. * A translation from German into a language so different in its structure and origin as French, fails, as a piece of music composed for one sort of instrument when performed on another. In Germany, style, and even language, are not yet fixed. In France, rules are despotic—‘the reader will not be amused at the expense of his literary conscience; there alone he is scrupulous.’ A German writer is above his Public, and firms it. A French writer dreads a Public already enlightened and severe. He constantly thinks of immediate effect. He is in society, even while he is composing; and never loses sight of the effect of his writings on those whose opinions and pleasantries he is accustomed to fear. The German writers have, in a higher degree, the first requisite for writing—the power of feeling with vivacity and force. In France, a book is read to be spoken of, and must therefore catch the spirit of society. In Germany, it is read by solitary students, who seek instruction or emotion; and, ‘in the silence of retirement, nothing seems more melancholy than the spirit of the world.’ The French require a clearness which may sometimes render their writers superficial; and the Germans, in the pursuit of originality and depth, often convey obvious thoughts in an obscure style. In the dramatic art, the most national part of literature, the French are distinguished in whatever relates to the action, the intrigue, and the interest of events; but the Germans surpass them in representing the impressions of the heart, and the secret storms of the strong passions.

From the chapter which relates to the reception of German Literature in Great Britain, we extract the following passages which it would be barbarous to abridge, and very difficult to translate.

* Part. ii. chap. 1. and 2.

‘ Les Anglois veulent à tout des résultats immédiatement applicables, et de là naissent leurs préventions contre une philosophie qui a pour objet le beau plutôt que l’utile.

‘ Les Anglois ne séparent point, il est vrai, la dignité de l’utilité, et toujours ils sont prêts quand il le faut, à sacrifier ce qui est utile à ce qui est honorable ; mais ils ne se prêtent pas volontiers, comme il est dit dans Hamlet, à ces conversations avec l’air dont les Allemands sont très épris. La philosophie des Anglois est dirigée vers les résultats avantageux au bien-être de l’humanité. Les Allemands s’occupent de la vérité pour elle-même, sans penser au parti que les hommes peuvent en tirer. La nature de leurs gouvernements ne leur ayant point offert des occasions grandes et belles de mériter la gloire et de servir la patrie, ils s’attachent en tout genre à la contemplation, et cherchent dans le ciel l’espace que leur étroite destinée leur refuse sur la terre. Ils se plaisent dans l’idéal, parcequ’il n’y a rien dans l’état actuel des choses qui parle à leur imagination. Les Anglois s’honorent avec raison de tout ce qu’ils possèdent, de tout ce qu’ils sont, de tout ce qu’ils peuvent être ; ils placent leur admiration et leur amour sur leurs lois, leurs mœurs, et leur culte.

‘ Ces nobles sentiments donnent à l’ame plus de force et d’énergie ; mais la pensée va peut-être encore plus loin quand elle n’a point de bornes ni même début déterminé, et que, sans cesse en rapport avec l’immense et l’infini, aucun intérêt ne la ramène que choses de ce monde.

‘ Les Anglois qui ont tant d’originalité dans le caractère redoutent néanmoins assez généralement les nouveaux systèmes. La sagesse d’esprit leur a fait tant de bien dans les affaires de la vie, qu’ils aiment à la retrouver dans les études intellectuelles ; et c’est la cependant que l’audace est inséparable de génie. Le génie, pourvu qu’il respecte la religion et la morale, doit aller aussi loin qu’il veut : c’est l’empire de la pensée qu’il aggrandit.

‘ Les affections domestiques exerçant un grand empire sur le cœur des Anglois, leur Poésie se sent de la délicatesse et de la fixité de ses affections : les Allemands, plus indépendants en tout parce qu’ils sont moins libres, peignent les sentiments comme les idées à travers des nuages : on diroit que l’univers vacille devant leurs yeux, et l’incertitude même de leurs regards multiplie les objets dont leur talent peut se servir.

‘ L’imagination, en Angleterre, est presque toujours inspirée par la sensibilité ; l’imagination des Allemands est quelquefois rude et bizarre : La religion de l’Angleterre est plus sévère ; celle de l’Allemagne est plus vague ; et la poésie des nations doit nécessairement porter l’empreinte de leurs sentiments religieux. La convénance ne règne point dans les Arts en Angleterre comme en France ; cependant l’opinion publique y a plus d’empire, qu’en Allemagne l’unité nationale en est la cause. Les Anglois veulent mettre d’accord en toutes choses les actions et les principes ; c’est un peuple sage et bien ordonné qui a compris dans la sagesse la gloire, et dans l’ordre

la liberté : les Allemands, n'ayant fait que rêver l'une et l'autre, ont examiné les idées indépendamment de leur application, et se sont ainsi nécessairement élevés plus haut en théorie.

These passages naturally introduce the English reader to this work, of which the object is, to make Germany known to foreign nations. It will also make known to future ages the state of that country in the highest degree of its philosophical and poetical activity, at the moment before the pride of genius was humbled by foreign conquest, or the national mind turned from literary enthusiasm by struggles for the restoration of independence. The fleeting opportunity of observation at so extraordinary a moment, has happily been seized by one of those very few persons, who are capable at once of observing and painting manners,—of estimating and expounding philosophical systems,—of feeling the beauties of the most dissimilar forms of literature,—of tracing the peculiarities of usages, arts, and even speculations, to their common principle in national character—and of disposing them in their natural place as features in the great portrait of a people.

The attainments of a respectable traveller of the second class, are, in the present age, not uncommon. Many persons are perfectly well qualified to convey exact information, wherever the subject can be exactly known. But the most important objects in a country can neither be numbered nor measured. The naturalist gives no picture of scenery by the most accurate catalogue of mineral and vegetable produce; and, after all that the political arithmetician can tell us of wealth and population, we continue ignorant of the spirit which actuates them, and of the character which modifies their application.

The genius of the philosophical and poetical traveller is of a higher order. It is founded in the power of catching, by a rapid glance, the physiognomy of man and of nature. It is, in one of its parts, an expansion of that sagacity which seizes the character of an individual, in his features, in his expression, in his gestures, in his tones, in every outward sign of his thoughts and feelings. The application of this intuitive power to the varied mass called a Nation, is one of the most rare efforts of the human intellect. The mind and the eye must cooperate, with electrical rapidity, to recal what a nation has been, to sympathize with their present sentiments and passions, and to trace the workings of national character in amusements, in habits, in institutions and opinions. There appears to be an extemporaneous facility of theorizing, necessary to catch the first aspect of a new country, of which the features would enter the mind in absolute confusion, if they were not immediately referred to

some principle, and reduced to some system. To embody this conception, there must exist the power of painting both scenery and character—of combining the vivacity of first impression with the accuracy of minute examination—of placing a nation, strongly individualized by every mark of its mind and disposition, in the midst of ancient monuments, clothed in its own apparel, engaged in its ordinary occupations and pastimes amidst its native scenes—like a grand historical painting, with appropriate drapery, and with the accompaniments of architecture and landscape, which illustrate and characterize, as well as adorn.

The voice of Europe has already applauded the genius of a national painter in the author of *Corinne*. But it was there aided by the power of a pathetic fiction—by the variety and opposition of national character—and by the charm of a country which unites beauty to renown. In the work before us, she has thrown off the aid of fiction. She delineates a less poetical character, and a country more interesting by expectation than by recollection.

But it is not the less certain that it is the most vigorous effort of her genius, and probably the most elaborate and masculine production of the faculties of woman. What woman indeed, and (we may add) how many men, could have preserved all the grace and brilliancy of Parisian society in analyzing its nature—explained the most abstruse metaphysical theories of Germany precisely, yet perspicuously and agreeably—and combined the eloquence which inspires exalted sentiments of virtue, with the enviable talent of gently indicating the defects of men or of nations, by the skillfully softened touches of a polite and merciful pleasantry?

In a short introduction, the principal nations of Europe are derived from three races, the Slavonic, the Latin and the Teutonic. The imitative and feeble literature—the recent, precipitate and superficial civilization of the Slavonic nations—sufficiently distinguish them from the two great races. The Latin nations who inhabit the south of Europe, are the most anciently civilized. Social institutions, blended with paganism, preceded their reception of Christianity; they have less disposition than their northern neighbours to abstract reflection; they understand better the business and pleasures of the world; they inherit the sagacity of the Romans in civil affairs; and ‘they alone, like those ancient masters, know how to practise the art of domination.’

The Germanic nations, who inhabit the north of Europe and the British islands, received their civilization with Christianity; chivalry and the middle age are the subject of their traditions and legends. Their natural genius is more gothic than classical;

they are distinguished by independence and good faith—by seriousness both in their talents and character, rather than by address or vivacity:—‘The social dignity which the English owe to their political constitution, places them at the head of Teutonic nations, but does not exempt them from the character of the race.’

The literature of the Latin nations is copied from the ancients, and retains the original colour of their polytheism. That of the nations of Germanic origin, has a chivalrous basis, and is modified by a spiritual religion. The French and Germans are at the two extremities of the chain;—the French considering outward objects, and the Germans thought and feeling, as the prime movers of the moral world. ‘The French nation, the most cultivated of Latin nations, inclines to a classical poetry. The English nation, the most illustrious of Germanic nations, delights in a poetry more romantic and chivalrous.’

The theory which we have thus abridged is most ingenious, and exhibits in the liveliest form the distinction between different systems of literature and manners. It is partly true; for the principle of race is doubtless one of the most important in the history of mankind; and the first impressions on the susceptible character of rude tribes may be traced in the qualities of their most civilized descendants.—But, considered as an exclusive and universal theory, it is not secure against the attacks of sceptical ingenuity. The facts do not seem entirely to correspond with it. It was among the Latin nations of the south, that chivalry and romance first flourished. Provence was the earliest seat of romantic poetry. A chivalrous literature predominated in Italy during the most brilliant period of Italian genius. The poetry of the Spanish peninsula seems to have been more romantic and less subjected to classical bondage than that of any other part of Europe. On the contrary, chivalry, which was the refinement of the middle age, penetrated more slowly into the countries of the north. In those less polished regions, it was more rugged and obscure, and did not descend, as in the south, with that splendour and renown which acted upon the imagination of succeeding times. In general, the character of the literature of each European nation seems extremely to depend upon the period at which it had reached its highest point of cultivation. Spanish and Italian poetry flourished while Europe was still chivalrous. French literature attained its highest splendour after the Grecian and Roman writers had become the object of universal reverence. The Germans cultivated their poetry a hundred years later, when the study of antiquity had revived the knowledge of the Gothic sentiments and principles. Nature produced a chivalrous poetry

in the sixteenth century; learning in the eighteenth. Perhaps the history of English poetry reflects the revolution of European taste more distinctly than that of any other nation. We have successively cultivated a Gothic poetry from nature, a classical poetry from imitation, and a second Gothic from the study of our own ancient poets.

To this consideration it must be added, that Catholic and Protestant nations must differ in their poetical system.—The festal shows and legendary polytheism of the Catholics had the effect of a sort of Christian Paganism.—The Protestant poetry was spiritualized by the genius of their worship, and was undoubtedly exalted by the daily perusal of translations of the sublime poems of the Hebrews; a discipline, without which it is probable that the nations of the West never could have been prepared to endure Oriental poetry. Religion conquered the first repugnance; and familiar use gave it an influence still discernible in that tendency towards deep emotion and sublime imagery, which characterizes, though in different forms, both English and German poetry.

In justice, however, to the ingenious theory of Mad. de Staël, it ought to be observed, that the original character ascribed by her to the Northern nations, must have disposed them to the adoption of a Protestant faith and worship, while the Popery of the South, was naturally preserved by an early disposition to a splendid ceremonial, and a various and flexible mythology.

The work is divided into four parts.—On Germany and German manners.—On literature and the arts.—On philosophy and morals.—On religion and enthusiasm.

The first is the most perfect in its kind; belongs the most entirely to the genius of the writer; and affords the best example of the talent for painting nations which we have attempted to describe. It seems also, as far as foreign critics can presume to decide, to be in the most finished style of any composition of the author, and more securely to bid defiance to that minute criticism which, in other works, her genius rather disdained than propagated.* The Germans are a just, constant, and sincere people; with great power of imagination and reflection; without brilliancy in society, or address in affairs; slow, and easily intimidated in action; adventurous and fearless in speculation; often uniting enthusiasm for the elegant arts, with little progress in the manners and refinements of life; more capable of being inflamed by opinions than by interests; obedient to authority, rather from an orderly and mechanical character than from servility, —having learnt to value liberty neither by the enjoyment of it, nor

* Part. 1. Chap. 1.—1.

by severe oppression; divested by the nature of their governments, and the division of their territories, of patriotic pride; too prone in the relations of domestic life, to substitute fancy and feeling for positive duty; not unfrequently combining a natural character with artificial manners, and much real feeling with affected enthusiasm; divided by the sternness of feudal demarcation into an unlettered nobility, unpolished scholars, and a depressed commonalty; and exposing themselves to derision, when, with their grave and clumsy honesty, they attempt to copy the lively and dexterous profligacy of their Southern neighbours.

In the plentiful provinces of Southern Germany,* where religion, as well as government, shackled the activity of speculation, the people had sunk into a sort of lethargic comfort and stupid enjoyment:—it was a heavy and monotonous country, with no arts, except the national art of instrumental music;—no literature, a rude utterance;—no society, or only crowded assemblies, which seemed to be brought together for ceremonial, more than for pleasure;—‘an obsequious politeness towards an aristocracy without elegance.’ In Austria, more especially, are seen a calm and languid mediocrity in sensations and desires; a people mechanical in their very sports—‘whose existence is neither disturbed nor exalted by guilt or genius, by intolerance or enthusiasm;’ a phlegmatic administration, inflexibly adhering to its ancient course—repelling knowledge on which the vigour of States must now depend; great societies of amiable and respectable persons—which suggest the reflection, that ‘in retirement monotony composes the soul, but in the world it wearies the mind.’

In the rigorous climate and gloomy towns of Protestant Germany, only the national mind is displayed. There the whole literature and philosophy were assembled. Berlin was slowly rising to be the capital of enlightened Germany. The Dutchess of Weimar, who compelled Napoleon to respect her in the intoxication of victory, had changed her little capital into a seat of knowledge and elegance, under the auspices of Goethe, Wieland, and Schiller. No European palace had assembled so refined a society since some of the small Italian courts of the sixteenth century. It is only by the Protestant provinces of the North, that Germany is known as a lettered and philosophical country.

From this admirable picture, we must now select specimens which convey a more just conception of its excellence than our cold abridgement. We begin by the beautiful observations on the character and destiny of Women.

* Part. 1. Ch. 5. & 6. 7. 8.

‘ La nature et la société donnent aux femmes une grande habitude de souffrir, et l’on ne sauroit nier, ce me semble, que de nos jours elles valent, en général mieux que les hommes. Dans une époque où le mal universel est l’égoïsme, les hommes auxquelles tous les intérêts positifs se rapportent doivent avoir moins de générosité, moins de sensibilité que les femmes; elles ne tiennent à la vie que par les liens du cœur, et lorsqu’elles s’égarent, c’est encore par un sentiment qu’elles sont entraînées: leur personnalité est toujours à deux, tandis que celle de l’homme n’a que lui-même pour but. On leur rend hommage par les affections qu’elles inspirent, mais celles qu’elles accordent sont presque toujours des sacrifices. La plus belle des vertus, le dévouement, est leur jouissance et leur destinée; nul bonheur ne peut exister pour elles que par le reflet de la gloire et des prospérités d’un autre; enfin, vivre hors de soi-même, soit par les idées, soit par les sentiments, soit sur-tout par les vertus, donne à l’ame un sentiment habituel d’elevation. ’

‘ Dans le pays où les hommes sont appelés par les institutions politiques à exercer toutes les vertus militaires et civiles qu’inspire l’amour de la patrie, ils reprennent la supériorité qui leur appartient; ils rentrent avec éclat dans leurs droits de maître du monde: mais lorsqu’ils sont condamnés de quelque manière à loisiveté, ou à la servitude, ils tombent d’autant plus bas qu’ils devoient s’élever plus haut. La destinée des femmes reste toujours la même, c’est leur ame seule qui la fait, les circonstances politiques n’y influent en rien. Lorsque les hommes ne savent pas, on ne peut pas employer dignement et noblement leur vie, la nature se venge sur eux des dons mêmes qu’ils en ont reçus; l’activité du corps ne sert plus qu’à la paresse de l’esprit; la force de l’ame devient de la rudesse; et le jour se passe dans des exercices et des amusements vulgaires, les chevaux, la chasse, les festins qui conviendroient comme délassement, mais qui abrutissent comme occupations. Pendant ce temps les femmes cultivent leur esprit et le sentiment et la reverie conservent dans leur ame l’image de tout ce qui est noble et beau.

‘ Les femmes Allemandes ont un charme qui leur est tout à fait particulier, un son de voix touchant, des cheveux blonds, un teint éblouissant; elles sont modestes, mais moins timides que les Anglaises; on voit qu’elles ont rencontré moins souvent des hommes qui leur fussent supérieurs, et qu’elles ont d’ailleurs moins à craindre des jugemens sévères du public. Elles cherchent à plaire par la sensibilité, à intéresser par l’imagination; la langue de la poésie et des beaux arts leur est connue; elles font de la coquetterie avec de l’enthousiasme, comme on en fait en France avec de l’esprit et de la plaisanterie. ’

Moralists and philosophers have often remarked, that licentious gallantry is fatal to love, and destructive of the importance of women. ‘ I will venture to assert, ’ says Madame de Staël, ‘ against the received opinion, that France was perhaps, of all

the countries of the world, that in which women had the least happiness in love. It was called the *Paradise of Women*; because they enjoyed the greatest liberty; but that liberty arose from the negligent profligacy of the other sex.* The observations which follow this remarkable testimony are so beautiful and forcible, that they ought to be engraven on the mind of every woman disposed to murmur at those restraints which maintain the dignity of womanhood.

Some enthusiasm, says Mad. de Staël, or, in other words, some high passion, capable of actuating multitudes, has been felt by every people, at those epochs of their national existence, which are distinguished by great acts. Four periods are very remarkable in the progress of the European world. The heroic ages which founded civilization,—republican patriotism, which was the glory of antiquity,—chivalry, the martial religion of Europe,—and the love of liberty, of which the history began about the period of the Reformation. The chivalrous impression is worn out in Germany; and, in future, says this generous and enlightened writer, ‘nothing great will be accomplished in that country, but by the liberal impulse which has in Europe succeeded to chivalry.’

The society and manners of Germany are continually illustrated by comparison or contrast with those of France. Some passages and chapters on this subject, together with the author's brilliant preface to the thoughts of the *Prince de Ligne*, may be considered as the first contributions towards a theory of the talent (if we must not say of the art) of conversation, which affords so considerable a part of the most liberal enjoyments of refined life. Those, indeed, who affect a Spartan or monastic severity in their estimate of the society of capitals, may almost condemn a talent, which in their opinion only adorns vice. But that must have a moral tendency which raises society from slander or intoxication, to any contest and rivalry of mental power. Wit and grace are perhaps the only means which could allure the thoughtless into the neighbourhood of reflection, and inspire them with some admiration for superiority of mind. Society is the only school in which the indolence of the great will submit to learn. Refined conversation is at least sprinkled with literature, and directed, more often than the talk of the vulgar, to objects of general interest. That talent cannot really be frivolous which affords the channel through which some knowledge, or even some respect for knowledge, may be insinuated into minds incapable of labour, and whose tastes so materially influence the community. Satirical pictures of the vices of a great

* Part. 1. ch. 4.

society create a vulgar prejudice against their most blameless and virtuous pleasures. But, whatever may be the vice of London or Paris, it is lessened, not increased, by the cultivation of every liberal talent which innocently fills their time, and tends, in some measure, to raise them above malice and sensuality. And there is a considerable illusion in the provincial estimate of the immoralities of the capital. These immoralities are public, from the rank of the parties; and they are rendered more conspicuous by the celebrity, or perhaps by the talents, of some of them. Men of letters, and women of wit, describe their own sufferings with eloquence; the faults of others, and sometimes their own, with energy. Their descriptions interest every reader, and are circulated throughout Europe. But it does not follow, that the miseries or the faults are greater or more frequent than those of obscure and vulgar persons, whose sufferings and vices are known to nobody, and would be uninteresting if they were known.

Though other parts of Mad. de Staël's work have more serious objects and higher attributes, there are none so perfect, and of which the equal excellence renders selection so difficult, as those chapters which relate to society and conversation, and which exhibit an unparalleled union of graceful vivacity with philosophical ingenuity.

‘ Néanmoins on trouve très rarement chez les Allemands la rapidité d'esprit qui anime l'entretien et met en mouvement toutes les idées; ce genre de plaisir ne se rencontre guère que dans les sociétés de Paris les plus piquantes et les plus spirituelles. Il faut l'élite d'une capitale française pour donner ce rare amusement: par-tout ailleurs on ne trouve d'ordinaire que de l'éloquence en public ou du charme dans l'intimité. La conversation, comme talent, n'existe qu'en France, dans les autres pays elle ne sert qu'à la politesse, à la discussion ou à l'amitié; en France c'est un art auquel l'imagination et l'âme sont sans doute fort nécessaires, mais qui a pourtant aussi quand on le veut, des secrets pour suppléer à l'absence de l'une et de l'autre. ’

‘ Un entretien aimable, alors même qu'il porte sur des riens, et que la grace seule des expressions en fait le charme, cause encore beaucoup de plaisir: on peut l'affirmer sans impertinence, les Français sont presque seuls capables de ce genre d'entretien c'est un exercice dangereux, mais piquant, dans lequel il faut se jouer de tous les sujets comme d'une balle lancée qui doit revenir à temps dans la main du joueur. ’

‘ Les étrangers, quand ils veulent imiter les Français, affectent plus d'immoralité et sont plus frivoles qu'eux, de peur que le sérieux ne manque de grace, et que les sentiments ou les pensées n'aient pas l'accent parisien. ’

‘ Le genre de bien-être que fait éprouver une conversation animée ne consiste pas précisément dans le sujet de cette conversation; les

idées ni les connoissances qu'on peut y développer n'en sont pas le principal intérêt ; c'est une certaine manière d'agir les uns sur les autres, de se faire plaisir réciproquement et avec rapidité, de parler aussitôt qu'on pense, de jouir à l'instant de soi-même, d'être applaudi sans travail de manifester son esprit dans toutes les nuances par l'accent, le geste, le regard, enfin de produire à volonté comme une sorte d'électricité qui fait jaillir des étincelles, soulage les uns de l'excès même de leur vivacité, et réveille les autres d'une apathie pénible. Rien n'est plus étranger à ce talent que le caractère et le genre d'esprit des Allemands ; ils veulent un résultat sérieux en tout. Bacon a dit que la conversation n'étoit pas un chemin qui conduisoit à la maison, mais un sentier où l'on se promenoit au hasard avec plaisir. Les Allemands donnent à chaque chose le temps nécessaire, mais le nécessaire en fait de conversation c'est l'amusement ; si l'on dépasse cette mesure l'on tombe dans la discussion, dans l'entretien sérieux, qui est plutôt une occupation utile qu'un acte agréable.

Les bons mots des Français ont été cités d'un bout de l'Europe à l'autre ; de tout temps ils ont montré leur brillante valeur et soulagé leurs chagrins d'une façon vive et piquante ; de tout temps ils ont en besoin les uns des autres, comme d'auditeurs alternatifs qui s'encourageoient mutuellement ; de tout temps ils ont excellé dans l'art de ce qu'il faut dire, et même de ce qu'il faut taire, quand un grand intérêt l'emporte sur leur vivacité naturelle ; de tout temps ils ont eu de talent de vivre vite, d'abréger les longs discours, de faire place aux successeurs avides de parler à leur tour ; de tout temps, enfin, ils ont eu ne prendre du sentiment et de la pensée que ce qu'il en faut pour animer l'entretien sans lasser le frivole intérêt qu'on a d'ordinaire les uns pour les autres.

Les Français parlent toujours légèrement de leurs malheurs, dans la crainte d'ennuyer leurs amis ; ils devinent la fatigue qu'ils pourroient causer, par celle dont ils seroient susceptibles ; ils se hâtent de montrer élégamment de l'insouciance pour leur propre sort, afin d'en avoir l'honneur au lieu d'en recevoir l'exemple. Le désir de paroître aimable conseille de prendre une expression de gaieté quelle que soit la disposition intérieure de l'âme ; la physionomie influe par degrés sur ce qu'on éprouve, et ce qu'on fait pour plaire aux autres émousse bientôt en soi-même ce qu'on ressent. — Une femme d'esprit a dit que Paris étoit le lieu du monde où l'on pouvoit le mieux se passer de bonheur : * c'est sous ce rapport qu'il convient si bien à la pauvre espèce humaine.

Le talent et l'habitude de la société servent beaucoup à faire connoître les hommes pour réussir en parlant, il faut observer avec perspicacité l'impression qu'on produit à chaque instant sur eux, celle qu'ils veulent nous cacher, celle qu'ils cherchent à nous exagér-

* Supprimé par la censure sous prétexte qu'il y avoit tant de bonheur à Paris maintenant qu'on n'avoit pas besoin de s'en passer.

rer, la satisfaction contenue des uns le sourire forcé des autres ; on voit passer sur le front de ceux qui nous écoutent des blâmes à demi formés, qu'on peut éviter en se hâtant de les dissiper avant que l'amour propre y soit engagé. L'on y voit naître aussi l'approbation qu'il faut fortifier sans cependant exiger d'elle plus qu'elle ne veut donner. Il n'est point d'arène où la vanité se montre sous des formes plus variées que dans la conversation.'

' Les Français sont les plus habiles diplomates de l'Europe et ces hommes qu'on accuse d'indiscrétion et d'impertinence savent mieux que personne cacher un secret et captiver ceux dont ils ont besoin. Ils ne déplaisent jamais que quand ils le veulent, c'est à dire quand leur vanité croit trouver mieux son compte dans le dédain que dans l'obligeance. L'esprit de conversation a singulièrement développé dans les Français l'esprit plus sérieux des négociations politiques.'

' Une puissance aristocratique le bon ton et l'élégance, l'emportoient sur l'énergie, la profondeur, la sensibilité, l'esprit même. Elle disoit à l'énergie :—Vous mettez trop d'intérêt aux personnes et aux choses :—à la profondeur :—vous ne prenez trop de temps :—à la sensibilité :—vous êtes trop exclusive :—à l'esprit enfin :—vous êtes une distinction trop individuelle. Il falloit des avantages qui tirent plus aux manières qu'aux idées, et il emportoit à reconnoître dans un homme, plutôt la classe dont il étoit, que le mérite qu'il possédoit. Cette espèce d'égalité dans l'inégalité est très favorable aux gens médiocres, car elle doit nécessairement détruire toute originalité dans le façon de voir et de s'exprimer. Le modèle choisi est noble, agréable et de bon goût, mais il est le même pour tous. C'est un point de réunion que ce modèle, chacun en s'y conformant se croit plus en société avec ses semblables. Un Français s'en nuirait d'être seul de son avis comme d'être seul dans sa chambre.'

' La plaisanterie allège pour un moment le poids de la vie ! vous aimez à voir un homme, votre semblable, se jouer ainsi du fardeau qui vous accable, et bientôt, animé par lui, vous le soulevez à votre tour.'—' Rien ne sauroit égaler au contraire le charme d'un récit fait par un Français spirituel et de bon goût. Il prévoit tout, il ménage tout, et cependant il ne sacrifie point ce qui pourroit exciter l'intérêt. Sa physionomie, moins prononcée que celle des Italiens, indique la gaieté sans rien faire perdre à la dignité du maintien et de manières il s'arrête quand il le faut, et jamais il n'épuise même l'amusement ; il s'anime, et néanmoins il tient toujours en mains la rêne de son esprit pour le conduire sûrement et rapidement ; bientôt aussi les auditeurs se mêlent de l'entretien, il fait valoir alors à son tour ceux qui viennent de l'applaudir ; il ne laisse point passer une expression heureuse sans la révéler une plaisanterie piquante sans la sentir et pour un moment du moins l'on se plaît et l'on jouit les uns des autres comme si tout étoit concorde, union et sympathie dans le monde.'

The second, and most generally amusing, as well as the largest part of this work, is an animated sketch of the literary history

of Germany, with criticisms on the most celebrated German poets and poems, interspersed with reflections equally original and beautiful, tending to cultivate a comprehensive taste in the fine arts, and to ingraft the love of virtue on the sense of beauty. Of the poems criticized, some are well known to most of our readers. The earlier pieces of Schiller were generally read in translations of various merit—though; except the Robbers, they are not by the present taste of Germany placed in the first class of his works. The versions of Leonora, of Oberon, of Wallenstein, of Nathan, and of Iphigenia in Tauris, are among those which do the most honour to English literature.

Goetz of Berlichingen has been vigorously rendered by a writer, whose chivalrous genius, exerted upon somewhat similar scenes of British history, has since rendered him the most popular poet of his age.

An epic poem, or a poetical romance, has lately been discovered in Germany, entitled *Nibelungen*—on the Destruction of the Burgundians by Attila; and it is believed, that at least some parts of it were composed not long after the event, though the whole did not assume its present shape till the completion of the vernacular languages about the beginning of the 13th century.* Luther's version of the Scriptures is an epoch in German literature. One of the innumerable blessings of the Reformation was to make reading popular by such translations, and to accustom the people to weekly attempts at some sort of argument or declamation in their native tongue. The vigorous mind of the great Reformer gave to his translation an energy and conciseness, which made it a model in style, as well as an authority in language. Hagedorn, Weiss, and Gellert, copied the French without vivacity; † and Bodmer imitated the English without genius. At length, Klopstock, an imitator of Milton, formed a German poetry, and Wieland improved the language and versification; though this accomplished writer has somewhat suffered in his reputation, by the recent zeal of the Germans against the imitation of any foreign, but especially of the French, school.

‘ Il faut, pour imiter Voltaire, une insouciance moqueuse et philosophique qui rend indifférent à tout excepté la manière piquante d'exprimer cette insouciance. Jamais un Allemand ne peut arriver à cette brillante liberté de plaisanterie; la vérité l'attache trop, il veut savoir et expliquer c'est que les choses sont. ’ Part. II. c. 4.

* An ingenious and celebrated writer has promised a more particular account of this most curious monument.

SIMONDI *Littérature du Midi* Vol. I. p. 30,

† ‘ Leurs ouvrages n'étoient que du Français appesanti. ’

'The genius of Klopstock was enflamed by the perusal of Milton and Young.' This combination of names is astonishing to an English ear. It creates a presumption against the poetical sensibility of Klopstock, to find that he combined two poets, placed at an immeasurable distance from each other, and whose whole superficial resemblance arises from some part of Milton's subject, and from the doctrines of their theology, rather than the spirit of their religion.—Through all the works of Young, written with such a variety of temper and manner, there predominates one talent; inexhaustible wit, with little soundness of reason or depth of sensibility. His melancholy is artificial; and his combinations are as grotesque and fantastic in his Night Thoughts as in his Satires. How exactly does a poet characterize his own talent, who opens a series of poetical meditations on death and immortality, by a satirical epigram against the selfishness of the world?—Wit and ingenuity are the only talents which Milton disdained. He is simple in his conceptions, even when his diction is overloaded with gorgeous learning. He is never gloomy but when he is grand. He is the painter of Love, as well as of Terror. He did not aim at Mirth; but he is cheerful whenever he descends from higher feelings. And nothing tends more to inspire a calm and constant delight, than the contemplation of that ideal purity and grandeur which he, above all poets, had the faculty of bestowing on every form of moral nature.

Klopstock's ode on the rivalship of the muse of Germany with the muse of Albion, is elegantly translated by Mad. de Staël; and we applaud her taste for preferring prose to verse in French translations of German poems. After having spoken of Winkelman, and of Lessing, the most perspicuous, concise, and lively of German prose-writers, she proceeds to Schiller and Goethe, the greatest of German poets. Schiller presents only the genius of a great poet, and the character of a virtuous man. The first interview with him furnishes a very pleasing anecdote.

'La première fois que j'ai vu Schiller, c'étoit dans le salon du Duc et la Duchesse de Weimar, en présence d'une société aussi éclairée qu'imposante: il lisoit très bien le Français, mais il ne l'avoit jamais parlé; je soutins avec chaleur la supériorité de notre système dramatique sur tous les autres; il ne se refusa point à me combattre et sans s'inquiéter des difficultés et de lenteurs qu'il éprouvoit en s'exprimant en Français, sans redouter non plus l'opinion des auditeurs, qui étoit contraire à la sienne, sa conviction intime le fit parler. Je me servis d'abord pour le refuter, des armées Françaises la vivacité et la plaisanterie; mais bientôt je dénêlai dans ce que disoit Schiller tant d'idées à travers l'obstacle des mots, je fus si frappée de cette simplicité de caractère, qui portoit un homme de génie à

s'engager ainsi dans une lutte où les paroles manquoient à ses pensées, je le trouvai si modeste et si insouciant dans ce qui ne concernoit que ses propres succès, si fier et si animé dans la défense de ce qu'il croyoit la vérité, que je lui vouai dès cet instant une amitié pleine d'admiration.

The original, singular, and rather admirable than amiable mind of Goethe—his dictatorial power over national literature—his inequality, caprice, originality, and fire in conversation—his union of a youthful imagination with exhausted sensibility, and the impartiality of a stern sagacity, neither influenced by opinions nor predilections—are painted with extraordinary skill.

Among the tragedies of Schiller which have appeared since we have ceased to translate German dramas, the most celebrated are, Mary Stuart, Joan of Arc, and William Tell. Such subjects as Mary Stuart generally excite an expectation which cannot be gratified. We agree with Madame de Staël in admiring many scenes of Schiller's Mary, and especially her noble farewell to Leicester. But the tragedy would probably displease English readers, to say nothing of spectators. Our political disputes have given a more inflexible reality to the events of Elizabeth's reign, than history would otherwise have bestowed on facts equally modern. Neither of our parties could endure a Mary who confesses the murder of her husband, or an Elizabeth who instigates the assassination of her prisoner. In William Tell, Schiller has avoided the commonplaces of a republican conspiracy, and faithfully represented the indignation of an oppressed Helvetic Highlander.

Egmont is considered by Mad. de Staël as the finest of Goethe's tragedies, written, like Werther, in the enthusiasm of his youth. It is rather singular that poets have availed themselves so little of the chivalrous character, the illustrious love, and the awful malady of Tasso. The *Torquato Tasso* of Goethe is the only attempt to convert this subject to the purposes of the drama. Two men of genius, of very modern times, have suffered in a somewhat similar manner; but the habits of Rousseau's life were vulgar; and the sufferings of Cowper are both recent and sacred.

The scenes translated from the *Faust* of Goethe well represent the terrible energy of that most odious of the works of genius, in which the whole power of imagination is employed to dispel the charms which poetry bestows on human life;—where the punishment of vice proceeds from cruelty without justice, and 'where the remorse seems as infernal as the guilt.'

Since the death of Schiller, and the desertion of the drama by Goethe, several tragic writers have appeared, of whom the

most celebrated are Werner, the author of *Luther*, and of *Attila*, Gerstenberg, Illinger, Tieck, Collin, and Occhenschläger a Dane, who has introduced into his poetry the terrible mythology of Scandinavia. The result of the Chapter on Comedy seems to be, that the comic genius has not yet arisen in Germany. German novels have been more translated into English than other works of literature; and a novel by Tieck, entitled *Sternbald*, seems to deserve translation. J. P. Richter, a popular novelist, but too national to bear translation, said, 'That the French had the empire of the land, the English that of the sea, and the Germans that of the air.' Though Schiller wrote the history of the Belgic revolt, and of the Thirty-years war, with eloquence and the spirit of liberty, the only classical writer in this department, is J. de Müller, the historian of Switzerland. Though born in a speculative age, he has chosen the picturesque and dramatic manner of ancient historians; and his minute erudition in the annals of the middle age supplies his imagination with the particulars which characterize persons and actions. He abuses his extent of knowledge and power of detail; he sometimes affects the sententiousness of Tacitus; and his pursuit of antique phraseology occasionally degenerates into affectation. But his diction is in general grave and severe; and in his *Posthumous Abridgment of Universal History*, he has shown great talents for that difficult sort of composition—the power of comprehensive outline; of compression without obscurity; of painting characters by few and grand strokes; and of disposing events so skilfully, that their causes and effects are seen without being pointed out. Like Sallust, another affecter of archaism, and declaimer against his age, his private and political life is said to have been repugnant to his historical morality. 'The reader of Müller is desirous of believing, that of all the virtues which he strongly felt in the composition of his works, there were at least some which he permanently possessed.'

The estimate of literary Germany would not be complete, without the observation, that it possesses a greater number of laborious scholars, and of useful books, than any other country. The possession of other languages may open more literary enjoyment: the German is assuredly the key to most knowledge. The works of Fulleborn, Buhle, Tiedeman, and Tenneman, are the first attempts to form a philosophical history of philosophy, of which the learned compiler Brucker had no more conception than a monkish annalist of rivalling Hume. The philosophy of literary history is one of the most recently opened fields of speculation. A few beautiful fragments of it are among the happiest parts of Hume's *Essays*. The great work of Mad.

de Staël on literature, was the first attempt on a bold and extensive scale. In the neighbourhood of her late residence, and perhaps not uninfluenced by her spirit, two writers of great merit, though of dissimilar character, have very recently treated various parts of this wide subject; *M. Sismondi*, in his *History of the Literature of the South*; and *M. Barren-te*, in his *Picture of French Literature during the Eighteenth Century*. *Sismondi*, guided by Bouterweke and Schlegel, hazards larger views; indulges his talent for speculation, and seems with difficulty to suppress that bolder spirit, and those more liberal principles which breathe in his *History of the Italian Republic*. *Barren-te*, more thoroughly imbued with the elegancies and the prejudices of his national literature, feels more delicately the peculiarities of great writers, and traces with a more refined sagacity the immediate effects of their writings. But his work, under a very ingenious disguise of literary criticism, is an attack on the opinions of the eighteenth century; and it will assuredly never be honoured by the displeasure either of Napoleon, or of any of his successors in absolute power.

One chapter is chiefly employed on the works and system of William and Frederic Schlegel, of whom William is celebrated for his lectures on dramatic poetry, for his admirable translation of Shakespeare, and for versions, said to be of equal excellence, of the Spanish dramatic poets; and Frederic, besides his other merits, has the very singular distinction of having acquired the Sanscrit language, and studied the Indian learning and science in Europe, chiefly by the aid of a British Orientalist, long detained as a prisoner at Paris. The general tendency of the literary system of these critics, is towards the manners, poetry, and religion of the middle age. They have reached the extreme point towards which the general sentiment of Europe has been impelled by the calamities of a philosophical revolution, and the various fortunes of a twenty years universal war. They are peculiarly adverse to French literature; which, since the age of Louis XIV., has, in their opinion, weakened the primitive principles common to all Christendom, as well as divested the poetry of each people of its originality and character. Their system is exaggerated and exclusive. In pursuit of national originality, they lose sight of the primary and universal beauties of art. The imitation of our own antiquities may be as artificial as the copy of a foreign literature. Nothing is less natural than a modern antique.

In a comprehensive system of literature, there is sufficient place for the irregular works of sublime genius, and for the faultless models of classical taste. From age to age, the multitude

fluctuates between various, and sometimes opposite fashions of literary activity. They are not all of equal value: But the philosophical critic discovers and admires the common principles of beauty, from which they all derive their power over human nature.

We cannot better close this subject, than by some extracts from Mad. de Staël's exquisite Chapter on Taste; in which, with a skillful and impartial hand, she balances the literary opinions of nations.

‘Ceux qui se croient du goût en sont plus orgueilleux que ceux qui se croient du génie. Le goût en littérature est comme le bon ton en société; on le considère comme une preuve de la fortune, de la naissance, ou du moins des habitudes qui tiennent à toutes les deux; tandis que le génie peut naître dans la tête d'un artisan qui n'auroit jamais eu de rapport avec la bonne compagnie. Dans tout pays où il y aura de la vanité le goût sera mis au premier rang, parcequ'il sépare les classes, et qu'il est un signe de ralliement entre tous les individus de la première. Dans tous les pays où s'exercera la puissance du ridicule, le goût sera compté comme l'un des premiers avantages, car il sert sur-tout à connoître ce qu'il faut éviter. Le tact de convenances est une partie du goût, et c'est une arme excellente pour parer les coups entre les divers amours propres; enfin il peut arriver qu'une nation entière se place, en aristocratie de bon goût, vis-à-vis des autres, et qu'elle soit ou qu'elle se croie la seule bonne compagnie de l'Europe; et c'est ce qui peut s'appliquer à la France où l'esprit de société regnoit si éminemment qu'elle avoit quelque excuse pour cette prétention. Mais le goût dans son application aux beaux arts diffère singulièrement du goût dans son application aux convenances sociales: lorsqu'il s'agit de forcer les hommes à nous accorder une considération éphémère comme notre vie, ce qu'on ne fait pas est au moins aussi nécessaire que ce qu'on fait, car le grand monde est si facilement hostile qu'il faut des agréments bien extraordinaires pour qu'ils compensent l'avantage de ne donner prise sur soi à personne: mais le goût en poésie tient à la nature et doit être créature comme elle; les principes de ce goût sont donc tout autres que ceux qui dépendent des relations de la société.

‘C'est la confusion de ces deux genres qui est la cause des jugemens si opposés en littérature; les Français jugent les beaux arts comme des convenances et les Allemands les convenances comme des beaux arts; dans les rapports avec la société il faut se défendre, dans les rapports avec la poésie il faut se livrer.’ —

‘On pourroit proposer un traité de paix entre les façons de juger, artistes et mondaines, des Allemands et des Français. Les Français devraient s'abstenir de condamner même une faute de convenance, si elle avoit pour excuse une pensée forte ou un sentiment vrai. Les Allemands devraient s'entretenir tout ce qui offense le goût naturel, tout ce qui retrace des images que les sensations repoussent: aucune théorie philosophique, quelque ingénieuse qu'elle soit, ne peut aller

contre les repugnances des sensations, comme aucune poétique des convenances ne sauroit empêcher les émotions involontaires. — ‘ Si l’on osoit le dire, peut-être trouveroit-on qu’en France il y a maintenant trop de ficins pour des coursiers si peu fougueux, et qu’en Allemagne beaucoup d’indépendance littéraire ne produit pas encore des résultats assez brillants. ’

The Third Part of this work is the most singular. An account of metaphysical systems by a woman, is a novelty in the history of the human mind : whatever may be thought of its success in some of the parts, it must be regarded on the whole as the boldest effort of the female intellect. It must, however, not be forgotten, that it is a contribution rather to the history of human nature, than to that of speculation ; and that it considers the source, spirit, and moral influence of metaphysical opinions, more than their truth or falsehood. ‘ Metaphysics are at least the gymnastics of the understanding. ’ The commonplace clamour of mediocrity will naturally be excited by the sex, and even by the genius of the author. Every example of vivacity and grace, every exertion of fancy, every display of eloquence, every effusion of sensibility, will be cited as a presumption against the depth of her researches, and the accuracy of her statements. On such principles, the evidence against her, would doubtless be conclusive. But dullness is not accuracy ;—ingenious and elegant writers are not therefore superficial ; and those who are best acquainted with the philosophical revolutions of Germany ; will be most astonished at the general correctness of this short, clear, and agreeable exposition.

The character of Lord Bacon, is a just and noble tribute to his genius : several eminent writers of the Continent have, however, lately fallen into the mistake of ascribing to him a system of opinions, respecting the origin and first principles of human knowledge. What distinguishes him among great philosophers, is, that he taught no peculiar opinions, but wholly devoted himself to the improvement of the method of philosophizing. He belongs neither to the English nor any other school of metaphysics ; for he was not a metaphysician. Mr Locke was not a moralist ; and his collateral discussions of ethical subjects are not among the valuable parts of his great work.

‘ The works of Dugald Stewart, contain so perfect a theory of the intellectual faculties, that it may be considered as the natural history of a moral being. ’ The French metaphysicians of the 18th century, since Condillac, deserve the contempt expressed for them, by their shallow, precipitate, and degrading misapplications of the Lockian philosophy. It is impossible to abridge the abridgment here given of the Kantian philosophy, or

of those systems which have arisen from it; and which continue to dispute the supremacy of the speculative world. Those opinions of Kant are more fully stated, because he changed the general manner of thinking, and gave the new direction to the national mind. Those of Fichte, Schelling, and his other successors, it is of less importance to the proper purpose of this work to detail; because, though their doctrines be new, they continue and produce the same effect on national character; and they exert the same influence on other sciences and arts. The manner of philosophizing remains the same in the Idealism of *Fichte*, and in the Pantheism of *Schelling*. Under various names and forms, it is the general tendency of the German philosophy, to consider thought, not as the produce of objects, or as one of the classes of phenomena, but as the agent which exhibits the appearance of the outward world, and which regulates those operations which it seems only to represent. The philosophy of the human understanding is, in all countries, acknowledged to contain the principles of all sciences; but in Germany, metaphysical speculation pervades their application to particulars.

The subject of the Fourth Part, is the state of Religion, and the nature of all those disinterested and exalted sentiments which are here comprehended under the name of Enthusiasm. A contemplative people like the Germans, have in their character the principle which disposes men to religion. The reformation, which was their revolution, arose from Ideas.—‘Of all the great men whom Germany has produced, Luther has the most German character. His firmness had something rude; his conviction made him opinionated; intellectual boldness was the source of his courage; in action, the ardour of his passions did not divert him from abstract studies; and though he attacked certain dogmas and practices, he was not urged to the attack by incredulity, but by enthusiasm.’

‘The right of examining what we ought to believe, is the foundation of Protestantism.’ Though each of the first reformers established a practical Popery in his own church, opinions were gradually liberalized, and the temper of sects was softened. But little open incredulity had appeared in Germany; and even Lessing speculated with far more circumspection, than had been observed by a series of English writers from Hobbes to Bolingbroke. Secret unbelievers were friendly to Christianity and Protestantism, as institutions beneficial to mankind, and far removed from that antireligious fanaticism which was more naturally provoked in France by the intolerant spirit and invidious splendour of a Catholic hierarchy.

The reaction of the French Revolution has been felt throughout Europe, in religion as well as in politics. Many of the higher classes adopted some portion of those religious sentiments of which they at first assumed the exterior, as a badge of their hostility to the fashions of France. The sensibility of the multitude, impatient of cold dogmatism and morality, eagerly sought to be once more roused by a religion which employed popular eloquence, and spoke to imagination and emotion. The gloom of general convulsions and calamities created a disposition to seriousness, and to the consolations of piety. And the disasters of a revolution allied to incredulity, threw a more than usual discredit and odium on irreligious opinions. In Great Britain, these causes have acted most conspicuously on the inferior classes; though they have also powerfully affected many enlightened and accomplished individuals of a higher condition. In France, they have produced in some men of letters the play of a sort of poetical religion round the fancy. But the general effect seems to be a disposition to establish a double doctrine, a system of infidelity for the initiated, with a contemptuous indulgence and even active encouragement of superstition among the vulgar, like that which prevailed among the ancients before the rise of Christianity, from the revival of which the Lutheran reformation seems to have preserved Europe, and which, though not so furious and frantic as the atheistical fanaticism of the Reign of Terror, is, beyond any permanent condition of human society, destructive of ingenuousness, good faith and probity; of intellectual courage and manly character; and of that respect for all human beings, without which there can be no justice or humanity from the powerful towards the humble.

In Germany, the effects have been also very remarkable. Some men of eminence in literature have become Catholics. In general, their tendency is towards a pious mysticism, which almost equally loves every sect where a devotional spirit prevails. They have returned rather to sentiment than to dogma; more to religion than to theology.

Their disposition to religious feeling, which they call *religiosität*, is, to use the words of a rigidly orthodox English theologian, 'a love of divine things for the beauty of their moral qualities.' It is the love of the good and fair, wherever it exists, but chiefly when absolute and boundless excellence is contemplated in 'the first God, first perfect, and first fair.' This moral enthusiasm easily adapts itself to the various ceremonies of worship, and even systems of opinion prevalent among mankind. The devotional spirit, contemplating different parts of the order of nature, or influenced by a different temper of mind, may give rise

to very different, and apparently repugnant theological doctrines. These doctrines are considered as modifications of human nature, under the influence of the religious principle; not as propositions which argument can either establish or confute, or reconcile with each other. The ideal philosophy favours this singular manner of considering the subject. As it leaves no reality but in the mind, it lessens the distance between belief and imagination; and disposes its adherents to regard opinions as the mere play of the understanding, incapable of being measured by any outward standard, and important chiefly from reference to sentiment, from which they spring, and on which they powerfully react. The union of a mystical piety, with a philosophy verging towards Idealism, has accordingly been observed in periods of the history of human understanding, very distant from each other, and in most of their other circumstances extremely dissimilar. The same language, respecting the annihilation of self, and of the world, may be used by the sceptic and by the enthusiast. Among the Hindu philosophers in the most ancient times, among the *Sufis* in modern Persia, during the ferment of eastern and western opinions, which produced the latter Platonism in Malbranche and his English disciple Norris, and in Berkeley himself, though in a tempered and mitigated state, the tendency to this union may be distinctly traced. It seems, however, to be fitted only to few men; and to them not long. Sentiments so sublime, and so distant from the vulgar affairs and boisterous passions of men, may be preserved for a time, in the calm solitude of a contemplative visionary. But in the bustle of the world they are likely soon to evaporate, when they are neither embodied in opinions, nor adorned by ceremonies, nor animated by the attack and defence of controversy. When the ardour of a short-lived enthusiasm has subsided, the poetical philosophy which exalted fancy to the level of belief, may probably leave the same ultimate result with the argumentative scepticism which lowered belief to the level of fancy.

An ardent susceptibility of every dis-interested sentiment, more especially of every social affection, blended by the power of imagination with a passionate love of the beautiful, the grand, and the good, is, under the name of Enthusiasm, the subject of the conclusion of this work; which, if we perhaps except the incomparable chapter on Conjugal Love, is its most eloquent part.

‘ Sans doute la conscience suffit pour conduire le caractère le plus froid dans la route de la vertu; mais l’enthousiasme est à la conscience ce que l’honneur est au devoir: il y a en nous un superflu d’ame qu’il est doux de consacrer à ce qui est beau, quand ce qui est bien est accompli. Le génie et l’imagination ont aussi besoin

qu'on soigne un peu leur bonheur dans ce monde; et la loi du devoir quelque sublime qu'elle soit, ne suffit pas pour faire goûter toutes les merveilles du cœur et de la pensée.

On ne sauroit le nier, les intérêts de la personnalité pressent l'homme de toutes parts, il y a même dans ce qui est vulgaire une certaine jouissance dont beaucoup de gens sont très susceptibles, et l'on retrouve souvent les traces de penchants ignobles sous l'apparence des manières les plus distinguées. Les talents supérieurs ne garantissent pas toujours de cette nature dégradée qui dispose sourdement de l'existence des hommes et leur fait placer leur bonheur plus bas qu'eux-mêmes. L'enthousiasme seul peut contre-balancer la tendance à l'égoïsme, et c'est à ce signe divin qu'il faut reconnoître les créatures immortelles. Lorsque vous parlez à quelqu'un sur des sujets dignes d'un saint respect, vous apercevez d'abord s'il éprouve un noble frémissement, si son cœur bat pour des sentiments élevés, s'il a fait alliance avec l'autre vie, on bien s'il n'a qu'un peu d'esprit qui lui sert à diriger le mécanisme de l'existence. Et qu'est-ce donc que l'être humain, quand on ne voit en lui qu'une prudence dont son propre avantage est l'objet? L'instinct des animaux vaut mieux car il est quelquefois généreux et fier; mais ce calcul, qui semble l'attribut de la raison, finit par rendre incapable de la première des vertus, le dévouement.

Parmi ceux qui s'essaient à tourner les sentiments exaltés en ridicule, plusieurs en sont pourtant susceptibles à leur insçu. La guerre, fut-elle entreprise par des vues personnelles, donne toujours quelques unes des jouissances de l'enthousiasme; l'enivrement d'un jour de bataille, le plaisir singulier de s'exposer à la mort, quand toute notre nature nous commande d'aimer la vie, c'est encore à l'enthousiasme qu'il faut l'attribuer. La musique militaire, le hennissement des chevaux, l'explosion de la poudre, cette foule des soldats revêtus des mêmes couleurs, émus par le même desir, se rangeant autour des mêmes bannières, font éprouver une émotion qui triomphe de l'instinct conservateur de l'existence; et cette jouissance est si forte qu'elle ne les fatigue, ni les souffrances, ni les périls ne peuvent en deprandre les âmes. Quiconque a vécu de cette vie n'aime qu'elle. Le but atteint ne satisfait jamais; c'est l'action de se risquer qui est nécessaire, c'est elle qui fait passer l'enthousiasme dans le sang; et quoiqu'il soit plus pur au fond de l'âme, il est encore d'une noble nature lors même qu'il a pu devenir une impulsion presque physique.

On accuse souvent l'enthousiasme sincère de ce qui ne peut être reproché qu'à l'enthousiasme affecté; plus un sentiment est beau, plus sa fausse imitation de ce sentiment est odieuse. Usurper l'admiration des hommes est ce qu'il y a de plus coupable, car on tarit en eux la source des bons mouvements en les faisant rougir de les avoir éprouvés. D'ailleurs rien n'est plus pénible que les sons faux qui semblent sortir du sanctuaire même de l'âme; la vanité peut s'emparer de tout ce qui est extérieur, il n'en résultera d'autre mal que de la prétention et de la disgrâce; mais quand elle se met à con-

travaux les sentiments le plus intimes il semble qu'elle viole le dernier asile où l'on espiroit lui échapper. Il est facile cependant de reconnaître la sincérité dans l'enthousiasme ; c'est une mélodie si pure, que le moindre désaccord en détruit tout le charme ; un mot, un accent, un regard expriment l'émotion concentrée qui répond à toute une vie.

Fontenelle disoit : J'ai quatre vingts ans, je suis Français, et je n'ai pas donné dans toute ma vie le plus petit ridicule à la plus petite vertu. C'est mot supposoit une profonde connoissance de la société. Fontenelle n'étoit pas un homme sensible, mais il avoit beaucoup d'esprit ; et toutes les fois qu'on est doué d'une supériorité quelconque, on sent le besoin du sérieux dans la nature humaine. Il n'y a que les gens médiocres qui voudroient que le fond de tout fut du sable, afin que nul homme ne laissât sur la terre une trace plus durable que la leur.

L'on voit aussi des jeunes gens ambitieux de paroître detrompés de tout enthousiasme affecter un mépris réfléchi pour les sentiments exaltés ; ils croient montrer ainsi une force de raison précoce ; mais c'est une décadence prématurée dont ils se vantent. Ils sont pour le talent comme ce vieillard qui demandoit si l'on avoit encore de l'amour. L'esprit dépourvu d'imagination prendroit volontiers en dédain même la nature, si elle n'étoit pas plus forte que lui.

Quelques raisonneurs prétendent que l'enthousiasme dégoûte de la vie commune, et que ne pouvant pas rester toujours dans cette disposition il vaut mieux ne l'éprouver jamais : et pourquoi donc ont ils accepté d'être jeunes, de vivre même, puisque cela ne devoit pas toujours durer ? Pourquoi donc ont ils aimé, si tant est que cela leur soit jamais arrivé, puisque la mort pouvoit les séparer des objets de leur affection ? Quelle triste économie que celle de l'âme ! elle nous a été donnée pour être développée, perfectionnée, prodiguée même dans un noble but.

Plus on engourdit la vie plus on se rapproche de l'existence matérielle et plus l'on diminue, dirait-on, la puissance de souffrir. Cet argument séduit un grand nombre d'hommes, il consiste à tâcher d'exister le moins possible.

Thus terminates a work, which for variety of knowledge, flexibility of power, elevation of view, and comprehension of mind, is unequalled among the works of women ; and which, in the union of the graces of society and literature with the genius of philosophy, is not surpassed by many among those of men.

To affect any tenderness in pointing out the defects or faults of such a work, would be an absurd assumption of superiority. It has no need of mercy. The most obvious and general objection will be, that the Germans are too much praised. But every writer must be allowed to value his subject somewhat higher than the spectator. Unless the German feelings had been adopted, they could not have been forcibly represented.

It will also be found, that the objection is more apparent than real. M. de Staël is indeed the most generous of critics; but she almost always speaks the whole truth to intelligent ears; though she often hints the unfavourable parts of it so gently and politely, that they may escape the notice of a hasty reader, and be scarcely perceived by a gross understanding. A careful reader, who brings together all the observations intentionally scattered over various parts of the book, will find sufficient justice (though administered in mercy) in whatever respects manners or literature. It is on subjects of philosophy that the admiration will perhaps justly be considered as more undistinguishing. Something of the wonder excited by novelty in language and opinion still influences her mind. Many writers have acquired philosophical celebrity in Germany, who, if they had written with equal power, would have been unnoticed or soon forgotten in England. Our theosophists, the Hutchinsonians, had as many men of talent among them, as those whom M. de Staël has honoured by her mention among the Germans. But they are long since irrecoverably sunk into oblivion. There is a writer now alive in England, who has published doctrines not dissimilar to those which Mad. de Staël ascribes to Schelling. Notwithstanding the allurements of a singular character, and an unintelligible style, his paradoxes are probably not known to a dozen persons in this busy country of industry and ambition. In a bigotted age, he might have suffered the martyrdom of Vanini or Bruno. In a metaphysical country, where a publication was the most interesting event, and where twenty Universities, unfettered by Church or State, were hotbeds of speculation, he might have acquired celebrity as the founder of a sect.

In this as in the other writings of M. de Staël, the reader (or at least the lazy English reader) is apt to be wearied by too constant a demand upon his admiration. It seems to be her literary system, that the pauses of eloquence must be filled up by ingenuity. Nothing plain and unornamented is left in composition. But we desire a plain groundwork, from which wit or eloquence is to arise, when the occasion calls them forth. The effect would be often greater if the talent were less. The natural power of interesting scenes or events over the heart, is somewhat disturbed by too uniform a colour of sentiment, and by the constant pursuit of uncommon reflections or ingenious turns. The eye is dazzled by unvaried brilliancy. We long for the grateful vicissitude of repose.

In the statement of facts and reasonings, no style is more clear than that of M. de Staël. What is so lively must indeed

be clear. But in the expression of sentiment she has been often thought to use vague language. In expressing either intense degrees, or delicate shades, or intricate combinations of feeling, the common reader will seldom understand that of which he has never been conscious; and the writer placed on the extreme frontiers of human nature, is in danger of mistaking chimæras for realities, or of failing in a struggle to express what language does not afford the means of describing. There is also a vagueness incident to the language of feeling, which is not so properly a defect, as a quality which distinguishes it from the language of thought. Very often in poetry, and sometimes in eloquence, it is the office of words, not so much to denote a succession of separate ideas, as, like musical sounds, to inspire a series of emotions, or to produce a durable tone of sentiment. The terms perspicuity and precision, which denote the relations of language to intellectual discernment, are inapplicable to it when employed as the mere vehicle of a succession of feelings. A series of words may, in this manner be very expressive, where few of them singly convey a precise meaning: And men of greater intellect than susceptibility in such passages as those of M. de Staël, where eloquence is employed chiefly to inspire feeling, unjustly charge their own defects to that deep, moral, and poetical sensibility with which they are unable to sympathize.

The few persons in Great Britain who continue to take an interest in speculative philosophy, will certainly complain of some injustice in the estimate of metaphysical systems.

The moral painter of nations is indeed more authorized than the speculative philosopher to try these opinions by their tendencies and results. When the logical consequences of an opinion are false, the opinion itself must also be false: But whether the supposed pernicious influence of the adoption, or habitual contemplation of an opinion, be a legitimate objection to the opinion itself, is a question which has not yet been decided to the general satisfaction, nor perhaps even stated with sufficient precision.

There are certain facts in human nature, derived either from immediate consciousness or unvarying observation, which are more certain than the conclusions of any abstract reasoning, and which metaphysical theories are destined only to explain. That a theory is at variance with such facts, and logically leads to the denial of their existence, is a strictly philosophical objection to the theory: that there is a real distinction between right and wrong, in some measure apprehended and felt by all

men : that moral sentiments and disinterested affections, however originating, are actually a part of our nature : that praise and blame, reward and punishment, may be properly bestowed on actions according to their moral character,—are principles as much more indubitable as they are more important than any theoretical conclusions. Whether they be demonstrated by reason, or perceived by intuition, or revealed by a primitive sentiment, they are equally indispensable parts of every sound mind. Every reasonable man is entitled instantly to reject a new opinion avowedly repugnant to those convictions from which he cannot depart. They are facts, which it is the office of theory to explain, and which no true theory can deny. But the mere inconvenience or danger of an opinion can never be allowed as an argument against its truth. It is indeed the duty of every good man to present to the public what he believes to be truth, in such a manner as may least wound the feelings, or disturb the principles of the simple and the ignorant : and that duty is not always easily reconcileable with the duties of sincerity and free inquiry.—The collision of such conflicting duties is the painful and inevitable consequence of the ignorance of the multitude, and of the immature state, even in the highest minds, of the great talent for presenting truth under all its aspects, and adapting it to all the degrees of capacity or varieties of prejudice which distinguish men. That talent must one day be formed ; and we may be perfectly assured that the whole of truth can never be injurious to the whole of virtue.

In the mean time, eloquent philosophers * would act more magnanimously, and therefore, perhaps more wisely, if they were to suspend, during discussion, their moral anger against doctrines which they deem pernicious ; and, while they estimate actions, habits, and institutions, by their tendency, if they were to weigh opinions in the mere balance of reason, virtue in action required the impulse of sentiment, and even of enthusiasm. But in theoretical researches, her champions must not appear to decline the combat on any ground chosen by their adversaries, and least of all on that of intellect. To call in the aid of popular feelings in philosophical contests, is some avowal of weakness. It seems a more magnanimous wisdom to defy attack from every quarter, and by every weapon ; and to use no topic which can be thought to imply an unworthy doubt whether the principles of virtue be impregnable by argument, or

* The observation may be applied to Cicero and Stewart. Philos. Ess. 186. as well as M. de Staël.

to betray an irreverent distrust of the final and perfect harmony between morality and truth.

Our moral philosophers will wonder that M. de Staël seems to be acquainted with the doctrine of utility, only in the offensive form of universal selfishness. In this respect, it is true, she resembles the German Philosophers. But the selfish system, properly so called, has long been exploded in this island. Hobbes, the last philosopher of high rank who espoused it, has indeed discovered wonderful power in the analysis of perception and reason; but his superiority forsakes him when he attempts a theory of emotion and sentiment. The character of system has been foolishly ascribed to the maxims of the Duc de la Rochefoucault; — a series of poignant and brilliant epigrams, with the usual epigrammatic exaggeration against the selfishness of the world, by a disinterested, affectionate, and gallant man. With not less absurdity, the title of the founder of an ethical theory has been bestowed on Mandeville, a satirist for the populace, with a coarse athletic understanding, and a fancy that contemplated only the low and ludicrous aspects of human nature, but eminently endowed with the talents of vulgar drollery and plebeian declamation. Perhaps it must be allowed, that Paley has made too near approaches, especially in his definition of virtue, to this system. He was a person of unrivalled practical understanding. His prudential counsels are admirable; and he is one of the safest guides through human life. But he rather teaches duty, than inspires virtue. His school is more likely to form blameless and respectable men, than to send forth those moral heroes who are not afraid to die for their beloved friends or for their country. Neither his understanding nor his character peculiarly fitted him for a theorist. Nature had endowed and disposed him for the conduct of affairs. He was averse from the subtleties of speculation, and he perhaps looked with the contempt natural to the stern shrewdness of the world on that ardour and that refinement of feeling which alone can reveal to us some of the most important secrets of our own moral constitution. Reason, without sensibility, is as much without materials in morals, as she would be without the eye, in inquiries into the nature of light and colours. But, in justice to this eminent and excellent person, the principal ornament of the English church in the last half century, it must be added, that the species of interest held out by religion, being remote from us, unlike the vulgar objects which are commonly comprehended under the name of interest, and from its sublime and inscrutable nature, capable of being refined by a pure mind, until synonymous with indefinite progress in reason and virtue, has little of that tendency to lower the mo-

ral sentiments, which cannot be denied to belong to systems of prudential ethics, founded on a perpetual calculation of the near and gross interests of the present world. Nor must it be forgotten, that the ardour of the devotional affections must render the religious moralist unconsciously disinterested in his feelings, whatever may be the selfish taint of his theory.

A scoffer might with some truth tell us, that German philosophy is founded in a repugnance to every system which has experience for its basis, or happiness for its end. M. de Staël would probably justify the repugnance, by contending that the metaphysics of experience uniformly led to scepticism, and the ethics of utility naturally terminated in selfishness. There is indeed a permanent hostility between modes of philosophy still more irreconcilable in their spirit and genius, than repugnant in their doctrines; which, since the beginning of speculation, has divided individuals, nations and ages, rather by their temper and circumstances, than in any proportion to the force of argument. Some philosophical disputes are in truth the forms assumed by antagonist principles in human nature. Among the more remarkable instances of this speculative war, are the controversies between scepticism and dogmatism; between calculation and enthusiasm; and between ethical systems founded on utility; and those in which, under various names, the moral principle is considered as ultimate in theory, as it is unanimously acknowledged to be supreme in practice.

It is possible in speculation to preserve the harmony of these principles, by assigning to each its due rank, and its proper sphere. But, in practice, the irregular variety of events and passions and characters is perpetually impelling them beyond their end; and driving them without their province. Calm minds and tranquil periods tend towards the one—sensibility and enthusiasm, turbulence and revolution towards the other.—Peculiar conditions of society sometimes exhibit the excess of the one and of the other at the same moment. Thus, under the tyranny of the Emperors, the Roman nobility, according to their various characters, either braved oppression with stoical enthusiasm, or escaped from it into a slightly systematized voluptuousness, which borrowed the name of Epicurus, though it breathed nothing of the spirit of that pure and amiable moralist.

There is no logical tie between the opinions ranged on either side. They are frequently disjoined, and even at variance with each other. They are examples, chosen from many others, of a permanent contest, not indeed of reason, but of the reasoning faculties, with the common feelings of mankind.

The two principles which in one of these controversies have struggled for the ascendant from the time of Epicurus and Zeno, to that of Paley and Kant, are well stated by our philosophical and eloquent author. 'The conduct of a man is truly moral, only when he disregards the fortunate or unfortunate consequences of his actions, if these actions be dictated by duty.' On the other hand, 'The general laws of nature and of society, place happiness and virtue in harmony with each other.' Now the second of these positions is the fundamental principle of the system of utility; and all moralists of every school must assent to the truth of the first. The question is, whether the second, as the first principle of moral theory, be consistent with the first, as an undisputed rule of moral practice. That these two propositions are in some manner reconcileable, must be the opinion of M. de Staël; for she adopts them both, as parts of her moral system.

Do the actions, called moral by all men, agree in the quality of conducing to the general happiness? This is surely a reasonable and important question; and as it relates to a fact which is the subject of universal experience, it must be capable of a satisfactory answer. To this question there can be but one answer. A common quality is then discovered in all moral actions—their general utility.—According to the received rules of philosophizing, it should seem unnecessary to seek for any farther criterion. But whether they have any other qualities in common or not, thus much is certain, that their common quality of utility cannot be overlooked in any just theory of morals, and must on the contrary form an essential principle in such a theory. To advance a step farther, it must be admitted, that they are moral acts which, when singly considered, are repugnant to the interest of the agent. But it is a proper subject of inquiry, Whether there be any habitual disposition towards virtuous action, which it is not conducive to the happiness of the individual to entertain in such a degree as to render it impossible for him to prefer an act of vice for its separate advantage?

No philosopher has ever yet ventured to point out such a disposition. Till it be named, we must contend that the point where interest universally coincides with virtue, and where public and private happiness are identified, is discovered—not indeed in single actions, but in those habitual dispositions from which actions flow—it never can be supposed that these principles of general and personal utility, and their cooperation in this manner, are not most momentous parts of an ethical system. Whether they alone are sufficient to afford a moral theory of actions, may still be a proper subject of discussion; but no

theory can be formed exclusive of them. Their truth and their importance are perfectly independent of any system respecting the nature and origin of moral approbation, or disapprobation. Though utility should be the criterion of the morality of actions, it by no means follows, that moral sentiment should consist only in a perception of that utility. The nature of moral sentiment is a matter of fact to be determined by separate inquiry. The doctrine of utility may be equally applied to actions and dispositions, whether we consider conscience as a modification of reason or of feeling; whether we believe it to be implanted originally in our nature, or only the necessary produce of the action of circumstances common to all men upon the structure of every human mind.

But though the doctrine of utility be perfectly reconcileable with the principles and sentiments of the most disinterested virtue—though the loftiest visions of Plato, and the sternest precepts of Zeno, may be justified by, and even deduced from, the elements of the theory of Epicurus; yet it must not be denied, that in practice there is a hostility hitherto unappeased between these different regions of the moral world; and that this hostility has been the most powerful, though often the secret cause, of the diversity of moral systems.

Those who are accustomed most strongly to feel the necessity of sacrificing advantage to duty in the course of life, naturally, however unreasonably, feel a repugnance to acknowledge, that the rules of duty are founded on any species of advantage, even the most general and refined. Those who constantly contemplate the theoretical dependence of moral rules upon public advantage, may feel a disposition inconsistent with their principles, but favoured by their habits of thinking, to believe that the consideration of advantage may safely impel and guide their actions. The disinterested sentiments of practical virtue seek to establish themselves in the territory of speculation. They are impatient of superiority, though without their own province; and they tend to substitute magnificent names for intelligible principles in scientific morals. On the other hand, it is the natural tendency of the principle of utility, to pass the frontier of theory, within which its dominion is legitimate; and to pervert human life, by substituting a calculation of the consequences of each action, instead of the inviolable authority of moral rules, and the habitual ardour of virtuous affections.

This warfare perhaps will never be terminated. Opinions, apparently repugnant, may be shown to be consistent; but principles of human nature, so powerful and so adverse, are always likely to be embroiled with each other. The difficulty of a pa-

cification is formidably increased by the very technical terms in every modification of Epicurean ethics. Pleasure, enjoyment, interest, even happiness, are terms which, in their popular import, have a reference to self, and some of them to the lowest portion of self. They have associations with sensuality and sordidness, from which no philosophical definition can purify them. They are used a thousand times in their vulgar sense, for once that they are employed by the refined epicurean. The habits of the mind are necessarily framed according to the most frequent usage. The gross acceptance of the terms steals on the most abstract reasoner, and insensibly affects his views. Hence one class of moralists recoil from the theory, which they find contaminated by such degrading ideas; and another suffer themselves unconsciously to be influenced in their moral sentiments, by the foreign impurities with which the accidents of language have encrusted their elementary notions. If ever a peace should be accomplished between these conflicting principles, it must be by a powerful, and comprehensive and impartial representation of the whole moral system;—in which the morality of actions, the motives of conduct, and the nature of moral approbation, are perfectly distinguished from each other;—in which a broad line of demarcation separates theory from practice;—which exhibits general utility, ascertained by calculation, as the basis of moral rules, and the test of virtuous sentiments; but leaves every action to be impelled by sentiment, and controlled by rule, without the toleration of any appeal to utility;—where theoretical principles are expounded with precise simplicity, and active sentiments represented in their natural force and ardour; where every part of human nature is alike exercised and invigorated; where the understandings of philosophers are satisfied, and the hearts of virtuous men moved; where science is protected from being disturbed by enthusiasm, and generous feeling guarded with still greater care from the freezing power of misplaced calculation. All the parts of so noble a representation probably exist in the works of ancient and modern philosophers. But many ineffectual attempts must precede the construction of the magnificent edifice in some distant generation, by a firm and vigorous hand, uninfluenced by the prejudices of speculation or of practice, of sect or of age; and as far as human infirmity will allow, even by the still more subtle and indelible prejudices of personal character.

Of a nature very analogous to this moral contest, is the struggle between prudence and enthusiasm, which pervades human life, and of which one side is maintained in the three last chapters of this work, with affecting and persuasive eloquence. In

public and private life, in literature and art, in legislation and even in religion itself, this dispute is every day reproduced under new forms and names. On this subject, a good understanding between the contending parties is more attainable, though a coincidence between persons of a different temperament and character could never be more than verbal. Mad. de Staël herself confounds a calm regard to happiness with that gross selfishness, which, as a vice most destructive to happiness, it is the office of the guardian principle of prudence to eradicate. On the other hand, it is among the calmest suggestions of reason, that wherever great obstacles are to be conquered, a great power must be created. There must therefore be many cases where prudence justifies the cultivation of enthusiasm. It is evident that no prudence could ever produce heroic sacrifices. It never was the interest of the private soldiers of an army to march into a field of battle. It may, indeed, be their duty. But it would be a strange policy, which would prefer a sense of duty in an army, to the enthusiasm of honour or of patriotism. In those ordinary actions of human life which presuppose deliberation, the regard to interest may be generally relied on. In the regular movements of great bodies of men it will maintain its average influence. In whatever must be subjected to uniform rules, it must be extremely considered, because its regularity compensates for its weakness. Other passions overcome or suspend its power; but their return and movements cannot be foreseen or calculated. Prudence is ever in some degree present, and fills up the vacant place of every exhausted passion. The movements of this principle in pursuit of subsistence and wealth, are so regular, that they have bestowed on political economy the character of an exact science. Its uniform presence, as much as its force, obliges the penal lawgiver to found his sanctions upon it. * To this important principle has nature entrusted the pro-

* Probably Mad. de Staël has not enough considered those profound and original speculations of Mr Bentham, which she incidentally controverts. Notwithstanding the unrivalled talent of the editor for clear and lively exposition, they require patient attention. They are the first considerable attempt to lay the foundations of a system of philosophical jurisprudence. That such a work should be begun and completed by the same man, is not consistent with the slow march of the human understanding. They have, in truth, no connexion with the selfish system; nor do they exclude the most disinterested and the most ardent affections from influence over conduct. But upon all possible systems, the lawgiver must calmly regard the general interest of society. The most specious objections to Mr Bentham

tection of society from disorder, and of individuals from daily and hourly waste of their happiness. It guards against evil. To sensibility belongs the privilege of producing what is beautiful and good. From her spring all the affections that sweeten life ;—all the sublime exertions of genius ;—all the lofty virtues which shed a glory round human nature. Without the one, society could not be preserved ;—without the other, it would not be worth preserving. Both are equally indispensable, though not equally dignified parts of the moral order of the world. But, as a coarse and brutish selfishness is the natural vice of the vast majority of men, it seems to be evident, that, in all ordinary circumstances, the excess of prudence is more to be dreaded than that of sensibility. The principles of interest and prudence, have some analogy to those forces in the material world, which are rendered subservient to human skill, because they can be ascertained with absolute precision,—and to those simple laws which govern the regular movements of the grandest bodies in nature.

Those of sentiment and enthusiasm have more analogy to the mighty agents, indiscoverable in their nature, conspicuous and tremendous in their effects, invisible and impalpable, which can neither be numbered, weighed, nor measured ;—of which no man can tell whence they come, or whither they go ; but which produce the most terrible appearances, and preserve the most beneficial conditions of the material universe ;—like the electric power, when its incalculable accumulation and redundance shake the heavens and the earth with tempests ; or like the element, the quality, or the energy which is the unknown cause of heat, which expands matter into those vast bodies of fluid and vapour, which qualify the world to be the habitation of life.

The contest between Scepticism and Dogmatism has a close connexion with one of the most interesting parts of this philosophical and eloquent work. The system of *Kant* was one of the efforts of philosophy to expel the poison of scepticism which *Hume* had infused into it. That great speculator had not amused himself, like *Bayle*, with dialectical exercises, which only inspire a disposition towards doubt, by displaying the uncertainty of the opinions most generally received. He aimed at proving, not that nothing had been known, but that nothing could be

tham have arisen from losing sight of his object, which is to present a calculation of pleasures and pains (from whatever source) as the basis of general rules of law, not as a guide in the deliberation of an individual concerning the morality of each single action.—(See *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. IV. p. 13.)

known; and that, from the very structure of the understanding, we were destined to remain in absolute and universal ignorance. It is true, that a system of universal scepticism can never be more than a mere intellectual amusement; an exercise of subtlety, not without its use in humbling the pride of dogmatism. As the dictates of experience, which regulate conduct, must be the object of belief, all objections which attack them in common with the principles of reasoning, must be utterly ineffectual. Whatever attacks every principle of belief, can destroy none. As long as the principles of science are allowed to remain on the same level (be it called certainty or uncertainty) with the maxims of life, the whole system of human conviction must continue undisturbed. When the sceptic boasts of having involved the results of experience, and the elements of geometry, in the same ruin with the doctrines of religion, or the principles of philosophy, he may be answered, that no dogmatist ever claimed more than the same degree of certainty for these various opinions or convictions, and that his scepticism leaves them in that condition. In plain sense, the answer admits no reply. But the system of Kant, and the works of Reid, dissimilar as they are in their form and spirit, were contemporary and independent attempts to defeat scepticism, by weapons more apparently philosophical. Both these philosophers, in the retirement of Northern Universities, began their scientific labours nearly in the same year, by a discussion of the same question that was agitated between the Leibnitzians and Newtonians about force. In a country like Germany, where the use of a dead language, and the separation of the learned class from society, long preserved the scholastic character and style in philosophy, Kant made a premature attempt to trace every part of science to common principles in the human understanding, with the usual destiny of being often compelled to hide in magnificent expressions an ignorance which ought to be acknowledged; but with prodigious comprehension of mind, and extent of accurate knowledge; with the authoritative and dogmatic tone of a discoverer; with a technical nomenclature, extensive enough to form a new language;—in his moral writings, distinguished by an austere eloquence becoming a teacher of virtue;—in his metaphysical works, characterized by an obscurity which seems, in original thinkers, sometimes to arise from the crowd of ideas struggling for issue;—and, above all, remarkable perhaps beyond any man since Aristotle, for that genius of system which maintains simplicity of principle amidst the greatest variety of matters, and preserves symmetry and correspondence between the most remote parts of the intellectual edifice. In Scotland, where *Hutcheson* had revived speculative

philosophy in a more elegant and popular form, Reid, a patient observer, and an accurate thinker, with an amiable prepossession in favour of useful and revered opinions, with singular caution, modesty, perspicuity, and elegance, composed his Inquiry, on which his fame among philosophers depends; and which is more distinguished, both by originality and error, than his later writings. His language has an unfortunate appearance of appealing to the multitude on the most abstruse subjects of human meditation. He has contributed to render the philosophy of thought more considered as a science of observation; and to check premature and precipitate generalization. But neither he nor his illustrious followers have sufficiently remembered, that to philosophize is to generalize; that the perfection of science is proportioned to the simplicity of its principles; and that a multiplication of general laws is an avowal of imperfection only better than a groundless boast of perfection. No two writers were ever more unlike; and the disciples of both philosophers will be equally scandalized at the comparison. Yet both were actuated by the same impulse, and aimed at the same end. Long before the appearance of either, a grand defect of the prevalent philosophy had been found by Leibnitz, who of all writers since Bacon most abounds in those fruitful thoughts which arise from a comprehensive glance over the principles of knowledge. The ancient maxim, of which it seems impossible to trace the author, is, *'that there is nothing in the understanding which was not previously in the sense.'* Leibnitz proposed to add to this maxim, *'except the understanding itself;'*—and by this short addition he spread a new light over intellectual philosophy.—The system of Gassendi, of Hobbes, and of Locke, by the unhappy comparison of the original state of the mind to blank paper, led its followers to see nothing in the understanding but what came from without.—They did not enough consider, if they considered at all, that the very capacity of receiving impressions must be subject to ascertainable rules; that the human understanding has a structure and functions, and laws of action which must regulate its perceptions, and render it capable of experience and of reasoning. These laws of the percipient and intellectual nature must plainly be ultimate, and never can be questioned in discussion, because all discussion is founded upon them. The neglect of them opened the way to scepticism. The extensive technical language of Kant, and the unfortunate term *Common Sense*, adopted by Reid, both denote the same ultimate laws of thought which mark the boundaries of reasoning, and against which all dispute is a vain mockery. The number of such laws, and

the criterion which distinguishes them, are subjects of important disquisition. But all theories of the understanding must either imply or express their existence. That of Hartley and Condillac attempts to reduce them to *one*,—certainly without success in the present state of knowledge. But if they were reduced to one, that one must be a fact, for the existence of which no proof could be given, and of the nature of which no explanation could be attempted. Whether they were one or a thousand, the controversy between the Dogmatist and the Sceptic would be precisely of the same nature. Universal scepticism involves a contradiction in terms. It is a belief that there can be no belief. It is an attempt of the mind to act without its structure, and by other laws than those to which nature has subjected its operations. No man can be allowed to be an opponent in reasoning who does not admit those principles, without which, all reasoning is impossible. * It is indeed a puerile play, to attempt by argument to establish or confute principles, which every step of the argument necessarily presupposes.—He who labours to establish them, must fall into a vicious circle; and he who attempts to impugn them, into irreconcilable contradiction.

The reasonings of the Pyrrhonians and the Dogmatists, are balanced in a noble passage of Pascal, whose philosophical genius often shines forth with momentary splendour from the thick clouds which usually darkened his great mind. ‘L’unique fort des Dogmatistes, c’est qu’en parlant de bonne foi et sincèrement, on ne peut douter des principes naturels.’—‘Les principes se sentent, les propositions se concluent.’—‘Il n’y a jamais eu de Pyrrhonien effectif et parfait.’—‘La nature soutient la raison impuissante.’

He concludes with an observation so remarkable for range of mind, and weight of authority, that it seems to us to have a higher character of grandeur, than any passage in human composition which has a mere reference to the operations of the understanding.—‘La nature confond les Pyrrhoniens, et la Raison les Dogmatistes.’

* This is significantly expressed in the quaint title of an old and rare book, ‘*Sciri sive Sceptices et Scepticorum a jure disputationis Exclusio*,’ by Thomas White, a personage of some consideration in the history of English philosophy.

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ARTICLE I. *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry in a Course of Lectures for the Board of Agriculture.* By SIR HUMPHRY DAVY, LL. D. F. R. S. Lond. & Edin. &c. &c. &c. 1 vol. 4to. pp.

THIS work, as well from the nature of its subject as from the high reputation of its author, is calculated to excite considerable interest. The combination of scientific views with practical details which it brings before us, will, we trust, contribute not only to advance the art itself, but to extend that taste for its cultivation among the higher and more enlightened members of the community, from whose cooperation such great benefits have already been derived. It is the subserviency of agriculture to the wants of mankind, connected perhaps with its sober and healthful pleasures, and the spirit of independence which it fosters, that has secured to it, in every age, the first rank among the useful arts, and obtained for it, in every country, the patronage of those most eminent for wisdom and virtue. The honours paid to it in China take their date from the remotest antiquity; and through the purer ages of the Roman Republic, it was held in the highest estimation. In our own country, the name of Russell, so proudly distinguished in the annals of freedom, stands preeminent among those who have patronized this noble art; and the great founder of American liberty, when the toils and dangers of warfare were ended, retired to the cultivation of that soil which his valour and his virtues had rendered free.

Thus honoured and encouraged by the great, and actively pursued as a profession by a large portion of the people, the art of agriculture has made considerable progress; and, in our

own country in particular, it has reached a high degree of perfection. Notwithstanding, however, the improvements it has received from the experience of practical cultivators, still its principles, in almost every department, are vague and fluctuating. In some districts also, the most absurd and wasteful practices continue to be followed; or if any change is attempted, it usually proceeds on some partial observation, or false and imperfect analogy, which not only terminates in present failure, but discourages from all future attempts at improvement. Even in the most enlightened districts, the best cultivators are but seldom able to assign just reasons for their practice. Like the good practical physician, the prudent farmer generally rests satisfied with the success that attends his labours, without troubling himself to inquire minutely into the reasons or causes of it; and having perhaps witnessed a succession of theories, which, like the annual productions of his soil, flourished and decayed in a single season, he at length acquires an abhorrence of all theory, and even of all attempts at improvement, except such as the slow results of experience may introduce. If, however, we reflect for a moment that the ultimate aim of the agriculturist is to improve and multiply those vegetable productions which are best suited to the wants of man, it will readily be admitted, that any information concerning the natural history of such vegetables, their general structure, the nature and constitution of the soil best adapted to their growth, and the general powers and agencies of nature on which their successful culture more immediately depends, must assist in explaining the causes of many appearances which are at present known only as matters of fact; and thereby enable us not only to improve the methods at present pursued, but to institute new practices which may conduct to still greater improvements. Let not the little progress which has hitherto been made in advancing agriculture to the dignity of a science, discourage us from making farther efforts. If it ever reach this eminence, it must be chiefly by the aid of physiology; and as physiology can itself exist only in a very advanced state of other sciences, it were vain to expect much progress to be made in it, until those sciences have been adequately improved. Little more than a century has elapsed since any real information was gained respecting the structure of plants; and, notwithstanding the progress since made in that department, many parts of vegetable anatomy are still involved in doubt and mystery. Chemistry has only within our own memory assumed the form of a science; and it is by its aid alone that we can investigate the nature and properties of those more general agents by which the living functions of all organized be-

ings are sustained. To this great improvement in chemistry, no person has more largely contributed than the distinguished author of the work before us. We have had frequent occasion to notice, in our Journal, the brilliant discoveries he has recorded in the successive volumes of the London Phil. Transactions; and we feel grateful to him for having thus suspended for a time the labours of original investigation, in order to apply the principles and discoveries of his favourite science to the illustration and improvement of an art, which, above all others, ministers to the wants and the comforts of man:

These 'Elements of Agricultural Chemistry' have been delivered, in the form of Lectures, to the Board of Agriculture, during the last ten years; and they are now published at the request of the Board, to whom they are inscribed, as a testimony of the respect of the Author. In his introductory lecture, Sir Humphry Davy gives a general view of the plan of his course; adverts to the novelty and difficulty of his undertaking, and bespeaks the candour and indulgence of his audience to the 'first attempt' (in England we suppose he must mean) 'made to illustrate Agricultural Chemistry in a distinct course of public lectures.'—'This branch of Chemistry,' says he, 'has for its objects all those changes in the arrangement of matter connected with the growth and nourishment of plants; the comparative values of their produce as food; the constitution of soils; and the manner in which lands are enriched by manure, or rendered fertile by the different processes of cultivation.'—'The phenomena of vegetation,' he adds, 'must be considered as an important branch of the science of organized nature; but, though exalted above inorganic matter, vegetables are yet in a great measure dependent for their existence upon its laws. They receive their nourishment from the external elements; they assimilate it by means of peculiar organs; and it is by examining their physical and chemical constitution, and the substances and powers which act upon them, and the modifications which they undergo, that the scientific principles of Agricultural Chemistry are obtained.'

We must here take leave to remark, that the author appears to give too comprehensive a definition of Agricultural Chemistry. It is, we conceive, the proper business of the chemist, to examine and ascertain the nature and properties of dead and inorganized matter, and the various combinations which, according to chemical laws, it is capable of forming. The chemical composition of organized bodies, and of the products which they form, fall, likewise, under his cognizance; but when he proceeds to consider the physical constitution of these bodies, and the manner in which they act in forming their products, he no longer works with the instruments of the labora-

tory, or conducts processes which can be properly imitated there. At this point he encroaches on the province of the physiologist; and every step he takes will only lead him farther astray, if, to his chemical knowledge, he does not superadd a minute attention to the structure, and just views of the powers and properties of the living instruments, by which the several products of vegetation are formed.

We beg to state our opinion on this point at the outset, from a full persuasion, that chemists in general do not accurately distinguish between the phenomena which are truly chemical, and those which properly belong to the science of physiology; and that, in their reasonings on these subjects, they apply the maxims of chemistry, and the laws which influence inorganic matter, to explain the operations carried on by living agents, according to methods which chemistry alone is wholly unable to imitate. Hence it is, that, in the science of physiology, modern chemists have hitherto been far more successful in removing the rubbish accumulated by their predecessors, than in building up any thing very solid in its place; and in the greater part of our chemical physiology, to use the words of our author, 'it is not uncommon to find a number of changes rung upon a string of technical terms, such as oxygen, hydrogen, carbon and azote,' (p. 23.)—all of which, we may add, both in the systems of plants and of animals, have been said to be successively absorbed and evolved, not only without the assistance of appropriate living structures, but in direct defiance of them.

In his Second Lecture, the author takes a rapid view of the general powers of matter which influence vegetation, as Gravitation, Cohesion, Chemical Attraction, Heat, Light and Electricity. The direct influence of these powers on plants, he illustrates by some appropriate examples. Many of these remarks might be unnecessary for an audience competently skilled in the principles of chemistry; but perhaps they could not well be dispensed with on the present occasion. The particular detail, however, into which the author has entered, of almost all the simple or undecomposed substances recognized in chemistry, appears to us an unnecessary encroachment on the proper business of the course. The greater number of these elements have little or no concern with vegetables or vegetation; and the remarks made on them are too meagre to interest those who have any acquaintance with chemistry, and too concise to convey any useful information to those who have not.

'In most of the inorganic compounds, the nature of which is well known, into which these elements enter, they are combined,' says our author, (p. 39), 'in definite proportions; so that if the elements

' be represented by numbers, the proportions in which they combine
' are expressed either by numbers, or by some simple multiples of
' them.'

With this very brief notice, and without any other explanation, our author proceeds to assign numbers which shall represent each particular element; and, in addition to the ordinary mode of stating the results of analysis, he employs almost constantly these arbitrary numbers to represent the proportions in which the elements of the compound are supposed to combine;—a procedure, calculated, we think, rather to puzzle and confound, than to enlighten and instruct an audience, probably not very versant in the received facts of the science, and therefore little likely to be benefited by such novel and obscure representations of them. The confusion attending the employment of this doctrine is, in no small degree, increased by the want of agreement among philosophers, in fixing the *unit* to which the relative values of the other numbers shall be referred. Mr Dalton, the founder of the theory, made choice of hydrogen as the unit. Sir Humphry Davy has followed his example; but he has doubled the weight of an atom of oxygen, and consequently of all other bodies: while Doctors Wollaston and Thomson, and Professor Berzelius, have all proposed oxygen as the most convenient unit. Nevertheless, our author proceeds with his statements, as if, not only the doctrine itself, but his particular modifications of it, were universally known and received; nor does he once mention the name of Dalton, nor allude, in the slightest manner, to any existing difference of opinion on the subject. There is, we fear, some reason to apprehend, lest the too zealous application of this doctrine, even to inorganic bodies, may sometimes beget a disposition to compound them in proportions that shall suit the theory, rather than in those which actual analysis may give: and in respect to organized substances, since, as our author justly observes (p. 48.) 'the same accuracy of weight and measure, the same statical results which depend upon the uniformity of the laws that govern dead matter, cannot be expected in operations where the powers of life are concerned, and where a diversity of organs and of functions exists,'—there is still greater reason to believe, that if to such substances this theory be applied, it must, for a long time, rest more upon conjecture than experiment, and derive greater aid from analogy than from fact.

Having thus prepared his auditors, by these preliminary chemical discussions, Sir Humphry Davy enters, in his Third Lecture, on a description of the organization of plants. He refers chiefly to the writings of Grew and Mirbel in his account of the general structure of shrubs and trees. We perceive lie

tle in these descriptions which may not be found in the original authors, or in our best elementary treatises on botany and chemistry. The discovery of the great abundance of silicious matter in the epidermis of certain plants, as reeds and grasses, is, we believe, originally due to our author. In the rattan, the *epidermis* is said to contain a sufficient quantity of flint, to give light when struck by steel; and the same matter exists, generally, in the epidermis of hollow plants, where it is of great use in serving as a support, and seems to perform a part in the economy of these feeble vegetable tribes, analogous to that of the shell in crustaceous insects.

Beneath the epidermis, is the greenish cellular substance, termed *parenchyma*. The cells of this part have an hexagonal form, the same as is usually exhibited by the cellular membranes of vegetables, and is similar to that which takes place in the honeycomb. This arrangement, which has usually been ascribed to the skill and artifice of the bee, is, we are told, considered by Dr Wollaston to be merely the result of the mechanical laws which influence the pressure of cylinders composed of soft materials, the nests of solitary bees being uniformly circular.

The innermost part of the bark, which is properly the *liber* of the ancients, is constituted by cortical layers, composed of a membranous and tubular structure: it is through it that the sap, destined to nourish the plant, descends, after having experienced its requisite changes in the leaves. This descent of the sap, as is known to physiologists, was formerly denied by Hales, who maintained, that the sap rose and fell in the same vessels of the alburnous part of the wood. This opinion is, we believe, correct, if the motion of the sap be examined *before* the leaves have appeared; but *after* those organs are developed, its course is entirely changed; for though it still continues to rise through the alburnum, it now passes from thence, as Darwin showed, through the leaves, and descends, as Knight proved, by the bark. Hence it is, that, if the wood of trees be pierced before the period of vernalion, the sap issues from the wound, because no other outlet for it then exists; but after that period, a new course is opened for this fluid through the leaves, and an abundant transpiration goes on from their surface; and then the same tree no longer continues to bleed. Thus the development of the leaves in the vegetable, like that of the lungs in the animal system, gives a new direction to the course of the circulating fluids, as well as alters their qualities; and forms, therefore, a new point of analogy between the two living kingdoms of nature—an analogy which our author, on various occasions, affects to discredit, but which an accurate examination of the chemical phenomena, and an enlarged view

of the structure and functions of the respiratory organs in the several classes of animals, will, we are persuaded, in every particular, sustain.

The author next treats of the wood, as composed of albuminum and heart-wood. Following Mirbel, he speaks of the former as consisting of four different orders of vessels or tubes, the *simple tubes*, the *porous tubes*, the *tracheæ* and the *false tracheæ*. To us these divisions, founded on microscopical observations, appear very questionable; and by several German physiologists the existence of such varieties has been denied.

The fibres and vessels which form the wood are intersected, at regular distances, by shining laminae proceeding from the circumference to the centre: they were named *insertments* by Dr Grew, and constitute what is vulgarly termed the *silver grain* of the wood.

In the centre of the wood the pith is situated, which was supposed by Linnæus to perform an important part in the vegetable economy; but in old trees it is often entirely wanting; and Mr Knight has removed it from young ones without any serious injury to the growth of the plant. We believe it, however, in the earlier periods of vegetable growth, to perform some essential function in the formation of buds.

The only other organs that, at present, require distinct notice, are the leaves. The vessels of the albuminum, passing from the branch, form the leaf-stalk in the first instance, and then, expanding in various directions through the parenchymatous structure, they constitute what Malpighi called the ribs (*costulae*), and others, as we think, with less propriety, the nerves of the leaves. They appear to be vessels having at least two distinct terminations, one into transpiring, and the other into returning vessels; by the former of which a large portion of the more watery part of the sap is exhaled, while the remainder, having experienced its destined change, is continued into the vessels which conduct it to the inner bark. Besides this vascular structure, the leaf consists of a series of cells which contain a fluid, supplied probably by a third termination of the vessels above mentioned, and which gives to it its chief bulk and its colour. Both surfaces of the leaf are covered by an epidermis; and it is considered that the function of transpiration is performed by its upper, and that of absorption by its under, surface.

After describing the general structure of plants, the author passes on to a chemical examination of the products of vegetation, and of the composition of soils. In his Fifth Lecture, however, on the nature and constitution of the atmosphere and its influence on vegetables, he resumes the subject of vegetation,

and offers a few remarks also on the structure and germination of seeds. We shall therefore deviate a little from his arrangement, by examining his opinions on germination and on the functions of the parts which have been just described, before we consider the products which they form, or the composition of the soil in which they grow.

With respect to the seed, Sir Humphry Davy observes that it consists of one or more cotyledons, a plumule and a radicle; but he gives us no information concerning the manner in which these parts are connected with each other, although this structure is not less curious than that of the perfect plant, and has been ably illustrated by Grew, Malpighi, Goertner, and some later French writers. To the agriculturist also, this description would have been fully as interesting as that of the mature plant; for, in his operations, he is much more concerned in what relates to seeds; and many points, in the chemical history of germination, are more completely and unequivocally ascertained than in the corresponding process of vegetation. 'If a healthy seed,' says our author, (p. 186), 'be duly moistened and exposed to air, at a temperature not below 45° , it soon germinates.' 'If the air be confined, it is found that, in the process of germination, the oxygen, or a part of it, is absorbed; the azote remains unaltered; no carbonic acid is taken away from the air; on the contrary, some is added.' Our author does not state these opinions as founded on any experiments of his own; and they are so very indefinite and so completely opposed to the conclusions drawn from experiment by others, that we feel some surprise at the complacency with which they are expressed, and the confidence with which Sir Humphry seems to expect that they should be received. We cannot suppose him ignorant of the numerous and accurate experiments made, on this subject, by Scheele, Cruickshank, and De Saussure, all of whom have shown, that, if seeds be confined and made to germinate in a given portion of air, not a part only, but the whole of the oxygen is consumed; and that its place is supplied, not merely by some, but by an equal bulk of carbonic acid gas. Surely it was incumbent on our author either to have supported his own opinions by some new experiments, or to have pointed out some fallacy in those of his predecessors, or in the conclusion drawn from them. But he has done neither; and has thus, as we think, not only failed in the respect due to those distinguished chemists, but contributed, as far as his authority extends, to replunge the subject into that obscurity and error, out of which their more accurate labours had so recently raised it.

'By germination,' continues our author, 'the coagulated mucilage, or starch of the seed, is converted into sugar; a substance difficult of

' solution is thus changed into one easily soluble; and the sugar, carried through the cells or vessels of the cotyledons, is the nourishment of the infant plant. It is easy,' he adds, ' to understand the nature of this change, by referring to the facts mentioned in the third lecture.'

As far as we can collect from this reference, he seems to think that, in this process, the starch of the seed both acquires a little oxygen, and loses a little carbon. A little oxygen, says he, (p. 113), is absorbed, which probably tends to acidify the gluten of the grain, and thus breaks down the texture of the starch; gives a new arrangement to its elements, and renders it soluble in water; and as there is likewise a formation of carbonic acid in this case, it is probable the starch loses a little carbon, which combines with the oxygen to form it. We agree with our author, that the starch is converted into saccharine matter, and that a formation of carbonic acid accompanies this change; but we perceive no evidence to prove that the starch itself either yields the carbon, or absorbs oxygen from the air, both of which are alleged to be necessary to effect the conversion in question. On the contrary, if the author had investigated more minutely the structure of the seed, or examined more accurately the effects it produces in the air, he would have been disposed, we think, to reject all belief in the direct operation of either of these supposed agents. He would have learned that the particles of starch are contained in a fine cellular tissue, and that this membranous covering is again enveloped in two other tunics of much denser structure. Granting therefore that the seed affords carbon, yet the position its starch occupies seems effectually to preclude the probability of this element being furnished by that substance; and, indeed, the quantity lost during this change is so extremely minute, as altogether to destroy the belief that its mere loss can be the direct occasion of it. As to what is said concerning an absorption of oxygen, and of its action first on the gluten, and then on the starch of the seed, it may be sufficient to remark, that it is clearly established, by the experiments already referred to, that all the oxygen which disappears in germination is converted into, and actually exists, exterior to the seed, in the form of carbonic acid gas; so that, of necessity, none can be proved to be absorbed by the seed. We must, therefore, consider this hypothesis of the conversion of starch into sugar, in the process of germination, as mere chemical speculation, by no means ' easy to understand;' but affording a very proper example of the ' changes sometimes rung on a string of technical terms, such as oxygen, carbon,' &c.; and therefore, in no degree entitled to the regard of the physiologist.

The process of malting is considered, by our author in common with others, merely as one in which germination is artificially produced. It is true that the germination of the seed always accompanies that conversion of its *fecula* or starch into saccharine matter which it is the aim of the maltster to effect; but we do not believe such growth to be in any way necessary to that result; and have no doubt, that if the minute germ or embryo of the seed were previously removed, the great mass of inorganic matter, if placed in the same circumstances, would undergo the same change. Indeed, this change can be wrought on this matter after it is reduced to powder, or is separated in the form of starch. The growth of the germ, in the process of malting, is no farther useful than as an indication of the due degree of change being effected in the inorganic matter—that is, when the organized parts exhibit a certain degree of development, then the inorganic matter is most completely changed. All growth beyond this, is injurious, as leading to a consumption of the inorganic matter. All less than this, is not otherwise disadvantageous, than as an indication that the inorganic matter is not duly changed. It is provided by Nature, that the same agents which urge on the development of the organized parts, should, at the same time, assist in preparing food for their support; but in the one case, they act *physiologically* on a living structure; in the other, they exert a *chemical* operation on the inorganic matter of the seed.

From the germination of the seed, the author proceeds to vegetation, and the influence which growing plants exert on the air. ‘It is proved, says he, by the experiments of Priestley, Ingenhousz, Woodhouse, and De Saussure, many of which I have repeated with similar results, that when a growing plant is exposed, in the presence of solar light, to a given quantity of atmospheric air, containing its due proportion of carbonic acid, the carbonic acid, after a certain time, is destroyed, and a certain quantity of oxygen is found in its place; so that carbon is added to plants from the air by the process of vegetation in sunshine, and oxygen is added to the atmosphere.’

In addition to what is here stated by our author, we may remark, that the experiments of Senebier and De Saussure prove that the presence of carbonic acid is absolutely necessary to this production of oxygen by the leaves of plants; and that the quantity of oxygen actually produced, is exactly equal to that of the carbonic acid gas that disappears; so that the decomposition of carbonic acid, is distinctly proved to be the source from which the oxygen gas is derived.

It is abundantly evident, also, that this operation of the leaves is wholly unconnected with the exertion of their *vegetating*

power; for, as Sir Humphry Davy admits, it is equally effected by 'leaves recently separated from the tree, or even when immersed in water holding carbonic acid in solution;' conditions which, in most species of plants, must entirely prevent the exercise of their vegetating power. We are inclined therefore, with Ingenhousz, to consider it as not owing to *vegetation*, but to the influence of solar light upon plants; to be, in fact, as Mr Ellis has expressed it, a *chemical* operation, effected by the direct agency of light upon the carbonic acid contained in the leaf. We had lately occasion * to consider more particularly Mr Ellis's observations on this subject, and to notice a theory he has connected with it, which appears to us to afford the only plausible explanation yet given of the green colour of plants.

He considers the chemical, or deoxydating rays of the solar beam, to be chiefly concerned in accomplishing these changes; and that, at the very same time, and in the same operation, by which the carbonic acid in the leaf is decomposed, and yields its oxygen to the atmosphere, the alkali, naturally present, is rendered predominant in the fluids of the leaf, and imparts to them their green colour. Sir Humphry Davy admits (p. 200) 'a connexion to exist between the natural colour of the leaves and the production of oxygen gas;' but these two facts he has regarded only as contemporaneous events, venturing no opinion concerning the manner in which their connexion takes place. So, likewise, he casually mentions the changes of colour that occur in autumn, as connected with the predominance of acid in the leaf; but offers no explanation of the mode in which they are effected. These, also, have been fully discussed by the writer already referred to.

But though, when exposed in sunshine, plants decompose carbonic acid, and emit oxygen—'In the dark,' continues our author, (p. 194), 'no oxygen gas is produced by plants, whatever be the elastic medium to which they are exposed, and no carbonic acid is absorbed. In most cases, on the contrary, oxygen gas, if it be present, is absorbed, and carbonic acid gas is produced. I once suspected,' he adds, 'that all the carbonic acid gas produced by plants in the night or in shade, might be owing to the decay of some part of the leaf or epidermis; but the recent experiments of Mr D. Ellis are opposed to this idea; and I found that a perfectly healthy plant of celery, placed in a given portion of air, for a few hours only, occasioned a production of carbonic acid gas, and an absorption of oxygen.'

We regret that our author has not been more particular in his detail of this solitary experiment;—that he has not told us

more of the manner, and of the circumstances in which it was made;—whether the oxygen, which he says was absorbed by the plant, was wholly retained, or contributed to the formation of the carbonic acid produced;—to what extent the loss of oxygen proceeded, and what proportion in bulk the acid obtained bore to it. But these important particulars are altogether omitted; and all that we collect from this most trifling experiment, is the simple and well known fact, that a healthy plant, placed in a given portion of air, consumes its oxygen, and occasions a production of carbonic acid gas.

The author, however, to whom he has referred, our readers will recollect, maintains, from the experiments of various authors, as well as his own, that growing plants, universally, and under all circumstances, consume oxygen, and produce carbonic acid gas; and that the bulk of acid gas produced is exactly equal to that of the oxygen gas consumed, just as occurs in the germination of seeds. This conversion of oxygen into carbonic acid is, he farther contends, the true and proper result of the change induced on the air by the *respiratory* function of the plant; that it is quite distinct in its mode of occurrence, and in its effects, from the *chemical* operation by which oxygen is afforded by the leaves; and that the living functions of the plant are suspended, or entirely cease, if this change in the air be unduly interrupted.

To all experiments, however, and particularly to those of Mr Ellis, brought forward in favour of the idea, that plants exert upon the air a permanent agency similar to that of animals, Sir Humphry Davy objects, that they have been made under circumstances unfavourable to accuracy of result. ‘The plants,’ says he, ‘have been confined, and supplied with food, in an unnatural manner; and the influence of light upon them has been very much diminished by the nature of the media through which it passed. Plants, confined in limited portions of air, soon become diseased; their leaves decay; and by their decomposition, they rapidly destroy the oxygen of the air.’

We confess, that to us these objections do not appear at all satisfactory; and in justice to Mr Ellis, we shall venture to subjoin the following concise replies to them.

In all the experiments of that author, the plants certainly appear to have been confined; and so, we presume, was the plant of celery in the experiment of Sir Humphry Davy: they were not, however, supplied with food in an ‘unnatural manner;’ for they drew it either from the cotyledons of the seed, or from the soil in which they were originally placed to grow. As to the agency of light, it nowhere appears to have been the design of Mr Ellis, in these experiments, to examine its influence

upon plants; but that of plants upon the air. Though not placed, therefore, in direct sunshine, his plants were always exposed to the full light of day; and our author himself, in common with every one else, as we shall presently see, employs a similar apparatus in his experiments, to ascertain the direct operation of light on plants. Lastly, the plants, in Mr Ellis's experiments, did not become diseased; their leaves did not decay, but on the contrary continued to grow; and they could not therefore, by their decomposition, but must, we conceive, by their growth, have destroyed the oxygen of the air.

To the consumption of this oxygen, appear to belong those peculiar changes in the fluids, contained in the *vascular system* of the leaf, which fit them for the nourishment and growth of the plant;—to the production of this element, under the direct agency of solar light, succeed those alterations in the juices of the *parenchymatous structure*, on which its colour, inflammability, and other sensible properties, materially depend. Concerning the intimate nature of either of these series of changes, no precise information is afforded by the work before us; and, indeed, the inquiry seems not yet sufficiently advanced, to enable us to enter, with any tolerable success, on the subject. While, however, philosophers may doubt and dispute concerning the relative importance of light and air to vegetables, the horticulturist, we think, will continue to act in conformity with those views of their use and operation to which we have given our support. He will not cease to bear in mind, that if he wholly excludes fresh air from his conservatory, his plants will droop and die; while, by the exclusion of light, he robs them, it is true, of their colour and their odour, but does not destroy their life. Indeed, it is by resorting to this latter expedient that he is enabled to present us with many vegetables in the only state in which they are used as food.

As it seems thus to be proved, that plants, in the shade and in darkness, convert oxygen gas into carbonic acid, and in sunshine reconvert carbonic acid into oxygen gas; and that, in either case, the quantity of the one gas obtained is always equal to that of the other which disappears, it becomes an interesting question to determine, whether, when exposed in the free atmosphere to the vicissitudes of sunshine, and of shade, vegetables, on the whole, purify or deteriorate the air. The very statement of this question exhibits it as one that can partly be decided by experiment, and must in part also be tried by general reasoning and probability. Sir Humphry Davy states, that Dr Priestley found vitiated air to be purified by the growth of plants, when they were exposed in it for successive days and nights; and he himself made some few researches on this sub-

ject, and thus describes their results. A turf of grass was confined in a glass jar, containing 380 cubic inches of common air inverted over water; it was exposed, for eight days, in a garden, to the vicissitudes of light and shade. When the air was examined, it rendered lime-water slightly turbid, and the residual gas contained only $\frac{2}{3}$ of oxygen; 'so that the air,' says he, 'had been slightly deteriorated by the action of the gasses.' In another experiment, he introduced, by means of an appropriate apparatus, carbonic acid to the common air he employed, so that a small quantity of that gas was constantly present in the receiver; and he then found, on the seventh day, that the air was 4 per cent. purer than the air of the atmosphere. In a third experiment, made with the shoot of a vine, confined in an atmosphere surcharged with carbonic acid gas, the air, on the eighth day, was found to contain $\frac{1}{11}$ of carbonic acid gas; and 100 parts of it afforded 23.5 of oxygen gas. 'These facts,' he continues, 'confirm the popular opinion, that, when the leaves of vegetables perform their healthy functions, they tend to purify the atmosphere in the common variations of weather and changes from light to darkness.'

On these experiments we have to remark, that the simple fact of the power of plants to afford oxygen gas, when exposed to sunshine, in an atmosphere containing an excess of carbonic acid, has been long ago established by various authors, and more particularly by M. De Saussure. That author, however, carefully distinguishes between the results gained from experiments made in artificial atmospheres, and those which are obtained in experiments conducted in common air. When, for example, he employed an atmosphere that contained an excess of carbonic acid, he then obtained a proportional excess of oxygen gas; but when he employed only common air in his experiments, then the plants neither suffered any alteration themselves, nor produced any change either in the purity or the volume of the air. Whoever will take the trouble to compare Sir Humphry Davy's first experiment, in which common air only was employed, with his two last, where an artificial atmosphere, containing an excess of carbonic acid, was used, will find their results to correspond nearly with those of M. De Saussure; and that the general conclusion he has drawn, respecting the purification of the atmosphere by vegetation, is not warranted by the experiments on which it is made to rest. This error has arisen, not from defect in his experiments, or even in the particular inferences which he makes from them; but from not attending to the difference of circumstances under which they were respectively made; and, consequently, in applying to the natural atmosphere what is true only of an atmosphere artificially compounded. Had he be-

stowed more attention on the elaborate researches of Saussure, he might perhaps have escaped this error; but unfortunately he seems, on all occasions, so desirous of trusting wholly to his own labours, however imperfect, that he pays little regard to the writings of his contemporaries; and thence, as we conceive, he not unfrequently commits injustice, but sometimes falls into mistake.

With respect to general reasoning, concerning the purification of the atmosphere by plants, it is ascertained that the composition of the air is always uniform, and that it contains only a very small proportion of carbonic acid gas—not more than from $\frac{1}{1000}$ to $\frac{1}{100}$ according to the opinion of Davy, and from $\frac{1}{1000}$ to $\frac{1}{100}$, according to the experiments of Dalton. Now, as plants yield oxygen only by decomposing carbonic acid, it necessarily follows, that the quantity of oxygen gas obtained from the atmosphere must be limited by that of the carbonic acid existing in it. This, however, is a quantity so extremely small, as to be altogether insignificant, if it were wholly decomposed; a circumstance that never does happen, else it could not be uniformly present. We find accordingly, from the experiment of our author, as well as from those of M. De Saussure, that a given portion of common air receives no addition of oxygen when healthy plants, even in sunshine, are made to vegetate in it. It may, however, be said that the carbonic acid formed in the various processes of respiration, combustion, fermentation and putrefaction, would accumulate to excess in the free atmosphere, were it not constantly removed by the decomposing power of plants.—But are there not other bodies, both fluid and solid, which attract this acid gas from the air? and has any attempt yet been made to calculate the extent of their operation? It is true, that, as yet, we know no natural process, except that of the agency of plants in sunshine, by which oxygen is directly restored to the atmosphere: But does our ignorance, in this respect, amount to any proof that no other mode or modes exist? Or, because such modes are at present unknown to us, are we therefore entitled to conclude that this office must be performed by plants?

Since it is now admitted, even by our author, that healthy plants, in certain circumstances, actually deteriorate the air; it would, at least, seem prudent to suspend our belief in the ‘popular opinion that they purify the atmosphere,’ until we gain some farther insight into the extent of this deteriorating process. It is indeed only by estimating the quantity of oxygen produced by growing vegetables, and the circumstances and times which favour or retard its production, and by calculating also the degree of deterioration produced by the exercise of the respiratory function of vegetables in all the climates of the earth, and finding how nearly the two processes balance or counteract each

other, that we can at all approach towards a solution of the difficult problem, whether plants, growing in the free atmosphere, tend more to purify or deteriorate the air.

With respect to the general question, by what means is the purity of the atmosphere maintained? we may add, that with regard to us, it is a question which partakes more of curiosity than of use, since the great scale on which the operations are conducted, places them far beyond human control, and reduces to absolute insignificance the little experiments of man. The investigation of the subject must, however, continue to present us with new and valuable facts; and its final determination, whenever it shall be achieved, will, doubtless, excite our admiration of the wisdom and simplicity of the means employed to bring about changes so curious in their nature, so vast in their extent, and, in their consequences, so essential both to vegetable and animal life.

A number of miscellaneous remarks on various points of vegetable physiology and practical horticulture succeed. These are all familiar to those who are versant in the writings of Hales, Darwin, and Knight. We meet with nothing original, except some chemical speculations on the mode in which the different organized parts of vegetables may be formed from the same sap, according as it is acted on by heat, light and air. This, says the author, it is 'easy to conceive;' but, speaking physiologically, we do not so clearly see how a mere knowledge of the chemical composition of vegetable products can explain the mode of their formation in the living organs of plants.

We now return to the Third Lecture, in which the chemical constitution of plants, and of the substances found in them, are considered; and where, from the pursuits and experience of the author, we may expect to find more novelty of remark, and greater depth of information. He enumerates 17 compound substances as being found in vegetables. Of all these substances, and also of the acids, alkalies, earths, metallic oxides, and saline compounds, a detailed history, occupying about 40 pages, is given. When we consider that of all these substances, gum or mucilage, starch, sugar, gluten, oils, tannin, and albumen alone particularly interest the agricultural chemist, we cannot help thinking this part of the author's work extended too far—and that it must have been considered as somewhat dry and tedious by his audience. In a work on the general chemistry of vegetables, such details would have been necessary; but we do not really see what the agriculturist of this country has to do with gum elastic, the narcotic principle, and indigo: and those who may desire such information will, after all, find it more copiously given in our systematic chemical works.

The vegetable principles above enumerated are said to be contained in the vascular system, and in the cellular structure of plants; and in different vegetables they are found in very different parts. In some instances, as in the birch, mucilage and sugar abound in the albumum; in cabbage, sea-cale and broccoli, they occur, with albumen, in the leaves. In bulbous, and sometimes in common roots, as in the potatoe, these principles are very abundant; so that, from various analyses, it appears that a fourth part of the weight of this root may be considered as nutritive matter. The turnip, carrot, and parsnip are much less nutritive; but still very valuable roots.

All these, however, and also the potatoe, yield, in this respect, to the seeds of the *cereal*ia, at the head of which stands wheat. The author has given the result of several analyses of this important grain, from which it appears that some fine wheat yielded him, in 100 parts, 77 of starch, and 19 of gluten; Norfolk barley afforded 79 starch, and 6 gluten. A valuable Table is then given of the quantities of soluble or nutritive matters contained in various substances, used as articles of food either for man or cattle. The analyses were made by the author himself, with a view to a knowledge of the general nature and quantity of the products, and not of their intimate chemical composition. This Table is well worthy the consideration of the practical agriculturist, since, as far as it is carried, it will enable him to discover the relative nutrient powers of the several seeds, roots, and grasses, which he is accustomed to cultivate. We warmly recommend it to general perusal.

To his account of the chemical compounds, the author adds instructions for analyzing a vegetable substance, so as to discover, in a general way, suited to the views of the agriculturist, the principles of which it is composed. These directions are simple and concise; and they are followed by some analyses illustrating the order in which the results of the experiments should be arranged. To ascertain, however, the primary elements of the different vegetable principles, and the proportions in which they are combined, by submitting vegetable substances to decomposition by heat, requires, says he, a complicated apparatus, much time and labour, and all the resources of the analytical chemist. By such operations it will be found, that the most essential vegetable substances consist of hydrogen, carbon and oxygen, in different proportions, generally alone, but in some few cases combined with azote; the acid, alkaline, earthy, and metallic matters, and the saline compounds, though necessary, being of less importance than the other principles, particularly in their relation to agriculture.

The 4th Lecture treats of the constituent parts of soils; their analysis and uses; of the rocks and strata found beneath them; and of their improvement. The greater part of this valuable essay, in which the author has much simplified and greatly improved on the processes of Fordyce and Kirwan, has been long before the public in various forms—which renders unnecessary any extended notice of it. Soils, however diversified in appearance and quality, consist of different proportions of the same substances, in various states of chemical combination, or mechanical mixture.

These substances are silica, lime, alumina, magnesia, the oxides of iron and manganese, animal and vegetable matters in a decomposing state, and saline, acid, or alkaline combinations.

On the chemical history of all these substances a few remarks are offered; and the author then proceeds to describe the instruments and reagents required in the analysis of soils; the general rules to be observed; and the several stages of the process by which the composition of the soil is discovered; together with examples of the method in which the several products or results are to be numerically arranged.

To these succeed some ingenious remarks on the relations of different soils to heat and moisture. Some soils, it is observed, are more easily heated and more readily cooled than others. Stiff clayey soils are with difficulty heated, and, being usually moist, retain their heat only for a short time. Chalks, also, are difficultly heated; but, being dryer, retain their heat longer, less being consumed in causing the evaporation of moisture. A black soil, and soils that contain much carbonaceous or ferruginous matter, acquire a higher temperature by exposure to the sun, than pale coloured soils. When soils are perfectly dry, those that most readily become heated, cool most rapidly; but the darkest coloured dry soil, abounding in animal and vegetable matters, cools more slowly than a wet pale soil, composed entirely of earthy matter. These results were gained by experiments made on different kinds of soils, exposed for a given time to the sun, and in the shade; and the degrees of heating and cooling were ascertained by the thermometer.

Water is said to exist in soils, either in a state of chemical combination, or of cohesive attraction. It is in the latter state only that it can be absorbed by the roots of plants, unless in the case of the decomposition of animal and vegetable substances. The more divided the parts of the soil are, the greater is its attractive power for water; and the addition of vegetable and animal matters still farther increases this power. This power of absorption is much connected with fertility, as the evaporation

in the day is counteracted by the attraction of aqueous vapour from the air during the night. The most fertile soils possess always the greatest absorbing powers. Thus does the absorbing power for water become an indication of the fertility of a soil; and the effects of tillage in improving this power are also very striking. The nature of the subsoil influences also the absorbing and retaining power of the surface soil; of which several examples are stated.

The relative absorbing powers of different earthy substances, has lately also engaged the attention of Professor Leslie; and it may be useful to subjoin a brief abstract of his method and results, as described in his recent treatise on the 'Relations of Air to Heat and Moisture.' He first thoroughly dried, and almost roasted, before a strong fire, the substance to be examined, and then introduced it into a phial with a close stopper. The powder, thus prepared, was afterwards thrown into a very large wide-shaped bottle, and shut up till it had attracted its share of humidity from the confined air; and a delicate hygrometer being then let down into the bottle, indicated the measure of effect produced by absorption. In this way it was found, that at a temperature of about 60° Fahrenheit, alumine caused a dryness of 84 degrees in the air included with it: the carbonate of magnesia, 75; the carbonate of lime, 70; silica, 40; the carbonate of barytes, 32; and that of strontites, only 23. Marble and quicklime produced exactly the same effect; and in general no sensible difference could be perceived between the pure earths and their carbonates. The more compound earths and stones possessed generally the power of attracting moisture from the air in a still higher degree. Pipe clay occasioned a dryness of 85 degrees; whinstone of 80; and sea sand, having an admixture of shells, of 70 degrees. The progressive increase of absorbing power, which accompanies the decay and disintegration of rocks, is well illustrated in common whinstone, the greenstone of mineralogists. A piece of solid rock occasioned a dryness of 80 degrees by the hygrometer: another piece, decayed and crumbling, gave 86 degrees: and a third piece of the same rock, already reduced to mould, afforded 92 degrees. The ameliorating influence of culture was exemplified in sea-land, which increased in absorbing power as it was brought more and more into a state of cultivation. The effects of all these substances were, however, inferior to that of garden mould, which amounted to 95 degrees. Other cultivated soils exerted a similar power of absorption; and this property always appeared to be proportioned to their respective goodness.

^a But to return to our author—Towards the conclusion of this

lecture, he presents us with a few remarks on the formation of soils by the decay and decomposition of rocks, and the successive growth, decay, and accumulation of vegetable matter. A catalogue of the principal rocks, which, according to geologists, compose the crust of the earth, is next given; and some few remarks, on the means of discovering the cause and counteracting the effect of sterility in soils, whether arising from defective constitution or texture, are added.

‘Land, however, may be too rich as well as too poor; and excess of poverty or of richness,’ says the author, ‘is almost equally fatal to the hopes of the farmer. The true constitution of the soil for the best crop, is that in which the earthy materials, the moisture and manure, are properly associated, and in which the decomposable vegetable or animal matter does not exceed one-fourth of the weight of the earthy constituents.’

From the view thus presented of the constitution of soils, and the nature of vegetation, it is quite evident that plants, by their growth, must gradually exhaust the soil of its richer and more nutrient parts; and that these can be resupplied only by the addition of manures. This important subject, which is capable of receiving the greatest illustration from the principles of chemistry, occupies, accordingly, a considerable portion of our author's work, in which he treats first of manures of vegetable and animal origin, and next of those of mineral origin. We know not any department in practical agriculture where greater ignorance, negligence, and abuse prevail, than in the collection, management, and application of fold-yard manure. It is quite lamentable to survey a farm-yard in many parts of the kingdom; to see the abundance of vegetable matter that is trodden for months under foot, over a surface of perhaps half an acre of land, exposed to all the rains that fall, by which its more soluble and richer parts are washed away, or perhaps carried down to poison the water of some stagnant pool, which the unfortunate cattle are afterwards compelled to drink. From the yard, the manure is often carted to the field, at a time when the land is rendered impenetrable by frost; or, if this operation be delayed to a less unseasonable period, it is then frequently laid down in small heaps, or sometimes spread over the surface, exposed for many days to the sun, the winds and the rain, as if with the direct design of dissipating those more volatile parts which it ought to be the farmer's first endeavour to preserve. Often too, where greater pains are at first taken in the collection of the manure, practices little less injurious are permitted to prevail. The heap of dung is carelessly accumulated, is trodden and poached by cattle, and so drenched and washed with

rain, that its more soluble materials ooze out in every part, and are lost; and fermentation in the mass is effectually checked; or, if this process happen to begin, a new train of mischiefs succeeds. The fermentation, instead of being moderated in its action, and uniformly diffused through the mass, is suffered to run on to excess; by which means, not only is the heap of manure greatly reduced in quantity, but all its more valuable qualities are given to the winds, and little else remains than a comparatively inactive residue. We know that, in some districts, more information and better practices prevail; but we know also, from observation in many different parts of the kingdom, that what has been stated above is no exaggerated picture, but a plain statement of facts. Nothing can be so likely to remove ignorance so deplorable, and prejudices so inveterate, as the diffusion of real knowledge concerning the nature of manures, and their mode of action on soils, and on the plants which grow in them. Much useful information on these subjects may be gathered from various writers both on the theory and practice of the art. Our author omits all mention of his predecessors, and proceeds to give us his own ideas on these subjects. These we consider, though not always novel, yet as generally just; and shall now present a short abstract of them to our readers.

Manures, he observes, must be extremely attenuated, to enter the absorbent vessels of plants. Powders, in their most impalpable forms, are unable to do so: they must be reduced to a state of complete solution in a fluid before this can be effected. Manures therefore can act only by furnishing solid or gaseous matters, capable of being dissolved by water; for such substances as pass off into the atmosphere in a gaseous form are soon diffused through it and lost. From some direct experiments, the author is led to think that many soluble vegetable substances pass unchanged into the roots of plants, like the colouring matter of madder, which is known to tinge them red; and many substances, poisonous to vegetables, are nevertheless absorbed by them.

Mucilaginous, gelatinous, saccharine, oily, and extractive fluids are substances that, in their unchanged states, contain all the principles necessary to vegetation: these substances, however, can seldom be applied in their pure forms; and vegetable manures, besides these, usually contain a great excess of fibrous and insoluble matter; which must undergo chemical changes, before they can become the food of plants. The author then proceeds to consider the nature of these changes, the causes that occasion them, and the products which they afford. If vegetable matters, which contain starch, sugar, mucilage, or other

compounds soluble in water, be moistened, and exposed to air, in a temperature from 55° to 80° , the oxygen of the air will disappear, and carbonic acid be formed: heat will be produced: and carbonic acid, gaseous oxide of carbon, and hydrocarbonates, be given off: a dark-coloured liquor, of a sourish or bitter taste, will likewise be formed: and if the process go on for a sufficient time, nothing solid, except earthy and saline matter, coloured by charcoal, will remain. The dark liquor contains acetic acid; and if albumen or gluten existed in the materials, it then likewise contains volatile alkali. The pure woody fibre resists putrefaction most, but its texture is at length broken down; and it is rendered soluble by mixture with other elements. Animal matters, under similar circumstances, decompose more rapidly, and carbonic acid and ammonia are formed during their putrefaction: foetid compound elastic fluids are given off, and likewise azote: dark-coloured acid and oily fluids escape, and leave a residuum of salts and earths mixed with carbonaceous matter.

From this description of the nature of the substances employed as manures, the products which they yield under decomposition, and their use in nourishing plants, it is evident, that when they consist principally of matter soluble in water, their fermentation or putrefaction should be prevented as much as possible, these processes being useful only when the manure consists chiefly of vegetable or animal fibre.

All green succulent plants readily ferment, and, when intended for manure, cannot be used too soon after their death. The same remark applies to sea-weed, which, in the West of England, is always used as fresh as it can be procured. Dry straw of all kinds is generally submitted to fermentation before it is employed; but it may be doubted whether the practice should be indiscriminately adopted. It is rendered more manageable, indeed, by undergoing this process; but there is likewise a great loss of nutritive matter. The author suggests, therefore, whether straw might not be more economically applied, if chopped small, and kept dry, till it is ploughed in for the use of the crop. In this case, though its operation might be more slow, its effect, it is said, would be more lasting. Mere woody fibre, it is added, seems to be the only vegetable matter that requires fermentation to render it nutritive to plants.

'In the writings of scientific agriculturists,' continues our author (p. 265), 'a great mass of facts may be found in favour of the application of farm-yard dung in a recent state. Mr Young, in an essay on manures, adduces a number of excellent authorities in support of the plan. Many who doubted, have been lately convinced: and perhaps there is no subject of investigation in which

there is such an union of theoretical and practical evidence. I have myself, within the last ten years, witnessed a number of distinct proofs on the subject. I shall content myself with quoting that which ought to have, and which I am sure will have, the greatest weight among agriculturists. Within the last seven years, Mr Coke has entirely given up the system formerly adopted on his farm, of applying fermented dung: and he informs me, that his crops have been since as good as they ever were, and that his manure goes nearly twice as far.'

Now, without calling in question the results of Mr Coke's experience, or the general correctness of the theoretical views advanced by our author, we may be permitted to say, that, in practice, they must be received with much caution; and, in many situations and circumstances, must undergo very considerable modification. It is not enough to consider merely the condition of the manure: we must also direct our attention to the nature of the soil and the climate, the kind of crop, and the season of the year in which the manure is applied. Little benefit, for example, could be derived from straw inserted in the dry state suggested by our author, unless the soil not only were in that condition, and possessed that degree of fertility requisite to begin and carry on, with sufficient rapidity, the decomposition or rotting in the straw itself, but to sustain also the growth of the cultivated plants, till such decomposition was duly brought about. It is only in the richer lands, those stored with a good proportion of decomposing vegetable or animal remains, that such a raw material could be used with advantage, or even with safety: and the practice of employing such unreduced manure is not to be recommended, and is indeed seldom adopted in poor soils, especially if such are damp or wet-bottomed, or lie in a cold, elevated, or moist situation. The use of rough, strawey manure, mentioned by Mr Marshall, in his *Rural Economy of Norfolk*, more than twenty years ago, as almost peculiar to Norfolk, may suit with the low, warm, rich soils of that district, but would by no means answer for soils of an opposite description; and the Norfolk practice, in this respect, is little followed in other parts of England.

Neither, we believe, is it likely to meet with many supporters among the farmers of this part of the island. No farmer would employ long fresh dung for a turnip field. On the contrary, we are told, in Sir John Sinclair's *Account of Scottish Husbandry*, that an experienced farmer, Mr Walker of Melleudean, condemns the practice of using fresh dung, in so far as regards the turnip crop. For upwards of 30 years he has found that a small quantity of rotten dung is required for that crop and he never

could raise a full crop with long fresh dung, however thickly laid on. He is therefore in the constant practice, about the end of April or beginning of May, of promoting, by every means, decomposition in his dung-heaps, so that the dung may be in a putrid state when laid on the land in June. After all, however, he is obliged, every year, to manure a part of his turnip land with fresh dung; and wherever it is laid on, the crop is invariably very much inferior. This, we believe, is the universal practice of every good farmer of turnip soils in Scotland.

But while we thus object to the practice of using dung in so recent a state, except in soils and situations of a peculiar description, we must also express ourselves adverse, in general, to the contrary practice of employing it in a completely rotted state. From observation, and so far as the experience of the most correct farmers goes, it would appear that there is a middle state of decomposition, which, in general, is preferable to the practice of using the straw either totally unreduced, or, as it were, completely rotted and dissolved. Dr Fenwick, in an essay on fold-yard manure, printed in 1798, states, on the authority of one of the most experienced and intelligent farmers in his district, that 'half rotted litter, if applied to land duly prepared to receive it, and ploughed and harrowed in immediately, is of more advantage than it would be if kept at the farm-stead until thoroughly rotted.' This state or condition of manure, and mode of using it, seems the most generally applicable to different soils and situations; and to combine, therefore, in the greatest attainable degree, the preservation of its most essential qualities with the security of its most beneficial operation.

The objections to the use of greatly fermented dung are, that, in bringing it into the state of *short muck*, both fluid and gaseous matters escape; so that the dung is reduced, says our author, one-half, or two-thirds, in weight; the elastic matters that escape, are principally carbonic acid, hydrocarbonate, and ammonia, which the author found, by experiment, to be useful to vegetation, when introduced into the soil in which plants grew—a fact long ago ascertained by the very able and enlightened Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh.

To prevent or check excessive fermentation in a dung-heap, it is recommended that the mass be preserved dry, kept cool, and defended from the contact of air. If a thermometer, plunged into the heap, does not rise to above 100° Fahrenheit, there is little danger of much aeriform matter flying off; if the temperature is higher, the dung should be immediately turned, or mixed. Dung, if preserved for any time, should, as much as possible, be defended from the sun; and the floor on which it is

heaped, should be paved with flat stones, having a little inclination from each side towards the centre, where a drain should be formed leading to a small well, by which any fluid matter may be collected for the use of the land.

Animal substances, in general, require no *chemical* preparation, to fit them as manures for the soil; it is only necessary that they be duly blended with the earthy constituents in a proper state of division. If dead animals, as horses and dogs, instead of being left exposed to contaminate the air, were covered over with five or six times their bulk of soil, mixed with one part of lime, and suffered to remain a few months, they would undergo decomposition, and impregnate the soil with soluble matters, so as to render the mass an excellent manure. Pilchards, in Cornwall, are mixed with sand and soil, to prevent them from raising too luxuriant a crop; and thus form an excellent manure, the effects of which are perceived for several years.

Various other substances, both animal and vegetable, are enumerated by our author, accompanied by concise remarks on their nature and mode of operation. For these, we must refer the reader to the work itself, contenting ourselves with extracting such facts only as we deem most important, and communicating such general principles as may be most likely to correct prevailing errors, and, by their universal application, conduce to general improvement. We cannot, however, withhold from our readers, the author's concluding reflections on this branch of the subject.

'The doctrine, of the proper application of manures from organized substances, offers, says he, an illustration of an important part of the economy of nature, and of the happy order in which it is arranged. The death and decay of animal substances tend to resolve organized forms into chemical constituents, and the pernicious effluvia disengaged in the process, seem to point out the propriety of burying them in the soil, where they are fitted to become the food of vegetables. The fermentation and putrefaction of organized substances in the free atmosphere, are noxious processes;—beneath the surface of the ground, they are salutary operations. In this case, the food of plants is prepared where it can be used; and that which would offend the senses, and injure the health, if exposed, is converted, by gradual processes, into forms of beauty and of usefulness: the fœtid gas is rendered a constituent of the aroma of the flower; and what might be poison, becomes nourishment to animals, and to man.'

The nature of fossile manures, their preparation, and mode of action, form the subjects of the Seventh Lecture. Of these manures, the most important is lime. Few subjects in practical

agriculture have occasioned greater disputes, or given rise to more opposite opinions, than the uses of lime and its carbonate (or what are usually called quick and effete lime), in different situations, and on different sorts of land. These disputes must continue so long as they are carried on only by mere practical men; since it is not to be expected, that persons who know not the composition of the substances about which they differ, and but little of the nature of the soils to which they apply them, should ever arrive at any settled conclusion of their differences. On this subject, it is to the chemist alone, that we can look, with confidence, for accurate information.

Analysis, says the author, instructs us, that, beside the elements of oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon, plants also contain earthy and saline substances in their composition; and these substances are doubtless derived from the soil in which they grow. Fossile manures must act in vegetation, either by becoming an useful constituent part of the plant, or by acting on its more essential food, so as to fit it for the purposes of vegetable life. The alkalies and alkaline earths are the only manures of this kind, strictly so called; and of these, as we before observed, the most important is lime.

The substance known by the name of Limestone, is a compound of lime and carbonic acid: by discharging its acid part, it loses nearly half its weight; but if the stone be well dried before it is burnt, it loses, in the operation, only from 35 to 40 per cent.: this acid gas it again recovers by exposure to the atmosphere, and is then restored to its former state of carbonate of lime. In its burnt or caustic state, lime is, in a small degree, soluble in water; but this property it loses after recombining with carbonic acid.

Besides lime, silica, alumina and magnesia frequently form a part of limestones, and sometimes these stones contain a portion of iron, or of bituminous matter. These ingredients sometimes modify the properties of the lime.

In its caustic state, whether used in powder, or dissolved in water, lime is injurious to plants; but in its combination with carbonic acid, it is an useful ingredient in soils. When newly burnt lime is exposed to the atmosphere, it soon falls into powder, from uniting with the moisture of the air: in this state it is called slacked lime; which is, merely a combination of lime with about one third its weight of water. By chemists, this compound is named hydrat of lime; and when this hydrat becomes a carbonate, by long exposure to the air, its water is (in part) expelled, and the carbonic acid gas takes its place. Lime, either when freshly burnt, or slacked, acts strongly on

recent or moist vegetable matters, and forms with them a compost, of which a part is usually soluble in water. By this operation, it renders inert vegetable matter active; and as charcoal and oxygen (the elements of carbonic acid) abound in vegetables, it is itself, at the same time, converted into a carbonate. But limestone simply powdered, marls, or chalks, do not thus act on vegetable matter; and hence the operation of quicklime and mild lime depends on principles altogether different. Quicklime acts on any hard vegetable matter, so as to render it more readily soluble, and thereby food for plants. The mild limes, or carbonates, act only by improving the texture of the soil, or its relation to absorption. Hence, where inert vegetable matter exists in a soil, quicklime is to be preferred; and marl, mild lime, or powdered limestone, are said to be useful only to improve the texture of soils, or to supply a due proportion of calcareous matter: thus almost all soils which do not effervesce with acids, are improved by mild lime, and sands more than clays. Soils abounding in soluble vegetable manures, are injured by quicklime, as it tends to decompose their soluble matters, or to form with them compounds less soluble than the pure vegetable substance. With animal manures, lime should never be applied, unless they are too rich, or for the purpose of preventing noxious effluvia, as it decomposes them, and destroys their efficacy. It is injurious when mixed with common dung, and tends to render the extractive matter insoluble. But in those cases in which fermentation is useful to produce nutriment from vegetable substances, lime is always efficacious, as when mixed with tanner's spent bark or peat.

Beside the mere mechanical effect, to which our author limits the operation of carbonate of lime, there can be little doubt that it undergoes chemical changes when applied to soils containing acid matter; and may thus remove substances noxious to plants. It is known also to promote the putrefaction of peat, and will doubtless exert a similar action on soils containing unreduced vegetable matter. Indeed the chief advantages of quicklime over its carbonate, appear to be, that it acts more rapidly, and is capable of being brought to so fine and pulverulent a state by the operation of slacking, that its equal and perfect distribution through the soil is much more effectually accomplished.

Limestones that contain silica or alumina are not so good as others, but they possess no noxious quality: those, however, that contain magnesia, if indiscreetly used, may be very detrimental. Mr Marshall mentions that a variety of lime used in Leicestershire, and which in the North of England is called a hot lime, if laid on in a greater proportion than three loads to an

acre, always did mischief; and some farmers, according to our author, employ it only in the proportion of 25 or 30 bushels per acre, and then with advantage.

In the county of Durham, we may add, the farmers, according to Dr Fenwick, always distinguish between hot and mild limes. They never apply the former to exhausted lands, or to any soil that has been long under a course of tillage, unless it be very deep and rich. In peaty soils, and in new, sour, and wild lands, the hot limes are, on the contrary, preferred to the mild ones. Dr Fenwick made some experiments to ascertain the cause of the differences between these varieties of lime; and, though he failed to discover it by analysis, he came, by observation of their effects, to a right conclusion concerning them. From various considerations, he was led to believe that 'what farmers term hot limes, are such as reabsorb their fixed air more slowly, and therefore continue longer to exert the peculiar action of quicklime.' *

Mr Tennant, in a series of experiments on a variety of this hot lime used in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, discovered it to contain more than 20 *per cent.* of magnesia; and similar results have been obtained by Sir Humphry Davy in analyses of the limestone of other places. The injurious operation of such limestones was referred by Mr Tennant to the presence of this magnesia, a substance which, in its calcined state, he found to be hurtful to vegetation. The reason why calcined magnesia is thus hurtful, is, we believe, rightly attributed, by our author, to its having a weaker attraction for carbonic acid than lime has, in consequence of which it will retain its caustic state for many months, though exposed to the air; and in this state, says he, it acts as a poison to certain vegetables. Mild magnesia, on the contrary, does not at all injure vegetation; and one of the most fertile parts of Cornwall, the Lizard, is a district in which the soil contains mild magnesian earth. Sir Humphry Davy found also, by experiment, that soils, abounding in vegetable matter, and therefore capable of yielding carbonic acid to saturate caustic magnesia, were not injured by its use: but those which contained little vegetable matter were unable to support vegetation, when containing $\frac{1}{10}$ of their weight of magnesia.

Magnesian limestones may be distinguished by effervescing little when plunged into an acid, and by rendering diluted nitric acid milky. They are generally of a pale yellow colour; and have been hitherto found only in the counties of Somersetshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Durham and Yorkshire and in many parts of Ireland.

* Essay on Calcareous Manures, p. 11. (1798.)

Gypsum also is used sometimes as a manure: it is a compound of sulphuric acid and lime, combined with a considerable quantity of water. In some parts of England, and in America, it has been employed with advantage; in other situations, it has altogether failed. It does not, according to our author, seem to act, as some have supposed, either by attracting moisture to the soil, or by promoting the decomposition of the organized matters in it; but, in some instances, where it was used beneficially as a top-dressing for sainfoin and clover, the ashes of those plants, on analysis, afforded gypsum. It is a substance that naturally exists, in small quantities, in most soils; and to others it is conveyed in the ordinary operations of manuring. As only a small proportion seems required to aid vegetation, it is probable that most soils already contain sufficient for that purpose: and hence the addition of more is attended with no advantage. The author conceives, that the beneficial effects of green vitriol (sulphate of iron), as observed by Dr Pearson, is owing to its contributing to the production of gypsum: it is efficacious only when applied to calcareous soils, in which soils the sulphuric acid quits the oxide of iron to unite to the lime, and gypsum is thereby formed. Some remarks on several other mineral substances, occasionally used as manures, follow; but as these are very rarely employed, and are comparatively of little importance, we must refer those who may desire farther information on these subjects to the work from which we have extracted the foregoing useful remarks.

In the Eighth and last lecture, the author delivers a few concise observations on several important agricultural operations, such as paring and burning—irrigation, fallowing, and rotation of crops—on pastures—soiling, &c. Burning, it is said, renders soils less compact, less retentive, and less tenacious of moisture; and, in many instances, improves their texture. The good effects of this process seem wholly referable to the diminution of the cohesion and tenacity of clays, the destruction of inert and useless vegetable matter, and its conversion into manure. All soils that contain too much dead vegetable fibre, and all stiff clays, are improved by burning; but coarse sands and rich soils are injured by it. All poor silicious sands are likewise injured by burning. The remarks on the other operations, are partly of a practical, and partly of a chemical nature. These, though in some respects ingenious, do not appear to possess either sufficient novelty or importance to warrant their farther notice in this place.

To the work is added an Appendix, containing 'An Account of the Results of Experiments on the Produce and Nu-

‘tritive Qualities of the Grasses and other Plants used as the Food of Animals; instituted by John, Duke of Bedford.’ The experiments were made, with the hope of obtaining a knowledge of the comparative values of all the different species and varieties of grasses. The seeds of the different species were sown on a given space of land; and when the plants were ripe, they were cut, collected, and dried. An equal weight of each species of grass was then infused in water, so as to extract all the soluble matter; and the solution being then evaporated to dryness, the solid extract was carefully weighed, and examined chemically by Sir Humphry Davy. His Grace’s gardener, who conducted the experiments, has added, in the tables, a statement of the produce per acre of each species, both at the time of flowering, and when the seeds are ripe. These experiments seem to have been made with great care, intelligence, and precision, and are a valuable present to the public: But we really do not see any near connexion which they have with agricultural chemistry, except as regards the amount of their soluble nutritive matter, which the author had already introduced into the table before referred to. They occupy a space of no less than 63 pages, which is about one sixth of the whole book. However highly, therefore, we value these experiments, and feel indebted to the noble person by whom they were instituted, we cannot but wish that they had been communicated to the public through some less expensive channel, so as to have been brought more within the reach of practical men.

Having thus given a pretty copious, and, we trust, impartial view of the ‘*Elements of Agricultural Chemistry*,’ we must, in conclusion, observe, that, considering the ten years of research and meditation which the author has bestowed on the subject, its execution has, on the whole, fallen short of our expectation. Some of the chemical parts of the work appear to us unnecessarily extended: the anatomical and physiological parts are imperfect, and, as we conceive, in many respects unsound. The portions which treat of the analysis of certain vegetable substances, and of soils and manures, exhibit the most originality; and many of the practical remarks are ingenious and just. Should the work, as we trust it will, reach a second edition, we venture to recommend, now that the taste of the amateur and the cupidity of the bookseller may have been gratified, that it be brought more within the reach of the practical husbandman. To accomplish this desirable object, we advise that it be reduced to an octavo size; that much of the matter relating to vegetable, rather than to agricultural, chemistry, together with all the Appendix, be omitted; and that the phy-

siological portion undergo revision and correction. By these alterations, we think the book would, at the same time, fall in price, and rise in value; and thus would be more likely to pass into the hands of a numerous class of readers, who would assuredly return to their country, in the extended benefits of agriculture, the advantages they derived to themselves from the careful perusal of it.

ART. II. *Souvenirs & Portraits, 1780-1789.* Par M. de Levis. Paris. 1813.

IN the Preface to this work, M. de Levis announces his intention to attempt the solution of a problem which has defied the efforts of all writers before him, viz. to describe individual characters in a manner neither malignant nor insipid. He is aware of the difficulties of his undertaking. The author must make manifest his titles to confidence in such parts of his work as depend upon his single testimony. The merit of his publication rests upon the opportunities he has had for personal observation, and upon the happy choice of the moment when these Memoirs can neither interfere with the political interests of his country, nor offend the feelings of the individuals described, or their surviving relatives. These obstacles M. de Levis flatters himself with having surmounted. 1. Because his rank in the Court of the Bourbons is decisive of his credibility: 2. He was placed on a level with the characters he delineates, whose likenesses, he observes, are not to be taken by persons in an inferior rank in life: Lastly, he publishes his book in the face of his cotemporaries, who may contradict him if they please!

These *Pieces justificatives*, it must be confessed, are not of the most satisfactory nature. We who, in the humble situation of Reviewers, must look at M. de Levis '*de bas en haut*,' may be thought presumptuous in criticizing the portraits of a master so high in rank, and so fortunate in his level for observation; but it may be doubted, whether the courtier who has shared the society of the Prince, or the favours of the Minister, is likely to be the most impartial critic of their principles and conduct.

So much for our author's pretensions. It is but just however to observe, that, *in general*, there is an air of truth and fairness throughout the work; and, setting aside the tone of indulgence to all the habits of the *Ancien Regime*, which has become fashionable at Paris, since the dynasty of Bonaparte has been pu-

rified by the Bourbon alliance, even the political characters are sketched with fairness and liberality. These however are the least interesting of the portraits. Incomparably the most amusing part of the work consists in those lively and probable traits of character, which the nature of society at Paris, before the Revolution, afforded so many opportunities to produce and to record.

We shall give our readers a sketch of some of the Ministers and Deputés, as described by our author.

The account of Monsieur de Maurepas quite accords with the picture usually given of that Minister. He is described rather as a man of wit, than as a statesman;—fond of place, but disinterested in the use of it. Louis XVI., on his accession to the throne, made him Minister at the suggestion of his aunts; and thus commenced that preponderating influence of women in the Government, which, according to M. de Levis, was the cause of the many unhappy errors of that reign. He was alternately governed by his wife, and by Monsieur de Beaumarchais, whose influence, our author assures us, occasioned the interference of the French Minister in the American War. The author of the *Figaros*, it seems, had speculated in the purchase of arms from Holland, to sell to the Americans, whose cause he strenuously supported at Paris, lest their bills should be dishonoured at Philadelphia.—Can this anecdote be true?

As a specimen of the *bonne plaisanterie* which distinguished this Minister, we subjoin the following.

“ Il n’y avoit pas long-tems qu’il étoit premier ministre, quand un gentilhomme Gascon avec qui il avoit eu quelques rapports éloignés pendant son exil, parût à son audience: et voulant se donner un air de connoissance, “ M. le Comte, ” lui dit-il en s’approchant, et parlant haut, “ oserois-je vous demander ce que vous avez fait de ce petit cheval blanc que vous montiez, il y a une dizaine d’années, lorsque nous étions à la campagne ensemble? ” “ Monsieur, ” lui répondit gravement M. de Maurepas, qui s’aperçut que l’habit du Gascon étoit retourné, “ Je l’ai fait retourner, et je lui ai fait mettre des boutons neufs. ” ”

The portraits of Monsieur de Calonne, and of his great rival Necker, are, we think, happily contrasted; but M. de Levis seems to entertain a very slight opinion of the honesty of both. The former is represented as a man of a liberal and enlarged understanding, of elegant manners, and of a generous and forgiving disposition. His wit was ready, his facility in business extraordinary; but his waste of time ruinous. He is said to have been inferior to his rival in matters of finance; but a more able statesman, and better fitted to conduct the foreign affairs

of the kingdom. Of his fitness for either, or for any situation of trust, our readers may be inclined to doubt, if they credit our author, who relates as an authentic anecdote, that during the sittings of the Notables, he set fire to the Control-General of Versailles, that he might conceal his neglect of a work which he had been ordered to prepare on a certain day.

Mirabeau, Barnave, and Cazales, are among the portraits in this volume; and the first of those distinguished persons, is described with more care and discrimination than any of the political sketches presented to us by M. de Levis.

We acknowledge, that Mirabeau's account of himself in the *Lettres à Sophie*, his published Speeches, and in his Memoirs, had impressed us with notions of his character somewhat different from the picture here exhibited. In this book, his faults and vices are attributed to the cruel conduct of his father, and to other circumstances which greatly extenuate them; but his disposition, it is said, was feeling and good,—his talents were undisputed, his eloquence unrivalled, his firmness unassailable, his attachment to liberty ardent and pure; and yet—his services were sold to the Crown!!!—Such are the incongruities which our author attempts to reconcile!

We have pleasure in recording an anecdote in which a ready wit and good feeling are equally displayed.

‘ Je me ressouviens que, pendant qu’il étoit Président de l’Assemblée Nationale, M. Tronchet vieillard vénérable et déjà cassé, lisoit un rapport long et d’un médiocre intérêt: on faisoit du bruit: Mirabeau, pour le faire cesser, dit en agitant sa sonnette: “ Messieurs, veuillez vous rappeler que la poitrine de M. Tronchet n’est pas aussi forte que sa tête? ” ’

It is not without a feeling of indignation that we have read the *Souvenir* of Barnave. M. de Levis professes to be indulgent to this distinguished character, because he was a victim of the Revolution; but his quarrel with him has this origin—that he was an enthusiastic and sincere lover of Liberty, and the ardent friend of the abolition of the Slave Trade! This article indulgently assigns to Liberty her only temple, in the heated imagination of youth; and unblushingly attributes the horrors of the Revolution to the mild and virtuous spirit which pleaded for the emancipation of the African slaves! This eloquent and honest deputy is, according to our author, saved from public execration only by his death. For our part, we would willingly inscribe on his tomb the memorable words which he pronounced in the Assembly, in answer to the real enemies of humanity.

and the colonies, and with which his memory is insulted by our author; “*Eh-bien ! perissent les colonies, plutôt que les principes !!!*”

The portrait of the *Marechal de Richelieu* is one of the most interesting in the work, and adds many amusing anecdotes of Louis XIVth's reign to those already known of that brilliant period of the French monarchy.

Our author found the Alcibiades of France (for so he designates M. de Richelieu) in the year 1781, performing the duties of *Premier Gentleman de la Chambre*, at Versailles, the victim of the rallery of the Queen, and exposed to the general neglect which it seems attended an old courtier out of season ! M. de Levis profited by this abandonment, to extract from him some accounts of better times, which he has faithfully given to his readers.

We begin with a specimen of Louis the Fourteenth's wit, which is stated to be unique ; and, we rather think, affords at once a reason and a consolation for the rarity of that article.

‘ Les plus anciens courtisans se rappeloient de l’ avoir entendu faire une plaisanterie, mais on ne pouvoit en citer une autre. C’ étoit quelque temps après avoir fait construire la ménagerie à l’ extrémité d’ une des branches du canal de Versailles. Il y faisoit élever des dindons, et alloit assez souvent les visiter dans ses promenades. Un jour, qu’ il ne les trouva pas en bon état, il fit appeler l’ inspecteur qui avoit le titre de capitaine, et lui dit du ton le plus imposant : “ Capitaine, si vos dindons ne profitent pas mieux, je vous casserai, et je vous mettrai à la queue de la compagnie. ” ’ p. 25, 26.

This great monarch, it seems, was so persuaded of the necessity of an uninterrupted appearance of majesty, that no human being was ever permitted to see him without his wig. Our author takes the opportunity of giving us his deliberate opinion of the origin and value of that dignified appendage to the head ; and he thinks, that besides the discoveries of the German lecturer on heads, M. Galk, the general usage of immense perukes by chancellors, judges, bishops, and the chiefs of savage nations, tends to prove, that a great volume of head is presumptive proof of superior genius and talent. We cannot take upon ourselves to opine in this delicate matter ; but we know, that ‘ the Cabinet des Perruques ’ of Louis XIV. has found its imitators in other courts of Europe ; and that a jealous attention to the ornament of that part of the human body has occupied the councils of sovereigns, and in one instance hazarded the fate of an empire !

After having stated the situation of Richelieu the old neglected courtier, let us hear his own account of the enjoyments of his

Mon père exigeoit de moi que je me trouvasse tous les matins, en hiver comme en été, à sept heures précises, au bas du petit escalier de la chapelle, uniquement pour donner la main à Madame de Maintenon, qui partoît alors pour Saint-Cyr; cependant ma famille étoit comblée de grâces, et nous n'avions rien à demander. Deux duchés-pairies et l'immense substitution du cardinal nous étoient irrévocablement assurés. La soirée étoit, plus de mon goût: je passois quelques heures chez Madame de Maintenon, où Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne égayoit, par ses saillies spirituelles et son aimable naïveté, l'ennui d'un roi grave et dévot. Tout lui étoit permis, et elle se permettoit tout; par exemple, appuyée sur un écran, elle prenoit des lavemens en présence du roi, qui fut long-temps sans s'en douter, et qui s'en amusa beaucoup quand il le sut. p. 29, 30.

M. de Richelieu was upon bad terms with his wife, and would not live with her. The king sent him to the Bastille.

Les circonstances de cette détention sont amusantes. On amenoit Madame de Richelieu une fois par semaine à la Bastille, et le gouverneur avoit ordre de n'accorder quelque adoucissement à son prisonnier qu'autant que sa femme se montrât satisfaite de l'accueil conjugal qu'elle recevoit de lui. p. 31.

The remedy failed however; and his wife's conduct was as incorrect as his own. We believe no specimen of conjugal complaisance can exceed the following.

— Il prétendoit qu'étant entré chez elle sans être attendu, il l'avoit trouvée dans un tête-à-tête fort vis avec son écuyer, et que, sans s'enouvoir, il lui avoit dit: "Songez, Madame, à l'embarras où vous vous seriez trouvée si tout autre que moi fût entré chez vous!!"

Before we introduce to our readers the few female portraits which we shall notice, we must be indulged with the liberty of making a remark or two upon a charge frequently made against the sex in this work, viz. that their influence in the state, mainly contributed to the downfall of the French monarchy. The investigation of this charge might be a curious, and, under all the circumstances, perhaps an important inquiry; but it is foreign to our present purpose. We are indeed at a loss to understand the precise meaning of the charge. Is it to the direct agency, or to the secret influence of women on the actions of princes and ministers, that this mischief is attributed? In no state of society where the sex is treated as equal with our own, can the intellect of women be excluded from its share in the government of mankind; and how would society be benefited by such an exclusion? Where their direct agency is manifest, as in the case of female sovereigns, the splendid reigns of Maria Theresa, Elizabeth, Catharine of Russia, &c. are such striking illustrations of its tendency, that, to account for this phenomenon, it

is proverbially said, by a pleasantry which gives up the serious argument, that the reigns of women are good, because men are then sure to govern.

Their indirect sway in the several relations of wife and mistress, may no doubt have sometimes aroused the passions, and sometimes allayed the resentments of the husband or the lover; and the influence of a female favourite may be paramount in the mind of a weak sovereign, who would otherwise be governed by a worthless favourite of his own sex. But it is a vile error to attribute to women more than an equal share of the evil consequences which the corruption of society brings down upon a despotic government. It is to the weakness of the monarch, and the depravity of the court, whose frivolous and sensual manners at last awake the indignation of the people; and not to the peculiar influence of the one sex over the other, that the downfall of such government is to be attributed.

In order to disprove our author's assertion with respect to the French monarchy, it is only necessary to cast a glance on its history for the last 150 years. Our readers must bear in mind, that we do not doubt the great influence of women in a form of government which places both sexes on a level,—because the important functions which occupy the time and talents of the men in a free constitution, have no existence in such a country. The drawing-room, not the senate, is there the political arena; and, we apprehend, that the advantage of frequent and familiar access to the sovereign, is one which is equally enjoyed by flatterers of both sexes. But, in so far as that influence is said to have occasioned the ruin of the old government of France, we recur to history, to defend the female world from the accusation.

The period in which the power of the crown in France seems to have been most in jeopardy, was during the minority of Louis XIV, when it may be at first imagined, that the influence of women was the cause of this hazard. It is true, that the Queen-mother, by her connexion with Cardinal Mazarin, affords ground for this remark; but, we believe, no one conversant with the history of those times, will assert that her influence on the mind of that crafty and ambitious minister contributed in any degree to the dangerous projects he undertook. It was her favour that first introduced the man to power; but as well might we attribute to female influence the Revolution of 1688, because the marriage of Queen Mary procured us our deliverer in the person of King William.

The reign of Louis XIV. is one continued scene of power in the hands of the fair sex; and no monarch, proud as this king was of the supposed distinction of being governed by no one, seems to have been more entirely the slave of his mistresses;

particularly in the latter period of his life, when the scruples of his conscience, combined with his enfeebled passions to render their influence irresistible. Yet Louis XIV. transmitted to his posterity, unenfeebled and undiminished, the vast power of the monarchy, which the genius of Richelieu had created. That monarch lived in a period fertile in great characters, who saved the kingdom in spite of his weakness and ambition. He contributed no more to the glory of his age, than he did to the happiness of his people. Alternately the dupe of ministers and mistresses, he sacrificed Luxembourg, Catinat, Fenelon, and Turenne. The revocation of the edict of Nantz, the most flagitious act of his reign, and the greatest wound he inflicted on his empire, was the mandate of an hypocritical woman, backed by the corrupt influence of the priesthood over the decayed intellect of the sovereign! Yet the power of the monarchy was unimpaired; and the first act of the regent's authority established its magnitude, by invalidating the will of his predecessor.

The latter years of this king were indeed passed in subjection to Madame de Maintenon, who, according to Monsieur de St. Simon, extorted from his religious scruples, rather than from his passion, the persecution of the Protestants, and the legitimization of the Bastards. Marmontel, in his history of the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, has, we think, happily described the situation of this monarch, during the period of his *decline and fall*.

‘Ce n'étoit point l'amour qui avoit livré Louis XIV. à la Marquise de Maintenon; c'étoit le besoin de soulagement, de confiance, et de repos. Fatigué d'un autre esclavage, il s'étoit jeté dans son sein pour respirer en liberté. Des bras d'une femme impérieuse et vaine de sa beauté, de sa naissance, des agrémens de son esprit, surtout des droits que les enfans sembloient lui donner sur leur père, qui se croyant aimée, vouloit être obéie, et mettoit à la place de la seduction, la hauteur et la violence; il avoit passé dans les bras d'une complaisante modeste, qui confidente de ses peines, ne se donna que pour consolation, et sur un cœur refroidi pour l'amour, prit l'ascendant de l'amitié. Louis XIV. étoit trop fier pour se livrer avec un homme à cette intimité qui compromet l'orgueil; il se la permit sans réserve, avec une sexe que la nature sembloit subordonner au sein. Toute espèce d'égalité, de supériorité surtout, lui donnoit trop d'ombrage. Le Sully d'un tel roi ne pouvoit être qu'une femme; il ne lui vint jamais dans la pensée d'avoir un homme pour ami; et l'on peut voir que de ses complaisans le plus favorié, le Maréchal de Villeroy fut l'homme de sa cour le plus bas et le plus futile.’

This connexion was more fatal to the King than even his early and more sensual indulgences; and it is impossible not to ob-

serve, that whilst he indulged in the voluptuous embraces of Madame de Montespan, he left to Colbert the management of his happy and flourishing kingdom; but, once become the slave of this *female Sully*, and the crafty confessors in her suite, he consented to religious persecutions, to the extermination of the Protestants, to the dishonour of his own name, and to the commercial ruin of his kingdom!

Of the regency of the Duke of Orleans, it is necessary to say little more, than that the firmness he displayed at the first assumption of power, soon degenerated into the feeble and corrupt character which his youth and early habits had taught the nation to expect. His low debauchery and incestuous intercourse degraded at once the prince and the monarchy; but the baneful influence of Dubois, and the infamous projects of Law, must be acknowledged to be the true causes of that degradation with which the monarchy seemed, for the first time, to be threatened.

Louis XV, of all the Bourbon princes, most contributed to the downfall of that dynasty, by the contempt which his wavering and dissolute conduct brought upon the person of the sovereign. His reign was a succession of unworthy favouritism; and none but the most profligate and sordid of both sexes were the objects of his attachment and confidence. The genius and talent of Madame de Maintenon subdued Louis XIV. His feeble and effervated successor was less the slave of his mistresses, than the dupe of the panders and parasites by whom they were surrounded.

In the connexion of this monarch with Madame du Barri, we have indeed the true picture of Royal degradation; and a just account of the destructive ascendancy which an unprincipled Junco may obtain over the habits of a sensual and low-minded prince—at that period of life when palled appetites, and a wasted constitution, render him at once a burthen and a prey to an artful and licentious woman. It was with the corrupted mass of her own vile and degraded relations that Du Barri surrounded the throne. The base conniving husband was placed near the royal person, at once to feed the grovelling vanity of the prince, to satisfy his own avarice, and to blazon the degradation of his consort. The meanest flatterers obtained exclusive access to the palace: for it must ever be the object of such a family to exclude all honourable men from habitual intercourse with their Royal captive. The degradation of his mind is *their power*,—the destruction of his character is *their strength*. Such a character can never give weight or dignity to a party, or to a government: and that it becomes the interest of the rapacious Junco in possession of the prince, to accustom the public to consider him like

the Turk in his seraglio, to whom neither the honour of success, nor the disgraces of defeat, are attributed by his people. Their panderism has then no rival in the acquisition of power and profit, to which alone they aspire; and they are even sheltered from the indignation, though not from the contempt, of the public, by the little regard paid to the idol of their adoration!

Thus reigned the family of Bu Harni in the court of Louis XV. But can any one believe, that if this influence over his conduct had not been obtained by means of his passion for a mistress, a prince so constituted would have been less the dupe of knaves and flatterers; or that, in a despotic government, the unhappy people whom he governed could have escaped the evils attendant on his weakness and sensuality?

Charles IV. of Spain, and his majesty the King of both Sicilies, exhibited the littleness and degradation of their minds, in giving up their whole lives to the pleasures of the chase. But shall we say, that it was the passion of shooting, that lost both these monarchs their kingdoms? or must we not rather allow, that this was only one indication of their *unfitness to govern*, and a *symptom* of the disorder which was so fatal to these princes, and to their subjects?

The passion of monarchs for their mistresses is not always fatal to their own honour, or to the happiness of their people. La Belle Gabrielle, Madame de la Valliere, and other instances, might be quoted in favour of this opinion. But the monarchs and their mistresses were of that age, when a mutual passion gave to each a paramount interest in the glory and happiness of the other. The moment when a nation most dreads and abhors the dominion of a mistress, is when they see in it the result of luxurious habits, rather than of passion;—the feverish want of a decayed constitution, rather than the honest demands of nature and imagination;—the coalition of vanity on the one side, and avarice on the other! Then, in fact, the mistress is no less a slave to the base procurers in her own family, than the monarch is the dupe of his mistress! The Duke of Buckingham, we think, has well described this situation, in his character of Charles II.†

In his pleasures he was rather *abandoned* than *luxurious*; and, like our female libertines, apter to be persuaded into *debauches* for the satisfaction of *others*, than to seek, with choice, where most to please *himself*. I am of opinion also, that in his *latter times*, there was as much of *laziness*, as of *love*, in all those hours he passed among his mistresses; who, after all, only served to fill up his se-

† Short Character of King Charles II. by John, Duke of Buckingham. London. 1714.

raglio; while a bewitching kind of pleasure, called *Santring*, and talking without any constraint, was the true *Sultana Queen* he delighted in.

The reign of Louis XVI. is scarcely yet the province of history. It is not the dominion of a mistress over the Sovereign that can be complained of in this instance; but we believe the corruption of that court is attributed to the influence and example of the unfortunate *Marié Antoinette*. We confess ourselves unwilling to allow the justice of this charge; and, at any rate, we think there is sufficient baseness and want of energy in the conduct of the ministers and courtiers of that day, to account for the universal disgust of the people, without a particular reference to the female influence supposed to govern the court. Had the unfortunate Monarch indeed listened to the energetic counsels of his Queen, we are inclined to believe that his crown, and his life, might yet have been preserved to him.

Returning from this digression, we shall present to our readers one or two extracts of female portraits, drawn by M. de Levis. We are inclined to think the following account of *Madame Necker* to be a fair picture, though certainly not so favourable as that which we have been accustomed to contemplate.

‘On a cherché à nous persuader que madame Necker étoit une femme d’un esprit supérieur. Pour accréditer cette opinion, il ne falloit pas publier le *Recueil* de ses pensées. Elle cite quelques bons mots; mais on ne trouve dans ce qui lui appartient que des idées communes ou fausses, exprimées dans un style obscur et entortillé. Enfin, ce sont des énigmes qui ne valent pas la peine d’être devinées. On reconnoît aisément dans ce livre le mauvais goût de l’école de *Thomas*, rhéteur boursoufflé qui, suivant une épigramme du temps, ouvroit, pour ne rien dire, une bouche immense; *Madame Nécker*, dont il étoit l’ami, le regardoit comme un auteur sublime. Or, il est certain que rendre un hommage exclusif aux grands génies ne prouve pas qu’on les égale; mais celui qui admire la médiocrité est à coup sûr médiocre lui-même. Quant à son extrême attachement pour son mari, et aux soins qu’elle se donnoit pour lui procurer des succès en tout genre, ils étoient sincères et désintéressés; le goût y avoit pourtant moins de part que l’opinion. Elle avoit une si haute idée de ses talents et de ses qualités, qu’elle lui rendoit un véritable culte; elle avoit même transformé sa maison en un temple, dont elle étoit la prêtresse; et les amis, quel que fût leur rang, étoient réduits à l’humble condition d’adorateurs.

‘*Madame Necker* avoit la tête plus vive que le cœur tendre; elle étoit plus exaltée que passionnée, plus enthousiaste que sensible; et, avec beaucoup d’esprit, cette disposition à l’engouement nuisoit à son discernement et gâtait son goût.

‘ We subjoin an anecdote of Madame du Deffand, of whom the public has lately heard and read so much.

‘ Je me rappelle très bien d’avoir été mené par la maréchale de Mirepoix chez madame du Deffand, dont les lettres viennent de rejoindre la célébrité. J’étois d’un âge à être plus frappé du tonneau qu’elle habitoit que de l’agrément de son esprit. Mais l’on m’a conté d’elle un trait qui n’est peut-être pas indigne d’être conservé. Elle n’aimoit pas l’exagération, comme on en a la preuve dans sa correspondance, et pourtant elle étoit condamnée à voir sans cesse des personnes engouées, enthousiastes, et des prôneurs éternels encore plus fatigants que tout le reste. Un jour, excédée des éloges excessifs que M. de *** faisoit d’un homme très médiocre, en ajoutant, par forme de refrain, que tout le monde pensoit comme lui ; elle répondit : ‘ je fais, monsieur, assez peu de cas du monde, depuis que je me suis aperçue qu’on pouvoit le diviser en trois parts, les trompeurs, les trompés et les trompettes. ’ M. de *** étoit évidemment dans cette dernière classe, et je ne le rencontre guère sans penser à cette saillie.

The happy contrast of national character which is afforded to us in the Portraits of Le Comte d’Aranda and the Marquis de Caraccioli, the ministers of Spain and Naples at the court of Versailles, induces us to give a specimen of the traits by which our author describes each of these models of diplomatic ability.

‘ Le Comte d’Aranda, que nous avons vu long-temps ambassadeur en France, avoit été premier ministre en Espagne, et son administration avoit été remarquable par son énergie et son intégrité. Il avoit plus de jugement que d’esprit, plus de tête que d’habileté ; mais son inébranlable fermeté suppléoit à tout. Toujours le même dans les relations publiques et privées, il avoit de la dignité sans arrogance, de la gravité sans lenteur ; il étoit impénétrable sans être mystérieux ; enfin c’étoit une de ces âmes de fer que son pays seul produit ; la légèreté Française, la persévérance Germanique, l’astuce Italienne, rien ne pouvoit l’émouvoir, ni lui faire perdre de vue le but où il tendoit ; aussi n’y avoit-il pas un moment de la journée où il cessât ses fonctions. Aucune de ses actions, aucun de ses discours, même les plus indifférents, n’étoient indignes du représentant d’une grande nation, et il pouvoit la prévoyance si loin, que pour n’être jamais retardé, il avoit, nuit et jour, un carrosse attelé dans sa cour. On peut dire de lui, comme ambassadeur, ce que l’on disoit de Louis XIV., que jamais on n’avoit mieux rempli le rôle de roi ; et il est à croire que si ce prince l’eût connu, il lui eût plutôt donné qu’à Madame de Maintenon le titre de *Votre Solitude*. C’étoit cette qualité, si rare en France, qu’il possédoit au suprême degré ; la simplicité de ses moyens égaloit sa fermeté. Il avoit exécuté l’opération la plus difficile qui puisse se concevoir, l’expulsion des Jésuites de toutes les parties de cette vaste monarchie Espagnole ; le même jour, à la même heure, tous les couvents furent fermés. Le secret

étoit indispensable pour assurer le succès de cette mesure, mais il étoit d'autant plus difficile à garder, que les Jésuites avoient des amis et des créatures dans toutes les classes de la société. Aussi, le Comte d'Aranda ne fit point expédier les ordres dans ses bureaux ; il employa, pendant trois mois, plusieurs pages dont on ne pouvoit se méfier, à transcrire toutes les dépêches, et rien ne transpira. On lui demandoit un jour en France, comment il avoit fait pour empêcher que l'on ne pénétrât ce grand secret. " D'abord," répondit-il, " en n'en parlant point ; comprenez-vous ? " Il terminoit toutes ses phrases par ces deux derniers mots, et cette mauvaise habitude étoit quelque-fois plaisante. Un jour qu'il jouoit au Pharaon, chez la princesse de Lamballe, le banquier, croyant qu'il se trompoit, refusoit de lui payer un coup qu'il avoit gagné ; l'ambassadeur soutenoit sa prétention avec toute la fierté castillane ; enfin, voyant que le banquier ne se rendoit point, il saisit le grand chandelier qui étoit au milieu de la table, en lui disant : " Comprenez-vous que voilà un chandelier, et qu'il est pour vous jeter à la tête ; comprenez-vous ? " Le banquier le comprit si bien qu'il se sauva de la chambre, et qu'on eut beaucoup de peine à le ramener, p. 167-169.

The Neapolitan is thus described.

On n'a jamais été plus animé et plus brillant que cet Italien : il avoit de l'esprit comme quatre, faisoit des gestes comme huit, et du bruit comme vingt. A lui seul, il remplissoit tout un salon ; mais sa gaieté étoit si naturelle qu'elle n'incommodoit personne ; il avoit une manière originale de voir et d'exprimer les choses, et un fonds inépuisable de bonnes plaisanteries où il n'entroit jamais ni malignité ni aigreur. p. 178.

Le Marquis de Caraccioli avoit été ambassadeur à Londres avant de l'être à Paris ; et l'on se ressouvient encore, dans les deux pays, de quelques-unes de ses saillies. Le roi d'Angleterre, qu'il amusoit, le traitoit avec bonté. Sachant qu'il parloit avec beaucoup de mépris du ciel embrumé et du climat humide de sa capitale, il choisit un des plus beaux jours d'été pour lui demander s'il ne se croyoit pas à Naples. " Ah, Sire ! " répondit l'ambassadeur, " la lune du roi mon maître vaut mieux que le soleil de votre majesté, " p. 180.

Le Marquis de Caraccioli avoit une prédilection particulière pour la France, où il avoit beaucoup d'amis que son cœur méritoit autant que son esprit. Lorsqu'il fut nommé à la vice-royauté de Sicile, le roi Louis XVI. dont il prit congé, lui dit : " Monsieur l'ambassadeur, je vous fais mon compliment ; vous allez occuper une des plus belles places de l'Europe. " — " Ah, Sire, " répondit tristement M. de Caraccioli, " la plus belle place de l'Europe est celle que je quitte ; c'est la place Vendôme. " Quelque temps auparavant, il avoit répondu au même prince, qui le plaisantoit sur ce qu'à son âge, il faisoit encore l'amour : " On vous a trompé, Sire, je ne fais point l'amour, je l'achète tout fait. " p. 181.

The portrait of the Marquis de Conflans, although one of no

an uncommon occurrence in this country, affords a singular instance of deviation from that monotony of character, which taste and fashion had imprinted on the best society of Paris.

We think the origin, habit, and importance of a true Parisian Quidnunc, were never more picturesquely described than in the sketch of *Metra Le Nouvelliste*, which we shall present to our readers.

Tandis que la fortune laisse dans l'obscurité des personnages dont les talents ne demandent que des occasions de se signaler, elle accorde une célébrité passagère à des hommes faits pour rester dans un éternel oubli. Il y avoit à Paris, quatre ou cinq ans avant la révolution, un certain Metra, bourgeois désœuvré, qui n'avoit rien de remarquable dans toute sa personne qu'un nez d'une longueur demeurée ; son esprit étoit au-dessous du médiocre, et cependant il avoit acquis de l'importance, uniquement par son goût pour les nouvelles politiques et son assiduité aux Tuileries. C'étoit là, sur la terrasse des Feuillants, qu'il avoit établi son quartier général ; et sa gravité ministérielle l'avoit rendu l'oracle des politiques subalternes, qui avoient déserté le Luxembourg pour s'établir au nord de la rivière. Peu à peu, des personnes de bonne compagnie eurent la curiosité d'écouter ce que l'on disoit dans ce cercle. Ils firent connoissance avec Metra qui ne manquoit pas d'un certain jugement, et qui, depuis vingt ans qu'il lisoit régulièrement les gazettes, avoit contracté l'habitude d'apprécier assez bien les nouvelles : M. d'Aranda lui-même, qui logeoit près des Tuileries et qui s'y promenoit souvent, ne dédaigna pas sa conversation : et, ayant remarqué qu'il repetoit exactement ce qu'il lisoit et ce qu'il entendoit dire, sans y rien ajouter ou retrancher, il finit ainsi que plusieurs autres membres du corps diplomatique, par lui envoyer dire les nouvelles qu'ils vouloient répandre. C'est ainsi qu'après avoir commence par être un objet de dérision, il finit par faire autorité dans la haute société, où cependant il ne fut jamais admis.

Metra mourut au commencement de la Révolution : il n'a jamais été remplacé. Avant lui, il n'y avoit en personne de bien marquant parmi les nouvellistes de jardin, si ce n'est un certain abbé qui se rendoit tous les jours sous l'arbre de Cracovie, au Luxembourg (arbre ainsi nommé à l'occasion des troubles de Pologne.) On n'a jamais su le nom de ce personnage, mais tout le monde l'appeloit l'abbé *Trente mille hommes*, parce qu'il avoit toujours ce nombre de soldats à sa disposition, ni plus ni moins, pour effectuer ses plans de campagne et battre tous ses ennemis. p. 183, 184.

M. de Levis promises us more productions in the same style and spirit, should the present work meet with the approbation and encouragement of the Public. If his ambition aspires to the dignity and reputation of an historian, we fear it will be considered as too exorbitant a demand. The faithful chronicler will hardly be justified in appealing for authority to his pages,

which offer, as an equivalent for scantiness of proof, and levity of judgment, the rank and pretensions of the author. But if he is content that his book shall be placed upon the shelf with the numerous memoirs by which the character and intrigues of the court of France have been handed down to posterity, rather demanding examination than requiring implicit belief; and if his portfolio contains as rich a collection of anecdotes relating to the present dynasty, as it does of the last, his efforts, we make no doubt, will be sufficiently repaid by the curiosity and attention of the Public. Let him continue his useful and agreeable labours; and let him console himself for this degradation of his literary rank, by the timely application of the Satirist's judicious remark—

‘*Tel brille au second rang, qui s'éclipse au premier.*’

ART. III. *An Appeal to the Allies, and the English Nation, in behalf of Poland.* 8vo. pp. 66. Harding, London. 1814.

THE publication of this tract gives us an opportunity, of which we are very anxious to take advantage, of calling the attention of our readers to the important subject of Poland. Were this merely a topic of party politics, involving matters of a transient interest, we should allow it to pass with the other themes of the day, and leave it to the care of those who in their various walks drive a traffic of political discussion. It is precisely because the subject is not at all likely to suit their purposes that we wish to canvass it. We fear it will be found to present no facilities for party attacks, or for mutual recriminations among public men. Those who exhaust the whole force of a very limited talent in abuse of the enemy, in all probability will turn away from an inquiry that leads them to contemplate public crimes committed by persons not connected with France. And they who are only solicitous for peace at all events, without thinking of securities, are likely to disregard a subject which may seem to throw difficulties in the way of negotiation, by calling our attention to the only real principles of national independence. Nevertheless, as we are deeply impressed with the general and permanent importance of the question, and consider its interest to be temporary only in as far as the present time offers peculiar reasons for canvassing it, we shall urge no further apology for the observations upon which we are about to enter.

Whence comes it to pass, that the feelings of the English nation are so easily roused upon some subjects, and upon others

precisely similar, are so obstinately torpid? Are we liable to the imputation which foreigners have frequently brought against our national character, of being a strange mixture, full of inconsistency, at once refractory and capricious, and chiefly distinguishable from others by having no marked and general characteristic? Or does the charge alluded to, when well examined, happen to be unfounded in fact, and the inconsistency only apparent? The wrongs of Africa, the oppressions of Spain, the sufferings and subsequent liberation of Holland, occupy every tongue; while not a whisper is heard, in behalf of Poland.—Whence this extraordinary diversity?

It will not be sufficient to say, that in those cases which have excited most interest, our own concerns were involved. There is no doubt that when the slave trade was denounced, a crime was held up to detestation, which we ourselves committed,—and this might awaken some feelings of a peculiar nature. But the sensation chiefly excited by a disclosure of the horrid details of that subject, was pure compassion for the Africans; and we may safely assert, to the honour of the nation, that no feeling ever pervaded a country more thoroughly, or with less interested motives. The general anxiety for the success of the Spanish cause, was a sentiment not quite so extensive, nor founded upon so accurate a knowledge of the facts. In truth, however iniquitous the conduct of France may have been, the spirit of resistance shown by the Spaniards was the principal ground of the sympathy excited in this country; for had the people submitted to the usurpation, it would not have made their lot worse, and we should only have felt shocked at a new instance of the enemy's perfidy in his transactions with his neighbours. But the gallant resolution displayed by the Spanish nation, not to be transferred, like herds of cattle, by the craft or violence of one court, operating on the weakness or perfidy of another; their determination to be an independent people, and have a government of their own, without any calculation of the precise value of this object, indeed without reference at all to what is vulgarly termed their interest; gave their cause an importance in the eyes of the English public, which, though ultimately connected with just views of policy, was certainly in the first instance only ascertained by feelings of sympathy. Even the counter-revolution in Holland, though undoubtedly much more nearly related to ideas of gain, was in all probability hailed at first with a joy wholly free from calculation, and only recognized as really advantageous some time after it had ceased to be highly interesting. Whence, then, the almost complete indifference with which we have always regarded the sufferings and the exertions of the Poles?

We shall in vain endeavour to answer this question by attempting to discover any difference in the degree either of those sufferings or of those exertions;—the difference is all in their favour. Poland was first partitioned in a moment of profound peace, without any more pretence of right than Buonaparte had when he attacked Spain, nay without even that shadow of a title which he pretended to derive from the cession of the Court; for Stanislaus, though the creature of Catherine II., protested solemnly against the dismemberment, in the face of all Europe; and the factious diet suspended its animosities, to join him in his appeal. The subsequent acts of 1793 and 1794 were done without the slender colour of a pretext, afforded by the anarchy of 1772; and the struggles made in both cases, but especially in the last, were far greater than any of which our Spanish allies can boast, beside being wholly unassisted, and in circumstances almost desperate. The miseries endured by this brave people almost defy description; while in reality the evils inflicted by France upon the Spaniards lie within a narrower compass—for these two reasons, among others, because she has never had sufficient possession of their country, to introduce among them her worst plague, the conscription,—and because no man of a calm and unbiassed judgment can suppose that a district overrun by Cossacks fares as well as one conquered by French troops. Is it then that the Spaniards have succeeded, while the Poles were overwhelmed? This would indeed be a strange reason for withholding commiseration; but surely the day is past when any one can pretend to believe that the French have been expelled from Spain by any resistance except that of the British armies, backed by the allies in Germany,—although they were seconded, no doubt, in several important particulars by the spirit of the people in the Peninsula, and more especially by the excellent troops drawn from Portugal. Was there something romantic in the captivity and sufferings of the Spanish princes, and in the attachment and the adventures of their subjects? But can any one compare these with the sufferings of Stanislaus, and the gallantry of the confederates of Barr, and the chiefs who led on the last resistance in 1794? It is not by any means intended to lessen the great merits of the Spaniards, or to choke the enthusiasm excited by them in this country; but the difference between their case and that of the Poles, is assuredly all in favour of the latter.

If the cause of the apathy in question cannot be found in any quality belonging to the subject, perhaps we must seek it in something relating to ourselves. We are willing to throw it upon the ignorance generally prevailing, of every thing regarding

Poland; and to contribute, as far as in us lies, toward removing this, is the chief purpose of the present article. Some other ingredients are, however, mixed up along with ignorance, in composing the soporific mixture which has so strangely lulled the feelings of Englishmen. It is to be feared, that we too often refuse our attention to any tale of public distress, in producing which the French have had little or no share; and are averse to hearing the truth spoken, when it arraigns the conduct, not of our enemies but our allies. One part of this feeling we need not be ashamed of—tenderness towards Allies, to whom all Europe owes so great a debt of gratitude. But it is quite absurd, that any such feelings should shut us out from a discussion essential to the interests of every nation. It is a discussion, which presses forward upon us from all quarters; and, without an abandonment of all claim to consistency, and to principle, the Allies themselves cannot repudiate it. They are about to negotiate a peace.—What shall be the basis?—Must France keep all that she possesses? No one pretends to believe it.—Shall Austria regain what she has lost? Every one will answer, as far as may be.—Is this only because she has fought so efficiently against France?—Then must Switzerland be excluded from the benefits of the treaty, and Buonaparte continue Mediator of the Cantons;—then, too, must the whole German States, except those of the Allies, be swallowed up in the fund of equivalents and indemnities.—Nay, upon this principle, Holland could not have been restored to independence, had she made no movement in her own behalf, let what would have happened on the Upper Rhine; and no successes of the Allied arms could have given independence to Spain, unless the fortune of war had made the Peninsula the scene of the victory. But the question is still more urgently forced upon us, by the state of the Dutchy of Warsaw.—How is it to be disposed of? It consists of almost all the Prussian, and half the Austrian shares of Poland—and is now in the anomalous state of a vast province, in which the Code Napoleon is the law—Prussians and Poles the civil administrators—and Russians the absolute rulers, and military occupants. Is this country to be restored to its former proprietors, or retained by Russia, or subjected to some new scheme of partition? Restored to its former owners, will probably be the answer—because restoration is the grand principle of the good cause; every thing is carried on with the view of reinstating things in their ancient condition; the Bourbons are to be replaced, at least in Spain; the Orange family in Holland; the Austrians in Italy; and Savoy is to be separated from France.—Therefore, it will be said, the Dutchy must of course revert, partly to Russia, and partly to Austria. Now, all this at first sight looks mighty

plausible, and even has some semblance of consistency; but it is only a thin varnish, which a breath will melt: For we should like to hear any one answer this single question—By what right Prussia and Austria are the *owners* of Poland, and must have *their shares* of it restored as a matter of course, when those two powers are busily engaged in restoring Holland to independence, and its former sovereigns? But they have had longer possession of Poland.—Of a small part of it, certainly—but not of the bulk; for it does so happen, that their last partition was effected *the very month* that Holland was overrun by French troops, seconded by a powerful faction in the country.

Here, then, we find ourselves in the very midst of the question, at the outset of any negotiation which can be undertaken for a settlement of Europe;—and we might almost stop here, and be satisfied with the conclusion to which we have already come, that there is but one ground upon which a distinction can be raised in favour of Holland or Spain, and against Poland;—the ground, not of principle, but interest—not of right, but might;—the ground, that the Allies have in their hands the power of keeping Poland in subjection, and are resolved to preach up restoration at other people's expense, but to practise none of their doctrine themselves.

If such is the language of the day; if all the professions of the last twelve months are dissipated by the successes to which they contributed so largely, and Europe is once more to be plunged in a chaos of intrigue, profligacy, and violence,—we have nothing more to offer; we at least understand what we are about;—and it is our own fault if we are disappointed, let what will happen either now or hereafter. But let the proper words be used for all this, so that we may not be made grateful for nothing, and be at once deceived in our hopes, and cheated out of our thanks. — Let our ears be spared the insulting titles—of *restorer*, *liberator*, *avenger*, lavished upon, or even claimed by those, who, having got the upper hand by means of the people of Europe, use their power in perpetuating slavery and oppression; and, having driven out the French armies, only think of dividing the spoils among themselves, without ever wasting a thought upon the rightful owners, to whose assistance they had affected to come.— But, most of all, let us be spared hearing the ridiculous name of *pacifier*, given to those who are destroying every chance of lasting tranquillity; and employing a moment of unexampled success, never likely to recur, in laying the foundation of new wars;— when they might, by recurring to sound principles, by only keeping the faith which they had vowed, reestablish the system of European independence upon an immovable basis, and give to the world a real and lasting peace.

We cannot, however, for one moment allow such thoughts to cross our minds. After the delightful expectations which have been raised so high by the victories and the dignified moderation of the Allies, it would be a grievous disappointment indeed to find them resorting to such principles for a proof of their consistency. It may well be permitted us to speculate upon their persevering in the right course which they have so steadily pursued; and, in this belief, we conceive, that the line of policy which shall appear to be most conducive to the general interests and permanent tranquillity of the Continent, will be followed in their arrangements for the distribution of territory. The object of the '*Appeal*' is, to prove that the restoration of Polish independence, in some shape or other, is a most material part of this policy; and we cannot better fulfil the task we have now undertaken, of calling the attention of our readers to this important subject, than by laying before them an outline of the argument, and arranging, under the different heads of it, such further information, respecting Polish affairs, as we are possessed of.

The '*Appeal*' opens with removing some preliminary objections which might startle the bulk of readers, and disincline them to any discussion of the subject at the present moment. Poland is, among the Allies, rather a delicate topic; it resembles some of those personal questions, touching the merits of individuals, the gains of near and dear relations, or the delinquencies of persons highly connected, which are frequently brought forward in the discussions of our domestic politics, and generally create considerable uneasiness among all parties. Upon the subject of Poland there seems pretty much the same shyness among the old established powers of Europe, that we observe among ourselves, when any matter is broached, on which each party in its turn has had something to regret. No one loves to handle it; the person who mentions it is deemed officious, and intrusive, and indelicate; by common consent the less that is said, and the sooner the subject is dropt, the better. Nay, you shall see the company for a while quite ignorant of what is meant, when the topic is started, staring about, and looking as innocent as possible; and only by a kind of force awakened, and made to listen. Perhaps the reader may have chanced to be in a company of persons of character and station, among whom one is *awkwardly* connected with some half-forgotten judicial proceeding; the topic of halts is here proverbially so irksome, that every body is apt to fall into it from our anxiety to avoid it; and when by accident the fatal word is out, the meeting must either disperse (which we recom-

mend in such case) or remain in the fear of encountering one another's looks. But the case of the partitioning powers is by many supposed to resemble that of some companies in America, or other settlements where the delicate subject is much, and almost equally to be eschewed by every person present. Now, we are fully aware of the delicacy of the topic; and if, by holding our peace, we could keep it at rest, perhaps the best way would be to do a great violence to all natural feeling, and bury it for ever in profound silence. We shall even grant that, if it were possible, it would be advisable to let all principles of justice and humanity sleep, and forget Poland, for fear of hurting the feelings of the Allies upon a point presumed to be so tender. But unhappily this is wholly impossible; depending upon persons and things altogether beyond our control,—upon no less a personage indeed, and one of no greater delicacy than the Emperor Napoleon,—who, whether in peace or war, whether negotiating or intriguing, never fails to bring up the ugly subject, as in truth he must be utterly ignorant of his greatest advantage if he for a moment lost sight of it. The Allies may be as silent as the grave upon it, and may affect not to understand the broad hints of the *Moniteur*, and the French proclamations; but the bystanders, and their own subjects, must judge; and one part of their subjects, the Poles, devour with insatiable avidity every allusion of the sort, and are fully more ready to act than to reason upon it. Is it not far better to remove the weakness to which their cause is subject, than to pretend that they have forgotten it? Would they not do a wiser as well as a better thing, if, instead of avoiding the discussion altogether, till their enemy forced it upon them either in the shape of set-off in a treaty, or rebellion in a campaign, they manfully got rid of the flaw in their title to regenerate Europe and resist French usurpation, and secured to themselves a more tranquil dominion, with an unimpeachable character?

But is there no reason to think that this notion of delicacy is overstated?—Why should the Allies dread the subject?—None of them had any share whatever in the first partition: each of them is removed from that crime by two descents. In the last, which undoubtedly was by far the most important, except that it was not the beginning of the fatal system, neither the Emperor of Russia nor the King of Prussia had any part; and the Emperor of Austria may fairly be supposed to have been merely passive; for the treaty was half finished before his accession, and he was engaged in a most critical war with France at the moment. Why then should we hesitate to discuss the subject from delicacy towards them, any more than we suffer a similar deli-

cacy towards our own Government to hamper us in reprobating the American war, or the enormities committed by our rulers in the East and West Indies? The writers and statesmen on the Continent canvass very freely our conduct in those particulars; and in reality all the praise which they bestow upon one of the finest passages in our history—the victory gained for humanity in 1807—is an admission that seven years ago our present rulers and statesmen encouraged the traffic in human flesh—with this additional circumstance, that the very heads of the Royal Family were uniformly strenuous in resisting its abolition. In fact, the present appeal is made, not against any living individuals, but against a system begun by princes long since dead, and entailing lamentable consequences, as well on their descendants whom it was designed to benefit, as on those whose interests were from the beginning meant to be sacrificed. But there is certainly a magnanimity in the whole conduct of the Allied Sovereigns, which would render it a safe duty to speak the truth to them, even if the errors to be pointed out existed in their own individual conduct, and were not the practical effects of the policy handed down to them from their illustrious progenitors.

But, it may be said, this question is no longer open to negotiation; it is one of domestic, and not of foreign policy; we have no right to interpose our good offices between the Allied Princes and their subjects. The force of this objection had better be tried by the excellent and unerring rule of making the case our own;—and we have no occasion to do so in fancy; we need only to tax our memory for an instance wherein the very thing occurred to ourselves, our enemy having exactly made the objection here presumed to be raised by the Allies. When we required the evacuation of Spain, then wholly overrun by his troops, as a *sine quâ non* in our negotiation for peace, he said Spain was no business of ours, and added, that he might as well require the emancipation of the Irish Catholics. Now, this must be deemed to have been a perfectly satisfactory answer by every one who can for a moment listen to the present objection against our interfering in behalf of Poland. If the Allies have a right to say, the Poles are ours, and we may as well ask you to emancipate the Irish Catholics; Buonaparte had the same right to say, Spain is mine, as Ireland is yours. Yet we doubt if any one individual in the whole world was duped by his absurd argument. But then indeed it came from France, and was used against Spain—while the topic in question, though precisely the same, is supposed to come from Russia, and to be used against Poland:—this is the diversity. The difference, in the length of possession, we are immediately to consider.

There remains to be noticed the repugnance felt towards the Poles, because they have been found ranged on the side of the enemy, that is, of our enemy, the French. For, it is quite plain that none of our Allies can say a word upon a charge equally applicable to them all. Austria joined Buonaparte in his Russian invasion, and only left him during the armistice last summer. Prussia was wholly devoted to him until his disastrous retreat enabled her to escape. And Russia, having joined him at Tilsit, by a treaty too which gave her two new slices of Poland, one at the expense of Austria, the other at the cost of her Prussian Ally, was found backing him two years after in the invasion of Austria. It would be reckoning too much on the powers of princely inconsistency, or the proverbially short memories known at Court, to pretend, in the presence of those great potentates, that the mere fact of having taken part with France is a sufficient answer to every thing that may be urged for Poland. Yet, it must be admitted, that some pretty bold attempts at such an excess of flattery have lately been made. We have been told of the three Allied Monarchs turning away their heads when the King of Saxony saluted them at Leipsic; and have heard much of the dignified contempt with which one of their Majesties received a message from that unhappy prince. Did the injudicious parasites who invented such fables, forget, or could they fancy, that Alexander had forgotten the unfortunate course of events which so lately made even the sovereign of all the Russias league with the enemy of Europe, and gain by the union an extension of territory at the expense of his own Allies? How dared they insult his Imperial Majesty by insinuating that he would maltreat the petty elector for yielding to overwhelming force, a compliance which the apprehension only of a doubtful struggle had extorted from his own immense and almost unbroken power? Such topics then, as the Polish alliance with France, cannot be used on the Continent—Have they any more weight with ourselves? Let us, says the Appeal, make the case our own, and suppose ourselves in the situation of the Poles—Should we not have acted precisely as they have done?

Suppose that the incurable folly of the government had alienated a considerable portion of its subjects, and thrown them for a moment of desperation upon the still more insane expedient of calling in foreign assistance; that, availing himself of this pretext, our ancient enemy had poured his forces into a part of the empire, and, establishing his power there, had afterwards extended his dominion over England itself. Let us fancy to ourselves this fair Island, which we love instinctively because it is our country, and rationally for the blessings we enjoy in it, seized by the lawless hands of Frenchmen and Italians, its venerable establishments despoitfully

overthrown, its countless riches pillaged, its citizens massacred or dragged away into foreign slavery, or condemned to the more unbearable suffering of perpetual indignities near the homes of which they had been dispossessed. A few years of such misery would surely not efface from our memories the picture of what England once had been. It may well be questioned, whether any one individual would live long enough to survive the recollection that he formerly had a country to claim his gratitude and affection. It may be doubted, whether the excess of present misfortune would not make the remembrance of the lost enjoyment more sweet, and concentrate every thought, feeling, desire, passion of the soul, in the single determination to regain it. A French general is rioting in every town, which is not beneath the notice of so considerable an oppressor. Commissions are assembled in each county, to carry on the work of confiscation. The services of the most abandoned of both sexes in Paris are recompensed by grants of land wrested from such of our fellow-citizens as have most stoutly resisted the conqueror. The estates of our great proprietors are become the currency in which every baseness and treachery of our own countrymen is paid. The inhabitants are insulted, tortured, driven away in thousands to serve abroad, or to expiate, by banishment from their country, the generous virtue which made them risk every earthly possession in its defence. Life has become indifferent, or burdensome upon such terms; the very semblance of English independence is gone; no man cares for himself; all other ideas are absorbed in the wish, not of blind revenge, but of restoring the lost country of our forefathers—when suddenly an occasion presents itself of driving the French away, and once more, enjoying independence. Russia, which has always been our ally, which has helped us in our unsuccessful struggle, which has uniformly been hostile to our oppressors, is in open war with France, and has landed an immense army upon our coasts. Now this is the question—Shall we acknowledge the French, because they are our rulers *de facto*; shall we remain quietly subject to them; shall we take their part in the contest for our own liberation about to be fought on our own ground; shall we join them against the Russians who come professedly to destroy their dominion, and to set us free? The Englishman who blames the Poles for being deceived by France into a share in the late wars against Russia, must be prepared to maintain that he would himself, in the case now put, join his French tyrant against the Russians. But the case becomes infinitely stronger for Poland, when we reflect that she was in fact overrun by an immense force, before the option was even given her whether she would arm for her tyrants in possession, or for her conquerors in expectancy, pretending to be her avengers. If any one can affect a doubt about the judgment to be pronounced on such conduct, or pharisaically insinuate that England would have carried herself differently, the following reflections are certainly not addressed to *him*. I appeal to him who is not afraid to avow,

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that had he been a Pole he would have grasped at any chance, even the forlorn hope of French protection, to save his sinking country. Poland has indeed been undeceived; but it is neither befitting the generosity, nor the justice, nor the wisdom of her sovereigns, to visit her with such a continuance of calamity as must, even after the experience of French perfidy, expose her to be again misled in her hopes of redress. How much more does it become England, who can have no interest except the future independence and happiness of her neighbours, and who can feel no resentments for the past, to exert her powerful intercession in favour of a gallant people, second only to her own children in love of liberty, equal even to them in devoted enthusiastic attachment to their native land—nay, let us acknowledge it, superior to ourselves in patriotism, because far more heavy sacrifices have been demanded by their unhappy country, than it ever entered in the mind of an Englishman that patriotism could require.’ p. 7—10.

Thus much to remove the objections which incumber the question at the threshold, and, if not first of all eradicated from our minds, will disturb the whole discussion. But this appeal is asserted to be made, not on the ground of compassion for the Poles—it is stated on the score simply of the common interests of the European nations; and nothing is demanded for Poland beyond what those interests require us to allow. This general good may be viewed in two senses, the one more enlarged than the other, and comprehending a reference to consistency and principle; the other more limited, and confined to what is vulgarly termed, national benefit. A sound and enlightened policy, never can separate these two views for any purpose, except to examine the subject-matter by each of them successively, with the greater distinctness.

I. It is impossible to look forward, without some alarm, to the moment which seems fast approaching, when the results of all the late victories, and the pending negotiations are to be disclosed, and mankind shall learn the value of the professions with which the war has hitherto been conducted. The following doubts upon this most interesting subject, have certainly been partly removed since the Appeal was published. Swedish objects having turned the Crown Prince aside from his progress towards the Rhine; we have seen him obtain Norway in exchange for Pomerania, (the value of which may be somewhere about one twentieth of the former). But it is not so generally known, that this distinguished personage smoothed the way to his elevation by the most distinct promises to obtain the restoration of Finland; and that, whether well or ill founded, the wish of the Swedish people for such an event, can only be exceeded by their extreme indifference to the acquisition of Norway. Probably the next

Diet will have all the papers laid before them, which may chance to contain evidence of the reiterated and earnest efforts made to get back Finland, with the grounds upon which Alexander the Restorer declined it, and the Swedish patriot acquiesced. In the mean time, let us hope, that this may be the only part of the passage, which the event may realize.

‘ The secret enemies of the coalition ; the abettors of French oppression ; they who have seen the progress of victory with a malignant eye—who could hardly dissemble their joy were a reverse unhappily to interrupt its course—the evil-disposed, of whatever description ; throughout Europe, are now awaiting in anxious expectation the moment when every declaration of principle promulgated since the beginning of the contest, will be tried by a searching and unerring scrutiny. Their suspense may last for some time ; the war may be prolonged, or the negotiations may proceed slowly :—Until the mutual offers of the parties are known, until the ultimate result is disclosed, all must continue to be taken upon trust. But the decision of the question, how far the Allies act up to their principles, is assuredly pronounced as soon as the world sees the terms of the treaty. It is decided, and for ever, by every rational man in Europe, within an hour after those terms are made known to him. With it, too, is decided finally the fate of every future coalition for the liberation of Europe—of every future attempt which France may hazard to regain her lost usurpations. The enemies of the good cause are full of hope that the Allies will be found wanting to themselves, in this day of trial ; and that a scene will be disclosed similar to former negotiations—a combination of craft and violence, a balance of cupidity and fear, a base trucking of principles for territory, a cold-blooded barter of human beings by millions, in which the pattern of French treaties is closely followed ; and the victorious parties take all they safely can, or show any moderation they may have in their nature, only towards the conquered enemy—alienating their friends—at once raising up their antagonists, and arming them with confidence by following their worst example—securing the censure of impartial posterity, and laying the deepest groundwork of future discomfiture, by abundantly deserving it.

‘ I confess that I have no apprehension of seeing these frightful anticipations realized, at least in their most odious form. The state of the war in Spain, let us hope in Holland also, may prevent the possibility of the Peninsula, and the United Provinces, being given up to French domination. But it is to the full as great an impeachment of the principles of the coalition, to expect that they will only be followed where there is little temptation, and scarcely any opportunity, to swerve from them. The sincerity of the Allies must, I fear, be tried by a higher test. We shall be asked by the enemy and his wellwishers, how have they treated the sovereigns whom force alone drove into Buonaparte’s toils ? To

abandon Spain, or partition Holland, was next to impossible. Bavaria had the opportunity of joining them.—But have they made the conduct of Denmark and of Saxony a pretext for seeking indemnities at their expenses? Have they required pay at the end of a service in which we had imagined they were volunteers? Does it turn out, after all, that the liberation of the Continent means, in the Russian Dictionary, a new slice, being the sixth, of Poland? Does the balance of Europe, in good Swedish, signify a weighing of Finland against Norway; of pledges to Sweden against bargains with Russia; of the affections of the people against the interest or convenience of the crown? Is interminable war with French usurpation, the Prussian, for a war which is to end as soon as the Saxon villages shall be garnished with spread eagles? These questions, let us hope, will receive a satisfactory answer, in the result of the present negotiations; we may rest assured that they will be put by every honest and every thinking man in Europe. The true policy of the Allies is contained in a single word, which expresses their bounden duty also—*Restoration*. This word implies another, which all parties have an interest, though certainly a very unequal one, in freely using—*Forgiveness*. That we should be fated to witness such a spectacle as the Elector of Saxony stript of his dominions to enrich Russia and Prussia, upon the ground of his having taken a title and a territory by treaty with the former, and joined the enemy in company with the latter, is a consummation earnestly to be deprecated by all those friends of kingly dignity who may not relish seeing it stoop to something very much in the nature of a practical joke.' p. 11—14.

It is assumed, however, and we sincerely hope with truth, that the Allies will continue true to their principles, and only show themselves anxious to reestablish the independence of Europe upon a lasting foundation. How then is this to be accomplished?—By recurring to those principles, which in former times secured national independence, and made the neighbourhood of the greatest state, safe to the most insignificant. These principles have been so often detailed in the pages of this Journal, that we shall not enlarge upon them, farther than to observe, that they consist in the universal persuasion among statesmen, constantly in view, and acted on, that every aggression by one power, affects all; and that not an acre of territory may be taken with impunity from any member of the European commonwealth. If any superficial reasoner, from ignorance, should deride such doctrine as speculative, or as old-fashioned and ill suited to the spirit of the times, we beg him to observe, that the consequences of disregarding it have been sufficiently practical, and that all the security of old times has been banished from the world by this very heresy. But we may stop a little, to put the matter in a light, which even a clerk in office, we should think, will admit to be practical and plain.

We shall suppose that success continues to attend the Allies, and that they compel Buonaparte to make a peace upon their own terms. They have told us themselves, that those terms will leave France possessed of more territory than she had before the Revolution; but suppose that she only has her old limits—a result not very probable—however we shall take it so;—no man can doubt that the whole attention of her Government will be turned towards regaining the ascendant which she has recently lost; that the personal character of her ruler, as well as the national feelings, will direct her whole efforts to this object. We say nothing of the large army of prisoners which must be sent back; but there is already a larger army within France, arising no doubt partly from the invasion. In one way or another, then, Buonaparte will have a prodigious force on foot; and it would be singular if peace did not augment his pecuniary resources. Can any man doubt that he will be a most formidable neighbour?—Who is there so confident as to view, without apprehension, the probable event of a contest between him and any one of the allies single-handed? We speak not merely of the risks of a war between him and Holland, or the German principalities—but of a war between him and any one of the greater powers; we might perhaps go farther. But we are aware of the singular inconsistency of those whom we are now addressing, and know full well, that although they can see nothing but dangers from France when peace is proposed, they ridicule every one who adverts to such a topic for any other purpose. Supposing it then only to be stated, that Buonaparte is more than a match for the third and fourth-rate powers in his neighbourhood, and for any one of the greater powers, we desire to know wherein the security of the Continent shall consist after a peace has recruited him? What chance is there of his not being desirous once more to cross the Rhine? Then, what reasonable prospect have we of his being restrained within his limits? Assuredly one only.—If the rest of Europe, recollecting the sufferings of late years, shall be wise enough to be perpetually upon the watch, and resolute enough to make common cause with the first prince or state whom he may attack—then there will be no chance of his prevailing as he has heretofore done; for their armies are in every respect improved; his forces no longer fight with superior enthusiasm; and the feeling of the people all over Germany is decidedly against him. The security of the Continent then must rest, first, upon the recurrence of the government to ancient principles, and, after that, upon the improvement of its military system, and the diffusion of right popular feelings. Now, it cannot be for a moment contended, that the terms upon which a

treaty is made, are indifferent in respect of the disposition to keep it either on the part of the government or the people. If those terms are consistent with justice and sound principles, it is infinitely easier to unite both governments and their subjects against the infringement of them. If a settlement of Europe is made upon the profligate scheme of each party taking as much as he can get by force or intrigue; if a few powerful states lay their heads together and despoil all the rest; if the interests and the feelings of the people go for nothing in the arrangement; who can expect that either the different cabinets will be ready at a moment's warning, to unite against any one which may violate the arrangements thus foully made; or that the popular feelings, which it wholly disregarded, will rise up to defend it? What confidence can the parties to such a scheme have in each other? What answer can they give to the first among them who betrays the common cause, by joining the enemy in breaking the bargain? What answer can they make to the enemy when he proposes some new plot of the same kind, and quotes to the world their own authority in the very last precedent on record?—If men were mere machines in the hands of courts, and all governments were carried on upon the Turkish plan, it might signify little what are the grounds of war, or how inconsistent the professions were with the practice of statesmen. There would then be no question of popular opinion; but even then, it would be impossible for mutual confidence to prevail among allies. A single government might go on; a confederacy of more than one could not exist—and accordingly, among states of this description, no man ever thought of a balance of power. We take it to be very manifest, that a treaty founded upon disregard of principle, upon the revolutionary and not the older and sounder doctrines of modern Europe, would speedily share the fate of those other compacts which each successive war, since 1792, has forced upon the vanquished, and each new aggression of the common enemy has broken, without uniting either allied courts, or popular feeling in their behalf.

There are many very urgent reasons for exhibiting the return of public principles and honour, more peculiarly in the case of Poland. It is universally agreed, that they were here first grossly violated. The partition of 1772, to use the language of Mr Burke, was 'the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe. It was not sapping by degrees the constitution of our great western republic; it was laying the axe at once to the root, in such a manner as threatened the overthrow of the whole.' If these were his forebodings at the time, he unhappily lived to see them exceeded by the event; his

declining years witnessed the completion of the crime in Poland, and its cruel effects over every part of the Continent. He again foretold, with his accustomed sagacity, that its perpetrators would be the first to repent, and to suffer by it. We have the authority of one well acquainted with foreign politics, more especially those of France, for asserting that the last partitions in 1793 and 1794, animated the Jacobins with fresh courage, and resources. He closes a striking parallel of the conduct pursued by the partitioning powers and the proceedings of the Revolutionary Committee, with the remark, that if the republicans failed in establishing freedom and justice at home, they at least secured their independence from a foreign yoke; and that the fate of Poland made all Frenchmen, of all parties, swear to die rather, than submit to receive the law from the Allies.* This was written in 1802. Twelve years have elapsed since then, and twenty since the events it relates to. The same Allies are once more leagued against France, and occupy her frontier provinces. It is observable that Buonaparte has recourse to the very same topic which had so greatly aided his Jacobin predecessors; his state papers are full of Poland. ‘ See there!’ he exclaims, ‘ the conduct of your invaders, who now come speaking to you of peace, and freedom, and national independence, while they hold in their hands the sword that reeks with the blood of Polish patriots.’ We do not mean to lay much stress on the coincidence; but unquestionably the French people have now, as formerly, turned a deaf ear to all the protestations and promises of the Allies. It is, however, of the people of Europe generally that we are now speaking; and we submit it to even the most practical politician, whether they will not be disposed to obey the next call to rise in their own defence against any aggressor, and to believe that the proposition is made for their own good, the more, because the Allies have kept faith with them on the present occasion? Whether it would not be a great advantage, in any future struggle with France, that the Allies could look her in the face, and complain of injustice without fear of retort;—that they could look at Poland, not only without shame, but with the proud recollection of principles carried into practice at the cost of what is commonly termed interest? Whether the general recurrence to those strict sound political maxims which used to form the strength of coalitions, would not be most essentially promoted, by undoing the odious act which first relaxed, and then almost entirely extirpated them?

The length of time which has elapsed since the first parti-

* Segur, *Tableau de l'Europe*, III. 180.

tion, is the most ready answer to these suggestions. Nor are we disposed to deny, that, in matters of public as well as private right, long and fixed possession should have great weight. But we are now speaking rather of the last, than of the first dismemberment; and against undoing this, no such objection can be offered. The lamentable events of 1772, left Poland a great and powerful state. It still had a population of above ten millions; and the partition had produced a most important change;—there was an end of all the former anarchy and faction, in so much that the diet of 1788 exhibited an unprecedented scene of unanimity. The leaders of the nation seemed anxious only for the firm establishment of a regular and free constitution, which should secure the external independence, and promote the domestic improvement of their country. The deliberative wisdom displayed by some of those eminent men was still more striking than the eloquence of their debates. The speech of Count Potocki, upon the sale of the Starosties, has been preserved; and assuredly it exhibits as sober and sagacious a disposition of mind as might be expected in assemblies meeting in the quietest times.—He warns his brethren of the Diet, against following the example of the French revolution, in its exceptionable parts; for he was aware of these, although it was long before the public opinion in Europe had turned against the revolutionary proceedings. ‘The faults which France has committed’ (says he) ‘originate in a single error; she has only considered men in the mass; she has lost sight of the individual. Eager to do justice towards the whole, she has injured the parts; she has dealt with the members of civil society as if they were ideal beings, or geometrical figures, on which she might reason abstractly and systematically, without ever regarding them as in fact they exist.’ The labours of these enlightened and temperate reformers terminated in giving to Poland that celebrated Constitution of the Third of May, which she was fated to possess but for a moment of passing tranquillity and freedom. To say that it has been universally admired, is a general and unavailing praise. But, in the ferment of the French revolution, while the invidious enemies of the Poles were busy representing them as Jacobins; at a moment when even the abolition of the Slave Trade was held to be a French crime, and Mr Burke, half giving into the mistake, abandoned that cause—we find Mr Burke himself proclaiming to the world his highest admiration of the Polish patriots and their new constitution. His eloquent panegyric thus concludes—‘Happy people, if they know how to proceed as they have begun! Happy Prince, worthy to begin with splendour, or to close with glory, a race

‘ of Patriots and of Kings !—To finish all—this great good, as
 ‘ in the instant it is, contains in it the seeds of all future im-
 ‘ provement, and may be considered as in a regular progress,
 ‘ because founded on similar principles, towards the stable ex-
 ‘ cellence of a British constitution.’ * It is not our intention to
 detail the provisions of this admirable code ; remarkable alike
 for the salutary changes which it boldly introduced, where the
 evil would bear no temporizing ; and for the moderation and
 skill with which it paved the way towards more gradual improve-
 ment, where a sudden alteration was not required, and might
 have proved hazardous. But a few of its leading features de-
 serve notice in this discussion. It distinctly recognized the prin-
 ciple ‘ that all power in civil society should be derived from the
 ‘ will of the people ; its end and object being the preservation
 ‘ and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and good order of
 ‘ society, on an equal scale and lasting foundation.’—(art. V.)
 The legislative, executive and judicial powers were separated
 from each other ; † the duration of the legislature was limited to
 two years, but its constant existence was provided for ; and the
liberum veto was wholly abolished. The crown was declared no
 longer to be elective, except upon the extinction of the family
 in which it was made hereditary. The person of the king was
 declared inviolable ; but he could do no act whatever without a
 responsible minister. He was entrusted with the command of the
 armies, and the disposal of a revenue raised by the legislature ;
 but, fearful of any thing resembling the *veto*, the constitution
 gave him no other voice in legislation, except as president of the
 senate. Various wholesome regulations were established for pre-
 serving freedom and order in elections, and for securing the com-
 munication between the representative and constituent. Import-
 ant reforms in the administration of justice were begun, by abo-
 lishing private and seignorial jurisdictions, both lay and clerical,
 in the towns ; and appointing a commission to revise the civil
 and criminal code. In the mean time, an explicit recognition
 was made of ‘ that cardinal law, *neminem captivabimus nisi jure*
 ‘ *victum*’ (§ 2.) ; and the maxim was distinctly enacted, ‘ that
 ‘ every man is free the moment he touches Polish ground.’—
 art. IV. The wisdom of this system was equally shown in the
 modest anticipation of its defects ; and provisions were carefully
 made for a revision of it at stated periods, as well as for partial
 corrections and improvements. To support this constitution,

* Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.

† This was carried perhaps too far, as with us after the Revolution—for no minister could sit in the Diet.—art. VI.

the army was immediately raised from twenty to a hundred thousand men, by the unanimous voice of the Diet, and with the loudest acclamations of the people; contributions of money were poured in from all quarters; and when the zeal of the contributors outstript the circulating powers of the currency, the more sumptuous wealth of the nobles might be seen moving towards the Treasury, while their domains were alive with armed peasantry ready to secure its expenditure.

‘It may be questioned’ (says the Appeal) ‘if the time be even yet come, when the miserable catastrophe can be adequately deplored, that paralyzed all those noble efforts, and blighted the fair prospect unfolded by them to the eyes of every friend of liberty. But one part of the calamity, that which pressed the most sorely upon the interests of the European community, will perhaps never be more deeply felt than at the present hour. I speak of the peculiar moment chosen by the confederate courts. The new constitution was enveloped in a cloud of foreign soldiery—the patriots were scattered abroad—the rudiments of the national army were dissipated—the country was overwhelmed, parcelled out, confiscated, jobbed, turned into money—blackened with garrisons, prisons, gibbets, cemeteries, and the desolate abodes of men who had perished for freedom—its separate existence finally destroyed—its name blotted out from the map, and forbidden to be any more uttered, as if it had been guilty of all the crimes whereof it had been the scene and the victim. But why enumerate particulars? Do they not all fall short of the deed itself? The Partition of Poland was completed AFTER the French Revolution had awakened slumbering royalty—had taught the force of France to burst through its ancient bounds—and had made national independence tremble in every corner of Europe. This is the fact upon which, at the present moment, it imports us well to meditate. There is no getting over it. If Poland had been left as she was when those great changes began which the Allies are now occupied in undoing, she would still have been one of the greatest powers on the Continent. She was seized when even the pretences of 1772 no longer existed—when she was a safe, orderly, and peaceable neighbour. But, above all, she was seized in 1793 and 1794, at the very time when France was seizing Savoy, Belgium, and Holland. This is the matter which *now* presses itself upon our attention. We are recurring to sound and ancient principles. We are treading back our steps in order to get out of the slough in which we have been since the French Revolution, and to regain the eminence of a pure morality. We are endeavouring to undo as much as possible the recent changes of dominion, and to place the affairs of Europe on their former ground, with all the benefits of past experience. With what pretension of consistency—by what powers of face, marvellous even in this unblushing age, can we meet either the enemy or the Polander, if the only change on which we are obstinately silent is one of the most momentous and

the least justifiable, and which our conscience tells us was effected in the very same month with the conquest of the Netherlands, admitted on every hand to be the fittest subject of restoration?' p. 22, 23.

Perhaps a few details will serve to illustrate the different parts of this description, which is a mere enumeration of undoubted facts. To feel an interest in the fate of the Polish constitution is natural for Englishmen, and it is not new. Some feelings of this kind were formerly excited among us, and steps were even taken to succour the patriots. Why should not the returning peace and liberty of Europe be marked by a revival of those feelings, at once kindly and salutary, among ourselves?

By a treaty solemnly concluded with Poland in 1790, a few months before the constitution was promulgated, the King of Prussia had bound himself to prevent by all the means in his power, 'any interference in the internal affairs of the republic, or its dependencies, at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, or upon whatever pretence of former transactions or stipulations, or any construction of the same;'—and if other endeavours failed, he bound himself to make common cause with Poland against the aggressor. When Russia marched her armies thither in 1792, Frederick-William declined to interfere, upon the pretence that 'the constitution of the 3d of May altered the matter; that he never had approved of it; and had always foreseen its evil consequences.'* The Royal memory is short indeed. Only two years before, on receiving the account of the constitution being proclaimed, he had written with his own hand, the warmest congratulations to the authors of it—commanding his ambassador to 'declare, in the most formal manner, his sincere felicitations to the King, the Marshals † of the Diet, and all those who had contributed to so important a work;' praising the change 'as essential to the happiness of the nation,' and 'likely to confirm for ever the harmony and close connexion subsisting between them;'—and professing that his ardent desire was 'to assist in consolidating the new constitution, and promoting the happiness of the republic.' The Empress Catherine, too, had a singular anxiety for the 'happiness of the republic;' and accordingly, she no sooner heard of the new constitution, than she pretended to listen to a wretched junto of some five or six factious nobles (only one of whom had any weight), the last remains of party, and the only objectors to the change: She sent an order to Warsaw

* Answer of the King of Prussia, to the King of Poland, 8. June 1792.

† Letter of the King of Prussia, May 1791.

that the constitution should be abolished, and the old anarchy 'whereof she was guarantee,' restored; announcing that her armies were on their march for effecting this purpose. They marched accordingly, and the King of Prussia took the opportunity of 'seizing provisionally Thorn, Dantzic, and part of 'Great Poland, to secure his states against the contagion of 'French principles, and to protect the well disposed inhabitants.' * The Poles in those parts being wholly taken by surprise, as was indeed not unnatural after the treaties and letters so lately signed by the same Royal hand, could make little resistance. But when the handful of Russian partizans at Targowitz, beginning to open their eyes, asked the Empress what all this meant? her Minister was pleased to reply, that 'they should 'have a blind confidence in the generous protection of her Imperial Majesty, and not imprudently defend themselves against 'Prussia, without first consulting her.' At length, in concert with Frederick-William, she threw off the mask. The principal confederates of Targowitz, finding how they had been duped, joined the rest of their countrymen; and it is difficult to avoid rejoicing that their unparalleled folly was soon punished in Siberia by the perfidy of the Court which had seduced them. The two powers assembled, in a remote town, a diet of such persons as they thought would answer their purposes: but even these, being Polanders, it was necessary to compel them by military force. The place where they met was surrounded by musquetry and artillery. The only effect was to produce a dead silence. The creatures of Russia interpreting this into consent, several persons were bold enough to protest aloud, and they instantly found themselves in the hands of the Cossacks. Terror is the appointed punishment of despots; it follows close upon violence, and touches the criminal whom conscience cannot reach. Having thus extorted a new share of Poland, on the shameless pretext 'that it was tainted with French principles'—because it had just exchanged the anarchy of an elective for the stability of an hereditary monarchy—the spoilers required that the army should be reduced to 12,000. Many regiments, refusing to lay down their arms, reinforcements of Russian troops were poured in. The chief patriots of 1791 had been forced to fly the country; but the whole population furnished materials for insurrection; and one or two individuals in the capital prepared the means of it, although the country was still overrun with the troops of Russia and Prussia.

In every part of the country, this unfortunate people flew to

* Manifesto, March 25. 1793.

arms; and Kosciusko and their other leaders, having secretly returned, after proclaiming war and internal emancipation in the same manifesto, led them on against the enemy—in circumstances all but desperate. History will record, to the consolation of freemen in future ages, that the invincible ardour of troops, half-armed, and newly raised, and scarcely at all disciplined, beat the veteran forces of Catherine and Frederic, never less than thrice their numbers, in many fierce engagements. Madalinski, with 800 horse, made his way through the Prussian troops, and traversed the whole of the country occupied by them. At Wraclawicz, Kosciusko, with 4000 men, principally peasants, defeated 12,000, with the loss of 3000, and 12 pieces of cannon: one battery, in this engagement, was actually taken by a corps armed with pitchforks. Jasinski took Wilna with 800 men, and drove away the Russians, with the loss of 1500 prisoners. In Warsaw, the people rose on the garrison; and notwithstanding the dreadful fire which it kept up with artillery, after 48 hours hard fighting, drove them out with a loss of 6000 killed, 3000 prisoners, and 50 pieces of cannon. Such a discomfiture seemed to require an explanation; and the Russians have accounted for it, in a detailed memorial, which ascribes it chiefly to the pillaging and drunkenness of the troops, of whom it says 60 were killed in a state of intoxication in one cellar.* Frederick William marched against the capital with 40,000; and Kosciusko, advancing to meet him with 12,000, repulsed him with loss. The Prussians took Cracow; and the people of Warsaw, as happens in such cases, showed signs of violence against their persons; but, unlike the encouragers of the Parisian Septemberizers, their leader instantly checked this spirit, by making some examples. The united forces of the Allies now bore upon Warsaw, and laid siege to it with all the resources of war and of intrigue.—They were kept at bay for two months, and sustained several defeats; and the Prussians raised the siege, in order to check a formidable insurrection of the Poles in Southern Prussia. At length, Kosciusko, after a long and obstinate engagement with Ferzen, in which an overpowering superiority of numbers would have been of no avail, had not a treacherous coadjutor† deserted him in a critical moment, covered with wounds—was defeated, and taken. His virtues and misfortunes are said to have melted the rude nature of the Cossacks, who were about to comply with his entreaties,

* Memoirs, p. 148.

† Poninski—not Poniatowski, as is absurdly stated in some accounts, *e. g.* Annual Register.

nd to kill him, when some one recognized him. He was carried to Petersburg, and flung into a dungeon, where he languished during the remainder of Catherine's iniquitous reign. Even this dreadful reverse, and the defeats that followed, in no wise diminished the enthusiasm of the Poles. They showed neither the listlessness nor the cruelty of despair;—no commander was persecuted for his losses—and no relaxation appeared in their preparations for defence. The whole strength of the Russians was required to take Warsaw, after a gallant resistance, and immense loss on either side. Of the unfortunate Poles, 9000 perished in the fight.—After the place was carried, it was in old blood given up to pillage and massacre;—30,000 persons, of all ages, and either sex, are supposed to have suffered death, in every horrid form of torture and indignity;—30,000 more, who still refused to submit, were suffered to leave the place, and afterwards hunted down by the soldiery on every side, so that few reached the frontiers.—The *amnesty* (as it was phrased) promised by the commander, was not ratified by his Imperial Mistress—and the most distinguished chiefs were sent to distant prisons. The wretched monarch was carried away to Russia, where he soon after died, not without suspicious circumstances;—the remainder of the country was partitioned; and Catherine, as she describes herself in her proclamation, '*with the solicitude of a tender mother, who only wishes for the happiness of her children,*' concluded the scene, by ordering a solemn '*thanksgiving to God in all the churches, for the blessings conferred upon the Poles;*' and commanded, that each of them should '*swear fidelity and loyalty to her, and to shed in her defence the last drop of their blood, as they should answer for it to God, and his terrible judgment, kissing the holy word and cross of their Saviour.*'

All this we admit, however, was performed, not by French but Russian authority, which makes a great difference; moreover, it was done towards Poles, and not Spaniards. We doubt also, if it was not somewhat exceeded by several of the proceedings at the time of the first partition—at any rate, it had its equal among those; so that if the Russians had not positively improved, they had at least a precedent in their own history for their conduct. The afflicting, but romantic story of the Confederates of Barr, abounding on the part of the Poles with actions of gallantry and skill scarcely to be equalled, is terribly disfigured by the systematic cruelty with which the Russians sought to supply the want of enthusiasm and of genius. 'For the honour of human nature,' (says the Appeal), 'it is to be hoped, that a monster like Drewitz, may never a-

'gain be born of woman.' But details are avoided, as leading to irritation. This man was the leader against the Confederates; and one of the most interesting and sagacious of modern historians, thus relates his proceedings. *—'Persons of rank, who had capitulated as prisoners, were butchered by him in cold blood, with the tortures invented in Russia for the punishment of slaves. Sometimes he bound them to trees, and made them serve as marks for the soldiers to shoot at; sometimes their heads were dexterously carried off by lancers, as at a tournament.'—'Whole companies were turned out, with their hands cut off, and allowed to wander up and down the country; and, with a ferocity wholly inconceivable, joining mockery to unheard-of cruelty, he flayed those miserable victims alive; cutting the skin, so as to represent, with the flesh, the national dress of the Poles.†' Such was the precedent of 1772. The details of the massacres of 1794 are not minute enough, to show how far it was followed.

If cruelty of this description produces a more acute degree of misery, it is neither so widespreading nor so lasting in its consequences as the impoverishment by confiscation. The assertion in the Appeal, that Poland was 'parcelled out, confiscated, jobbed, turned into money,' is most strictly and literally true. Each time that a Russian army enters Poland, whether for the purpose of partition, or of driving out an enemy, a *Commission of Confiscation* is assembled as a matter of course. There has been, for instance, one sitting at Wilna since December 1812, composed of five Russians, pretty well known before in Poland. All offences against the state are punished with confiscation; and there is consequently no lack of such accusations. Every thing becomes a state offence in times of change; and the information of a spy, a private enemy, a turned-off lackey, a swindling Jew, a conscious malefactor, aware that he has been de-

* Bulhiere, tom. III, p. 139.

† The adventures of the Polish chiefs—the two Pulawskis, Zarembo, &c. form a most interesting contrast to these atrocities. The surprise, and subsequent siege of Czenstokow—the singular march of Kosakowski—the campaigns of the partizans, almost invisible, except at the moment when they fell on their prey—the activity and address of Dumourier—the firm and sustained wisdom of the council of Eperia;—form altogether a history, certainly not to be easily surpassed in point of brilliancy and interest. It would be highly desirable that the most remarkable passages could be collected and published;—the whole history of Poland abounds with such, from the most ancient times.—A concise series of Polish adventures would furnish a work, equally important and entertaining.

ted, is quite sufficient to put the emissaries, whether military or civil, of the extraordinary police in movement: The false accuser, too, runs no risk; for the first step is to send away the accused 7 or 800 miles on his road to Siberia, at which distance, if at all, the examination of the charge is gone into. In the mean time his whole property is put in sequestration, and handed over to interim managers appointed by the police,—frequently the informers or their friends,—frequently the agents of those who are expecting to have the estates finally given to them. We may easily picture to ourselves the change which such a proceeding must make in the lot of the whole peasantry on the property: They have lost their protector and parent; and, instead of his managers, chosen for their knowledge of the people and their kind dispositions, there are now to be seen and felt a set of harpies selected for their power of plundering, or in consideration of their wants. The Commission proceeds against the property, and keeps it in sequestration, or declares it confiscated, according to circumstances. When confiscated, it is granted out to some favourite, and irrevocably lost to the proprietor. The favourite is a Russian; and, in all probability, never intends to come near it, but means to squander as much as can be squeezed out of it, at Petersburg. If the accused proprietor, in spite of every disadvantage, as want of money, distance from his proofs, prejudice of his judge, is lucky enough to escape and return, he may very possibly find his estates confiscated by the Commission, which does not always await the event of the examination, knowing probably how rarely any such ceremony is performed; but should he be happy enough to return before decree of confiscation has passed, and obtain a restitution of the property, he finds it damaged to the amount of half its value, in every shape that dilapidation can assume. If the proprietor happen to be absent from the country at the time of partition or invasion, confiscation follows of course; he is presumed to be with the enemy, although (as happened very frequently last summer) he may have gone abroad with regular passports, for health, business, or pleasure. Still more certainly are the estates seized and the families ruined of those who, actually serving with the enemy, have been unable to get away; as was the case with subjects of the Austrian and Prussian parts, whose rulers sent them into Buonaparte's service one year, and who the next were ruined by the Allies for not deserting. We are, however, chiefly considering the effects of such measures on the body of the inhabitants. Many estates have above twenty thousand; some have above a hundred; but it is no very rich lordship which numbers four or five.

The wretchedness of these, under such changes, may, perhaps be estimated by those who are acquainted with the proceedings of middlemen and tythe-proctors in Ireland, or rapacious attornies, and needy mortgagees in the West Indies. The latter case is the more exact parallel.

It is of no consequence that the Prince at the head of the Empire is the mirror of justice and goodness; the fault is in the system; and he cannot, all-powerful as he is, make men act right under a vicious order of things, or superintend the execution of his own benevolent intentions: He must trust it to agents, to his Ceterls, his Rozens, and their inferior harpies, at an immense distance from his residence. It is in vain that he issues his manifestoes, and confirms them by ukases; that upon entering the country he proclaims peace and restoration; promises amnesty, and complete security of person and property; and pledges himself to show the difference between a French and a Russian administration. (*Manifesto, January 1813,*) Things proceed in their accustomed course; and the Emperor is at Frankfort while his agents are scattered over Poland. The exact history of the present confiscations is not yet known. That they are most numerous, cannot be doubted; the Petersburg Gazette has already published very long lists of them; and it appears that certain refinements have now for the first time been introduced into the scheme. Formerly the debts due upon the property, the sums for which it was mortgaged, the claims of widows and children, were lost as against the estate, which the Crown or its grantee took freed from all incumbrance; and if a favourite of the Government chanced to be the creditor, and, at some subsequent change, another estate of the same owner came under the dominion of Russia, it was seized to pay the debt due on the confiscated estate. Upon the present occasion a further advance has been made towards the perfection of public justice, the *beau-ideal* of imperial conveyancing. All debts due to the estate or its owner, are confiscated; and not only debts but expectancies, as reversions and remainders; nay even mere *spes successionis*—as the portion of a parent's effects which the child would have at his decease. But the new creditor, reversioner, or remainderman, is of an impatient disposition, and cannot await the term of payment, or the determination of the particular estate;—accordingly all debts must be immediately paid, and possession must be forthwith given—and this without regard to the contingent nature of the reversionary interest; for if one of two sons is confiscated, the parent being alive and likely to have a third child, the Government takes immediate possession of the half share, as if the

parent were dead; and where there is but one son, the parent's whole effects are seized, by a species of visitation the very reverse of divine.

On the other hand, there was one financial arrangement in 1792 to which we believe the recent occupation of Poland has furnished no parallel. We allude to the measure of ruining public credit, by reducing all the banks to a state of insolvency, and then wasting their funds by a special commission. The business of the country used, from time immemorial, to be transacted at two stated meetings in the year; one at Warsaw, the other at Lemberg. At these, all contracts, whether respecting land or money, were made; and all settlements of accounts adjusted. The meetings were thence denominated the '*Contracts*.' They were attended by bankers of good credit, through whom balances were transferred, and who received new deposits, for which they paid interest. Of these great houses there were six or seven known and esteemed over all Poland. The chief was Tepper's; founded by Ferguson, a Scotchman. The Russian court cajoled him with honours, and the promise of a large estate, ('with a nice discrimination,' says the Appeal, 'of the national character'), until he was persuaded to lend them an enormous sum, which was punctually to be paid at the next '*Contracts*.' Instead of that, before the time, a Russian army was marched into the country; the proprietors brought little money to the meeting; and hearing of the loan, made a run on the house, which, thus disappointed of new deposits, and drained of the old, became bankrupt; and the others all followed. A commission to distribute the effects among the creditors was soon assembled; it consisted of ten agents from Russia, Prussia, and Austria;—the Russian being five in number. After sitting ten years, dividing somewhat more than eighteen pence in the pound among the creditors; after subsisting, as such functionaries love to do, out of the funds at their disposal, they separated, and returned to their respective homes. Several of them were greatly enriched; and one of them, speaking of his gains, was pleased to observe upon this touching subject—'In this pocket I have got 100,000 ducats; * and what I have in the other I won't tell you.' The unfortunate Tepper, it is needless to observe, never received his promised estate; but a Russian officer had the mercy to assassinate him, after he had been reduced from the highest wealth to the most extreme misery.

The operation of banishment is intimately connected with that of confiscation; and is the constant work of the police and

* L. 50,000.

of individuals in authority, during times of change. It affects all ranks,—from the Prince-bishop of Cracow, who was carried away to Siberia, and died deranged in consequence after his return,—down to the peasantry, who are carried off by thousands to serve in the army, or be sold in Russia, or people some district in Asia. Pallas, the celebrated traveller, found in that remote wilderness, a tribe, the remains of a vast number carried thither on a scheme of this description. They were living in wretchedness; and, no longer hoping to see their country, had only one request to make, that their land might not, as heretofore, be seized by the government, as soon as they had brought it into cultivation. In Warsaw, above a hundred persons of eminent wealth or rank have been carried off in a season. The sex exempts not from this common lot of Poles. Matrons of the highest dignity, and most fascinating accomplishments, are exposed to the same risks with their husbands and sons. Persons in authority have been known to carry off some hundreds of peasants at a sweep, under pretence of recruiting, and then sell them in the Russian provinces.

The general ill treatment experienced by the people wherever Russian troops are stationed, must not be passed over; for it is a perpetual misery, and affects those who have escaped exile and confiscation; nor can any care of the government materially amend it. While the Poles feel the ardent attachment to their country which distinguishes them, they can never be expected to regard the Russian troops as any thing but oppressors. The Russians, on their part, view them as discontented, and almost rebellious subjects;—their principle being, that every Pole is an object of suspicion. No care of the ruler can reconcile such discordant classes of subjects, or make them live in harmony. A Polish village, where troops have been for some days, is said to resemble a place taken by storm. We insert an extract of a letter from a mercantile gentleman of undoubted respectability, who travelled over this country in the month of March and April. It is a literal translation from the German original.

‘ After having passed through burned and plundered villages, where contagion and injurious treatment have left only a few wretched peasants, who, pale, distracted, cause fear and pity to the traveller, you arrive in a city. The suburbs are usually burned completely; and so sometimes is a part of the city. The streets are empty; many houses are shut up and abandoned as during the plague. If you enter one of those which are inhabited, to ask after persons of your acquaintance, you learn, that they are in exile, or have concealed themselves to

‘ escape some disaster. People are every where packing up their effects, and preparing to set out. The whole nation is seized with terror. If you ask the reason, the answer is—Ertel is to be here in a few days; or, Rosen has arrived, or has sent secret orders. None are to be seen in the streets, unless when wretches are led to punishment, or prisoners conducted to Siberia. These are often well known characters; gentlemen, persons in holy orders, who are seen chained on a cart, surrounded by Cossacks, or Barchkirs, with sabres in their hands. I travelled through Poland in the month of March last, and a second time in returning; each time I grew sick at the continual spectacle of death engraven on every countenance.’

A circumstance remains to be noticed of the greatest importance, especially at the present moment, when changes are again but too probable. Each partition, each change of dominion, has been of necessity accompanied by a change of frontier; and this entails upon the districts in which it takes place, as well as on others more remote, consequences extremely serious. A proprietor's estate is cut in two; one part becomes Russian, the other Prussian; or he has different estates lying in two, or in all the three monarchies. This happens to almost every one of the great landholders. How does this affect them? First, every war between the three powers becomes a civil war to them; and their numerous relatives and connexions are fighting in different sides. Next, hold what conduct they may, it is impossible they can escape offending one or other of their masters; and their property and relatives are at hand to answer for the offence. Again, they cannot go from one estate to another, or it may be from one part of the same farm to another, in time of war; and, even in peace, not without a passport, which must be had from the capital in the Russian parts, and may take about eight months to procure. Moreover, though a passport were out of the question, a frontier never fails to create delay, and vexations of every kind; planted, as it ever is, with custom-houses and officers of every description, whose duty is to stop and examine, but who make their duty a cover for their trade, which is to annoy and extort. Lastly, frontier provinces are naturally more dissolute, from the facilities of eluding the police. The Appeal thus states the changes of frontier to which Poland has been subjected; and subjoins a notice of the most serious consequence of all—the constant alteration of laws which such revolutions produce.

‘ First, the partition of 1772, drew four sets of lines in different directions. Immediately afterwards, Austria was dissatisfied, and mis-

taking the name of a river, took in a small but convenient territory by a new line. Prussia said, (we have it under Frederick's hand), that if Austria made mistakes, so could other people; and he followed her example in the North. In 1793, new lines were drawn by all the three powers; and in 1795 they completed their work, by describing the last great boundaries that have been drawn. But in 1806, the Prussians were driven out, which was equivalent to another change of boundary: and by the peace of Tilsit, the district of Bialystock was transferred from the new Dutchy to Russia. In 1809, Austrian Poland was cut in twain, and half given to the Dutchy; the district of Tarnopol was also handed over to Russia. Is it possible to reflect on the situation of a country thus unceasingly cut in pieces, without feeling the deepest compassion for the vast amount of individual misery which all those violent operations must have occasioned?

A most serious calamity resulting from them, is the change of laws which they involve in almost each case. The Russian parts of Poland have indeed preserved their ancient municipal laws; but Austria and Prussia have introduced their own codes, and Buonaparte has followed their example. Hence Galicia has undergone these revolutions within forty years: at first the government was provisional, and in part military; no regular system of jurisprudence was established till 1774, when the Austrian law was introduced; and the provinces added in 1793 and 1794, were subjected to the same system. In 1800 the new code prepared by Martini was proclaimed: In 1809, Western Galicia being incorporated with the Dutchy, received the Code Napoleon; and Tarnopol, a part of Eastern Galicia, being given to Russia, the old Polish law was restored to it.—Prussian Poland received the Frederician code at each partition; in 1807 the bulk of it was subjected to the Code Napoleon, and Bialystock was restored to the Polish law. Now all those systems of jurisprudence are wholly unlike each other in their principles and forms, both civil and criminal, except that Martini's code was merely civil, and, by a strange anomaly, left the old form of proceedings, while it overturned the principles. We may imagine how searching the operations are of such changes. To be guaranteed against any future revolutions of this kind, even were they unaccompanied with confiscations and military execution, would be a solid and general benefit to the people; it would be the foundation stone of a tranquillity and security which they have never known. Who can think, without repugnance, on the bare possibility of the present successes all over Europe, ending in a renewal of those afflicting operations in Poland;—that when the rest of the world, awakened to peace, shall be looking back on the last twenty years as a long and frightful dream, the happy change should only be to Poland the beginning of new troubles; and the signal for the ancient principalities and powers taking up the dismal tale of violence which they have been compelling the children of revolution to lay down? Grant that Po-

land deserves punishment, though I conceive this has been fully disproved—has she not been sufficiently tormented? Or will those who hold seven years possession and a compulsory treaty as making unimpeachable title to the fruits of princely rapine, allow, when the people cry, no atonement in half a century of misery—no expiatory virtue in patriotism sealed with blood? p. 59-61.

We have now traced, with a feeble certainly, but a faithful pencil, the outlines of a picture of national injustice and suffering, not easily matched in modern times. By far the greater part of those evils belong to the period of the French Revolution. The question, at present, is how Europe may best be restored to its former state; all statesmen are occupied with this inquiry, which the victories of the Allies have at length made a practical one. We profess to be wholly unable to comprehend why Poland alone should be left out of view, and no man ever think of terminating the sad scenes which we have just been surveying. It will not now do to say, as Mr Gentz and others have said, The partition has become a matter of history—it is part of the settled state of European affairs. When did they say so? After the peace of Luneville; that is, seven years after the worst of the partitions. Then the same argument now applies more strongly to all the changes effected by the peace of Presburgh in 1805, and of Tilsit in 1807, which the Allies are at this moment engaged in undoing upon the principles of Restoration. Nay, the same argument, if urged at present, applies with equal force to the case of Holland, overrun in the same month in which Poland was blotted out of the map. Indeed, there is this material difference to be observed in favour of Poland, that England and France never recognized the partition; whereas all the powers of Europe have by solemn treaties acknowledged the Dutch republic, and the whole changes prior to 1803. But the Dutch freed themselves:—Admit it to be so; would the restoration of their independence have been the less a matter of negotiation, if it had either not been effected at all previous to a cessation of hostilities, or if it had been brought about by the progress of the Allied arms on the upper Rhine?

We shall, however, now take another view of the question, which may have some weight with those who will not listen to the argument from principle and consistency. The statements already given, coupled with the facts generally known, lead to conclusions quite irresistible with respect to the *advantages*, in the most ordinary and limited sense of the word, which would result to the Allies from restoring the independence of Poland. These are stated in the Appeal under two heads, Economical, and Military: of which the former, though less striking than the latter,

are, we conceive, equally undeniable. Let any man reflect on the condition of the Polish provinces during the last forty, but especially the last twenty years, and say whether their possessors can have derived the benefits from them, in a commercial point of view, which a peaceable intercourse between their other dominions, and those fertile districts, would have secured. The whole commerce of Poland, by its position, must enrich the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian dominions, which surround it on every side. To keep its inhabitants in the state in which they have so long been held, is in truth sacrificing as much of the benefits of such a neighbourhood, as human impolicy warring with natural riches can destroy. But sovereigns seldom listen to such an argument; they look to extent of territory—increase of revenue—and augmentation of forces. Is it conceivable, that the undisputed mistress of continents scarcely explored, should desire a comparatively trifling addition of land, with a vicious title, and a contested, insecure possession?—Does Austria stand in need of territory?—Surely such a motive is only intelligible at Berlin. As for the revenue and the recruits derived from Poland, they must suffer a large deduction when we come to set off against them the cost, both in men and money, at which that country has been half conquered, and uneasily retained. But let us look more particularly to the insecurity of the possession, and the benefits in a defensive view, derivable from a change of system. This consideration will at once, we believe, settle the question.

Except as a matter of curiosity, it is useless to inquire whence arises that singular affection for their country, by which the Poles are distinguished. Some persons may ascribe it perhaps to the natural vivacity of their character, and their imperfect state of refinement; the state of anarchy to which they have so long been accustomed, by calling forth, in one way or another, almost every man's exertions, has undoubtedly contributed much to it; and the dreadful sufferings which, of late, have united them in a wish for restoration, and an antipathy towards their masters, have naturally operated in the same direction. But the fact is certain, whatever be its explanation; and we might safely appeal to any one who has had intercourse with them, to say whether he has ever met a single Pole who appeared to feel like the common run of men, in questions regarding his country. These sentiments are, with this people, not occasional, but constant and habitual; they never cease to prey upon their minds; they are perpetually present with persons of every age, and both sexes; and he who should fancy, that the lower orders cannot share in them, '*because they are slaves,*' would commit an egregious blun-

der. As well might it be alleged, that the Spaniards cannot hate the French, because they have not a representative government, and are subject to the Inquisition; or that the people of Scotland are regardless of the British constitution, because not one in a thousand has any political rights. The Polish peasantry, moreover, have never been in the same condition with the Russian. Long before they were free by law, the progress of manners, and the interests of their lords, had rendered their bondage extremely gentle, and they were not, even by law, liable to be separated from the soil.* That this body of people have suffered severely by the changes that immediately affected the landholders, as well as by the proceedings of the foreign troops, we have already seen. That they have felt and acted for their country, is equally true; although unquestionably it is among the higher orders that we are to look for the greatest force of national spirit. It is easy to say that these are but a handful, and that the Polish people, are a few great lords with some millions of slaves. The answer is, that the fact is otherwise. A distant view of any institution is deceitful;—we should see how they work in practice, before we decide on their effects. We shall give the reader a riddle by way of proving this. What country is that, in which the judges being most grave, virtuous and learned, they are not allowed to decide on the greater number of judicial questions without the assistance of some ignorant tradesmen, chosen at random, whose characters are wholly unknown,—where there are appeals from a judge to himself,—where the court of ultimate appeal is composed of hereditary judges, not one in fifty of whom pretend to know any thing of the law,—where a man is not allowed the assistance of professional lawyers when he is accused of the heavier offences, but only in the extreme cases of the lightest and the heaviest of all?—Not only is this our own country, but the description given refers to by far the most perfect of its institu-

* The Emperor Alexander, with his usual regard for the happiness of his people, published an ukase, about ten years ago, abolishing villenage in gross. But the law is almost inoperative; for the masters sell the peasants as before, only they do it under the name of *hiring*. Thus this beneficent measure has only varied the style in the public advertisements; and instead of announcing so many men or women with such and such qualifications, for sale, the papers are filled with notices of men fit for such work, or women of such an age and description (sometimes with child) *to be let*. The same price as formerly is paid, and the property substantially changed. In Russian Poland, the peasants are as before the 3d of May.

tions. When viewed more nearly, the Polish peasantry are not found to be, in point of practical effect, materially different from those of other countries; and the higher classes are not a handful of nobles, but a vast multitude of persons in every state of employment, rank and fortune, practically speaking. This class comprises all the landholders, amounting to perhaps 100,000 families; all those, far more numerous, who have the name and privileges of nobility, without any property in land, and who may be in any employment; and all those who are nominally peasants, but on different titles possessed of land,—and those settled in towns as tradesmen and artificers.—Substantially, then, this is a nation constituted as others are; and the feelings which we have described, pervade them as they would others, if they had the same character and sufferings to excite them.

Again look to the fact.—The men raised by the Allies in Poland can never be trusted, except perhaps in their wars with each other; for they immediately desert. It is believed that, at the present moment, there are not one hundred Poles in all the combined armies. The ranks of any power at war with the three Courts, are constantly filled with them. Since 1794, France has never been without multitudes of them. But since 1807, when she held out hopes of restoration, they have been almost equal to the whole of her foreign levies together. In 1812, they are reckoned at 100,000, under the most gallant and unfortunate of men.

‘How many thousands of this devoted people have bled in the cause of French ambition in every part of the world!’ How often have the hearts of impartial men been wrung by the unnatural sight, of Poles assisting in the subjugation of nations free and high spirited like themselves!—Ill-fated Poniatowski! through all his illustrious course, ever most unfortunate when his cause was purest; happy only in closing it when there was no alternative but dishonour, and life must have been alike miserable in victory or defeat! Devoted from his earliest years to his country; seeking her enemies in every field; astonishing the veteran companions of Pulawski and Zarembo, by his romantic valour; the delight of the young and the gay, whom he outshone in court and camp; the likeness of a king for dignity of presence, of an ancient cavalier for his high-bred gallantry; zealous in friendship, to which he would sacrifice all but honour and love; an enthusiast for liberty, but unmindful that there were other tyrants beside Frederick and Catherine—how melancholy to find him beguiled by the deceitful promises of one who never spoke of freedom but with the design to enslave! What a lesson to Princes, when they view the very flower of their subjects, the men best fitted to adorn and fortify their thrones, driven into exile, and submitting to those they should have fought against, after proving

to the conviction of the coldest heart, that wealth, honours, life itself, were indifferent to them without liberty! A superficial thinker only can severely blame such errors. In the antagonists of those whom he thought his country's worst enemies, this gallant chief could only see her friends. But surely it needs no argument to prove that the system, which at any moment gives France the disposal of an army of Poles, under leaders like Poniatowski, is little calculated to secure the tranquillity of those who occupy Poland.* p. 45-47.

How many of these have deserted? Even in unparalleled defeats, how constantly have they clung to France, because she still battled with Russia! Saxons, Bavarians, Dutch, Rhinlanders, Prussians, and Italians—all have by thousands deserted her standards, quivering with fearful disasters;—of the Poles not one! And yet Buonaparte deceived their hopes, and had at best promised but little to gain them over. He was hampered with his alliances each time he went into Poland, and probably not very willing to begin the work of restoration.

But the facts speak still more loudly, when we look at the actual state of the country during these changes. No sooner had Prussia lost the battle of Jena, than the Poles compelled the Prussian troops, to evacuate the Prussian provinces, as rapidly as the French left Holland after the battle of Leipsig. The partial prospects of restoration then held out by Buonaparte, (who was in alliance with Austria, and perhaps unwilling to break with Russia beyond all chance of reconciliation), were sufficient to call forth incredible exertions. In a few days, whole regiments

* The death of this illustrious Chief is affectingly described in a most interesting tract upon the *Battles of Leipsic*, which we will not cite, because it might prevent our readers from purchasing it, and contributing to the relief of the distressed Leipsigers, for whose benefit it is sold. Suffice it to say, that he fell as he had lived, in the display of prodigious courage, and overwhelmed with affliction. A solemn dirge has been performed for him, with a splendid ceremonial in the metropolitan church of Warsaw, *though now occupied by the Russians*. In fact the common license of abuse has been spared by all parties, even by the profligate part of the English press, upon this occasion, and not a word has ever been whispered against him by the Allies; a plain indication that, confident as they are, and well may be, in their cause against France, they feel what a weak part it has towards Poland. 'Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto enim nomine illa adime causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant: alii timorem: qui durus spes, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam: qui gravissime temeritatem: scelus, præter te, adhuc nemo. De illis loquor, qui occiderunt. Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces; sceleris vero crimine, furoris, parricidii, liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere.'—*Pro Ligario*.

were raised by a few individuals—some brought battalions—or only companies—and all poured in their wealth of every kind. Nothing probably contributed more than the ferment in Poland, to keep Austria quiet at that moment; and it certainly enabled the enemy to maintain himself during the winter, after severe losses, and in the following campaign to dictate a peace upon the Niemen. In the next war, 1809, the Poles made similar efforts, and their army overran Austrian Poland with ease, meeting in these provinces only friends wherever they came. Buonaparte was now in alliance with Russia, and could promise little to the Poles; but they felt grateful for the shadow of independence given to the Duchy of Warsaw; and by the peace of Vienna he added half of Galicia to that state. In 1812, new offers were held out; but the Austrian alliance controlled them; nevertheless, the people still hoped, and they surpassed their former exertions. He obtained nearly twelve millions Sterling within a few months, including the ordinary revenue, from the Duchy alone; and his ranks were filled from all parts of Poland. It is not to be questioned, that if he had fairly offered the restoration of the country, with its own laws, instead of the Code Napoleon—and had waited for six months in order to avail himself of its entire cooperation, a very different result would have attended his advance upon Russia. That Poland was forever gone from her, no one can doubt.

Now, the question is, whether all this may not be once more tried, with fuller effect, and according to the lessons taught by experience? Is it hazarding too much to assert, that as long as the dreadful state of things continues, which we have above endeavoured to describe, France, or whoever is at war with the three partitioning powers, has a steady ally in the heart of their dominions? Is it wise in them to neglect the lesson which they as well as she have learnt, that no appeal to Poland has ever been made in vain? What inference can be drawn from this lesson, except that they should in wisdom now listen to the appeal in her behalf? If *they* restore her independence, they at once raise an impregnable bulwark against France in all time coming, and get rid of the greatest weakness in their own position—they take a vast weight out of their enemy's scale, and transfer it to their own.

An objection will be started against this expectation, which may immediately be remedied. The Poles, it will be said, have shown a rooted aversion to the Allied powers, particularly the Russians, and a preference for the French. Now this has been entirely owing to the circumstances. There is no natural antipathy between Russians and Poles; on the contrary, they have

every thing to unite them ; a common origin, a language almost the same, and manners not dissimilar. Accordingly, in ordinary circumstances, they live together ; and it is only where Russian soldiers occupy their country, that the mutual hatred begins to show itself. If the Poles are really as ardent in their wish of restoration, as every fact proves them to be,—the removal of foreign troops, and the grant of independence, will both remove all cause of hatred, and change the aversion now felt into gratitude ;—for it will come with all the grace of a free gift. This, too, is the moment, when France, having for the third time deceived them, they will be the more reclaimed from their connexion with her, by obtaining from their neighbours the blessing of a separate existence.

There are other arrangements, however, short of absolute independence—all of which would confer the most substantial benefits upon Poland, and contribute in the same proportion to the advantage and security of the Allies. A separate state may be formed, under a constitution as nearly as possible resembling that of the Third of May, but annexed to Russia, as Hungary is to Austria. The objection to this undoubtedly is, that Prussia and Austria would suffer by it, and Russia alone gain ; and this of itself ought to weigh against it, and make Russia, on an enlarged view of her interest, and in order to keep her two neighbours for ever separate from French connexions—prefer the entire independence of Poland. It may be remarked, however, that such a plan would not increase the preponderance of Russia, more than she might at any time augment it herself ;—for if she engages in a war with her neighbours, she may easily, to use the common expression of the continental politicians—‘ *Leur faire sauter la Pologne.*’ Another plan, much less beneficial in every view, but still far preferable to the duration of the present arrangement, would be to incorporate all Poland at once with Russia. The numerous evils arising from the division of the country would be greatly alleviated ; and the Poles would be secured against that calamity which they now have most reason to dread—the increase of those sufferings, by new changes and new partitions.

It was not possible for us to avoid noticing these intermediate arrangements ; because it is difficult to carry on this discussion, without a reference to the Poles themselves, as well as the interests of their masters ; and nothing is more clear, than that there are degrees between the opposite extremes of complete restoration and new partitions—the choice of which is a matter infinitely important to the happiness of the people. We have therefore devoted our humble efforts in this Journal to the best

interests of humanity ;—and are too sincerely happy in the reflection, that they may not have been unavailing, to leave such considerations out of view. We belong not to the number of those, who can feel no indignation at injustice, unless committed by our enemies ;—nor pity for public misfortunes, unless suffered by Africans, or Spainards. But the interests of the Polish people are, however important, only a subordinate part of the present question. The restoration of European independence, is the object of every Statesman's anxious hopes ;—the revival of sound and consistent principle alone, can effect it ;—and this cannot be thought possible, by any reflecting mind, without the complete reestablishment of Poland as an independent State.

ART. IV. *Exposé Statistique du Tunkin, de la Cochinchine, du Camboge, du Tsiampa, du Laoo, du Lac-Tho.* Par M. M—N. Sur la relation de M. de la Bissachere, Missionnaire dans le Tunkin. 2 tom. 8vo. Londres, 1811.

Tracts, Political, Geographical, and Commercial, in the Dominions of Ava, and the North-western parts of Hindostan. By WILLIAM FRANCKLIN, Major in the service of the Hon. East India Company ; and author of a Tour to Persia, the History of Shah Aulum, and the Memoirs of George Thomas, &c. 8vo. London, 1811.

The History of Sumatra, containing an Account of the Government, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Native Inhabitants : With a Description of the Natural Productions, and a Relation of the ancient Political State of that Island. By WILLIAM MARSDEN, F. R. S. The Third Edition ; with Corrections, Additions, and Plates. 4to. London, 1811.

THE knowledge which we have hitherto attained respecting the nations who inhabit the Eastern Peninsula of India, is very imperfect. But the subject is in itself so interesting, and has become so important, in its relations to our commercial interests in the East, that it seems necessary to present a general outline of those countries, and of the habits and dispositions, and arts and policy, of the several tribes by which they are possessed. This is the more necessary, as the notices which we have respecting them are scattered through so great a multitude of volumes, that even in well informed circles, few are found who

pretend to much acquaintance with the subject; and of those who do make such pretensions, the notions are obscure and contradictory. To say the truth, we find no small difficulty in extracting a plain, intelligible, and consistent account, from the narrations of travellers into those regions. The greater part, unfortunately, have been ambitious of the character of philosophers and historians, rather than of the merit of recording plainly what fell under their own observation. They have attempted to delineate the general state and condition of the people; unconscious, as it would seem, of the extreme difficulty of reading the human character, or painting the manners of nations. And, while their views are often false, because they are drawn from an observation too much confined to show them the whole extent of the subject, one finds in their writings prejudices and antipathies which distort the truth. Much time and patience, with some critical skill, are required to ascertain the value of each report, to confront, to compare, to reconcile, to retain the genuine account and reject that which is not satisfactorily proved.

We have brought together, and placed at the head of this article, the titles of the most recent publications on this subject, and shall endeavour to state, as clearly as possible, the result of the scattered notices which we have been able to collect.

The inhabitants of what is called the Peninsula beyond the Ganges, or of the region which extends from the Bay of Bengal to China, and the Chinese sea, may be distinguished into three divisions; those who possess the Eastern part, those who possess the Western, and those who hold the Southern extremity. The people who inhabit the eastern part show a great affinity with the Chinese, whom in point of locality they approach: The people on the western side, agree in many important particulars with the Hindus: And the southern extremity is possessed by the Malays, who are pretty strongly distinguished from both races. Of the books which we have announced, that on Tonquin, and the countries connected with it, relates to the people on the eastern, or Chinese side; the Tracts concerning Ava to those on the western; and the work of Marsden furnishes the best information we have on the subject of the Malays: Of the Tracts of Francklin, a considerable portion relates to the people in the north-western parts of Hindustan, and of the History of Sumatra, the most considerable portion, of course, belongs exclusively to that island. It is no farther, however, than as they afford information on the subject of the Eastern Peninsula, that they are here to be understood as falling under our consideration.

1. The countries on the western part, which in physical and moral circumstances most nearly approach Hindustan, have commonly received the titles of Assam, Arracan, Ava, Pegu, and Siam. The people of these different kingdoms are distinguished by various shades of character and civilization; those of Siam, in particular, differ from the rest by shades which are very perceptible. But still, so many circumstances are common to them all, that they may be classed under one head; and it is more the points in which they agree, than those in which they differ, that it will be possible to comprehend in this general sketch.

Of these countries Assam is the most northern. It borders on the country of the Grand Lama, or Bootan, and is divided by the Berhampootu into two parts, nearly equal. It is separated on the West from Dacca, the north-east quarter of Bengal, by a range of hills, which the Garrows inhabit; a people exhibiting those features of savage life which are so frequently found in the more mountainous and inaccessible parts of Hindustan. It is bounded on the south by Ava and Arracan; and, by an uncertain limit, it connects with China on the east.

Our chief sources of information respecting this country are, an Extract from the *Alemgeername* of Mohammed Cazim; of which translations have been published, both in the *Asiatic Miscellany* of Mr Gladwin, and in the *Indian Telegraph*; and a *Geographical Description of Assam*, by Dr Wade, published in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1805. A French gentleman, of the name of Chevalier, who, at a subsequent period, was governor of the French settlement at Chandernagore, attempted a commercial speculation to Assam, by embarking a considerable property on the river at Dacca, and proceeding in a fleet of boats to the confines of the kingdom. He was immediately put under an escort, who conducted him to the capital, but deprived him of all intercourse with the natives. His knowledge was thus confined to what he was able to discover from his boat; and he quitted the country without leave, by means of a stratagem. The notices concerning Assam, which Major Rennel has given us in his work, were chiefly derived from this gentleman; but they are very scanty, and Dr Wade complains that they are far from correct. Among the transactions of Lord Cornwallis's administration, was a diplomatic mission to the king of Assam; but it neither produced any political consequences, nor, unless we except the geographical sketch of Dr Wade, did it add much to our knowledge. Mr Wood, of the corps of engineers, who accompanied the deputation in quality of surveyor, presented to government a map of

the river, the Berhampootu, and of as much of the country as he could survey, up to the capital, Rungpore-Gurgown. Dr Wade informs us, that a copy of this map was liberally communicated to him, through Lord Teignmouth, then Governor-general, to be prefixed to the History of Gowrinatsing, late monarch of Assam: But though we are told that this work was transmitted to Europe for publication, in the year 1796, we believe that it has never appeared.

The kingdom of Assam is understood to be about seven hundred miles in length; and its mean breadth about seventy; though in some places, where the mountains recede, it greatly exceeds that proportion. Dr Wade thinks sixty thousand square miles a very moderate calculation of its superficial extent; in other words, that it exceeds considerably England and Wales. The whole country is a valley, of great fertility, not only divided by the great stream of the Berhampootu, but every where intersected by numerous rivers.

Our informants concur in assuring us, that this country was both highly cultivated, and very populous; at least till the ravages of a late war, by which it is stated to have deeply suffered. 'Between these rivers,' says the author of the *Alemgeernameh* of Mohammed Cazim, describing two of the chief rivers which intersect the country, and include a considerable portion of it between their streams, 'is an island, well inhabited, and in an excellent state of tillage. It contains a spacious, clear, and pleasant country, extending to the distance of about fifty coss. Across the Doné (that is, on the other side of one of the above mentioned rivers) is a wide, agreeable, and level country, which delights the heart of the beholder. The whole face of it is marked with population and tillage; and it presents, on every side, charming prospects of ploughed fields, harvests, gardens, and groves. From the village Salagerék to the city of Ghergong, is a space of about fifty coss, filled with such an uninterrupted range of gardens, plentifully stocked with fruit trees, that it appears as one garden. Within them are the houses of the peasants; and a beautiful assemblage of coloured and fragrant herbs, and of garden and wild flowers, blowing together. As the country is overflowed in the rainy season, a high and broad causeway has been raised, for the convenience of travellers from Salagerék to Ghergong, which is the only uncultivated ground to be seen. Each side of this road is planted with shady bamboos, the tops of which meet, and are entwined. Amongst the fruits which this country produces are mangoes, plantains, jacks, oranges, citrons, limes, pine-apples, and perhaps a species of apple, which has such an excellent flavour, that every person who tastes it prefers it to the plum. There are also cocoa-nut trees, pepper vines, beetle trees, and the *ardj* (*malobathrum*), in great plenty. The sugar-cane excels in softness and sweetness; and is of three colours, red, black, and

white. There is ginger, free from fibres, and beetle leaf. The strength of vegetation, and fertility of the soil are such, that whatever seed is sown, or slips planted, they always thrive. The country of Otercol, which is on the northern side of Berhampootu, is also in the highest state of cultivation. It even surpasses Dekinkol (that part of the country which is on the south side of the river, and of which he had spoken first) in population and tillage.

From this account of the state of agriculture, we pass to what the same author observes respecting the arts and manufactures of the Assamese. 'The silks,' he says, 'are excellent, and resemble those of China. They are successful in embroidering with flowers, and in weaving velvet, and tautband, which is a species of silk of which they make tents and kenauts.' Of the other arts which they practise, war is the only one of which he takes notice; and in this he represents them as highly formidable, not only by their bravery, but their skill. 'The martial weapons of this country,' he observes, 'are the musket, sword, spear, and arrow and bow of bamboo. In their forts and boats, they have also plenty of cannon, yerbzun (swivels), and ramchunggee, in the management of which they are very expert. The Rajahs of this country have not bowed the head of submission and obedience, nor have they paid tribute or revenue to the most powerful monarch; but they have curbed the ambition, and checked the conquests of the most victorious princes of Hindustan. The solution of the difficulties attending a war against them has baffled the penetration of heroes who have been styled conquerors of the world. Wherever an invading army has entered their territory, the Assamians have covered themselves in strong posts, and have distressed the enemy by stratagems, surprises, and alarms, and by cutting off their provisions. If these means have failed, they have declined a battle in the field; but have carried the peasants into the mountains, burnt the grain, and left the country empty. But when the rainy season was set in upon the enemy, they have watched their opportunity to make excursions and vent their rage. The famished invaders have either become their prisoners, or been put to death. In this manner, powerful and numerous armies have been sunk in that whirlpool of destruction, and not a soul has escaped.'

Dr Wade, in concluding his geographical sketch, gives his testimony to the high state of culture and population in this kingdom in the following words. 'Such were the populous and highly cultivated districts of Assam, previous to the Moamarin rebellion; but that savage people carried desolation through a great part of the upper provinces.'

We have been the more full in these notices as they are in themselves curious, and as they seem to us to indicate greater advances in civilization than Mahommed Cazim is willing to al-

low. A state of high improvement in agriculture is always accompanied by a corresponding progress in other respects. And here we see improvement, not in agriculture merely, but even in the more refined art of gardening; the Assamese excelling in the cultivation both of fruits and flowers. We are much inclined therefore to suspect the testimony of the Mogul historian, when we find him expressing himself with great contempt of this people. Indeed his language is manifestly that of prejudice and antipathy, not of cool inquiry and impartial observation, and has in it that peculiar tone of abhorrence which often marks a man of uncultivated spirit in speaking of the enemies of his faith and nation.

The affinity of the Assamese to the Hindus is sufficiently ascertained by their language. We are assured by the translator of the Persian extract in the Indian Telegraph quoted above, that the Bengalee is generally spoken in Assam, that young priests often come to Nuddeah for instruction, and that their dialect is perfectly understood by the Bengal teachers. Dr Leyden, in his dissertation on 'the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese nations,' has entirely omitted the language of Assam.

Our conceptions however, of the state of society and government among the Assamese, become more precise, by surveying the circumstances of the neighbouring nations, with whom we are a little better acquainted; and who, as they have been derived from the same stock, and have been exposed to the influence of similar circumstances, both physical and moral, may well be supposed to resemble them, in the great outlines of their social and political condition.

What was formerly described by geographers as the kingdom of Ava, is inhabited by a people who are called Birmans, or (as our Oriental instructors never agree about the orthography of their words) Burmans, or Bermans, or Barmans, or Barmas. The kingdom of Ava, or of the Birmans, commences immediately south of Assam; and, with the exception of the narrow slip, along the upper part of the western coast, which constitutes the territory of Arracan, includes one half of the peninsula, till it reaches the confines of Pegu. The territory of Pegu is included between that of Ava and that of Siam; it extends not far from the coast inwards, and is not of great extent. In the time of the earliest of our European writers concerning this part of India, the Birman sovereign held the kingdom of Pegu in a kind of subjection, and exacted a tribute from its king or prince. In the year 1744, the Peguvians imagin-

ing that they had power to throw off the yoke of the Birmans, not only renounced their obedience, but, having tried their strength, they pushed their enterprise still farther. They entered the Birman territory; and in 1752 took possession of Ava, its capital, made its monarch a captive, and totally reduced the kingdom. An instrument, apparently feeble, was the author of the next revolution; the period of which was not long delayed. Alompra, a Birman of low extraction, the head-man of a petty village, was provoked to oppose the insolence of his Peguvian masters, and to drive them from his village. He was quickly joined by a band of supporters. They enabled him to defeat a small body of Peguvians who were sent to chastise him. The ardour of the Birmans was roused: and the man, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth and education, had talents to improve his advantages. He became the leader of his countrymen against their invaders. Towards the conclusion of the year 1753, he obtained possession of Ava, the capital; and gained a victory over the king of Pegu, who marched in person against him. Having now cleared of its enemies the greater part of his native country, he was recognized as the founder of a new dynasty, and had no inclination to stop in his victorious career. He not only recovered from the Peguvians whatever part of the Birman territory they had usurped, but proceeded to attack them in their own dominions. The Peguvians were by no means able to withstand his arms. In 1757 he had so far pushed his conquests, that he was able to invest their capital, which, after a short resistance, submitted; and the kingdom was delivered up into his hands. He was now one of the most powerful sovereigns of the East; and the Birman empire, including the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, comprehended a large portion of the Eastern peninsula. Some districts, however, which lay east of Pegu, had formerly belonged to that kingdom, but were now usurped by the Siamese. Alompra could not endure to be deprived of what he regarded as a natural part of his territory. He carried his arms into the disputed countries; annexed them to his dominions, and being now embroiled with the Siamese, prosecuted his hostilities against them. The usual success attended his enterprises. He had gained the most important advantages, had penetrated to the very capital, and invested it with his victorious army, when he was attacked with a distemper which quickly put a period to his days, and to the war in which he was engaged, in 1760. His son reigned till 1764, and was succeeded by his brother Shembuan, to the prejudice of his infant son. The reign of Shembuan was not only distinguished by the renewal of the war with Siam, which he prosecuted to

the reduction of the kingdom ; but, by a formidable invasion of his dominions from China, the government of which had become jealous of the Birman power. Shembuan met and totally destroyed the immense army which had been despatched for his overthrow ; but he speedily lost his new kingdom of Siam, by a general insurrection of the people, who set up a relation of their former sovereign. The Birman empire, though it has been sometimes shaken by those internal commotions which so often distract and divide eastern sovereignties, has not only preserved the extent at which it was left by Shembuan, but, in the year 1783, planned and accomplished the conquest of the small but fertile territory of Arracan, which lay between it and the sea, opposite to the mouths of the Ganges ; and it now includes the kingdoms of Aya, Arracan, and Pegu, and encroaches upon that of Siam, as far south as the city of Mergui.

As these different kingdoms, then, form now but one empire ; and as their inhabitants differ not so much from one another, in character, manners, civilization, religion, or any of the other circumstances which usually divide mankind, as to experience any considerable difficulty in coalescing into one people, the account which is rendered of the government, the laws, the literature, the arts, manners and religion of the Birmans, who are the leading division, will suffice pretty exactly to characterize and delineate the social, moral, and political condition of the whole.

The Government is monarchical, upon the usual plan of eastern sovereignties, where the human mind is yet too little cultivated and strengthened, to erect any regular system of control on the will of the monarch ; and where of course his will, and that of his more immediate agents, guide and determine every thing. The consequences are, what they have always been, and always must be, that the interests of the people are sacrificed to the fancied interests of the ruler and his agents, which are pursued with a disregard of others proportioned to the state of rudeness and ignorance.

The king, as divine prescription had also established among the Hindus, governs through the medium of a council. ' The king,' says the code of Menu, ' shall chuse a council, consisting of seven or eight ministers, men whose ancestors were servants of kings, who are versed in the holy books, who are personally brave, who are skilled in the use of weapons, and whose lineage is noble ; and with them on the affairs of his government he is perpetually to consult.' The council of the Birman sovereign consists of four principal members, who both deliberate and transact, and of four secondary members who have a deliberative function only.

The Laws of the Birmans, as far as they can be said to have a definite existence; as far, we mean, as they are constituted by an established form of words, are the same with those of the Hindus. Our chief informants, Colonel Symes, in his account of his embassy, and Major Francklin, in the tracts before us, both concur in this. 'The Birmans,' says Colonel Symes, 'generally call their code *Derma Sath*, or *Sastra*. It is one among the many commentaries on *Menu*. ' He adds, 'The Birman system of jurisprudence is replete with sound morality, and in my opinion is distinguished above any other Hindu commentary for perspicuity and good sense. It provides specifically for almost every species of crime that can be committed; and adds a copious chapter of precedents and decisions to guide the inexperienced in cases where there is doubt and difficulty.' He states another circumstance, which is worthy of notice, as clearly establishing the affinity between the Birmans and Arracanese. 'I was so fortunate,' he says, 'as to procure a translation of the most remarkable passages of the Birman code, which were rendered into Latin by Padre Vincentius Sangermano, and to my great surprise I found it to correspond closely with a Persian version of the Arracan code, which is now in my possession.' Major Francklin says, 'The ancient written law is called *Damasat*: it is the same as the Hindu, and they have the institutes of *Menu* under three titles. Perhaps they are only varied comments. I have three perfect copies: the first is entitled *Mha-nhee*, the second *Me-uee*, and the third *Mun-noo*. *Mha* signifies great, as in Sanscrit.'

These passages indicate, not merely affinity between the Birmans and the ancient Hindus, but a similar advancement in the career of civilization. A people which can boast of equal advancement with another in laws and government, is not likely to lag far behind in any other respect. What is true then, with regard to the civilization of the one, may also be inferred with regard to the civilization of the other; and the knowledge we have respecting the one people may thus reflect light upon the condition of the other.

The Religion of the Birmans is in like manner a branch of the Hindu stock. It is not Brahmenism, however, but Booddhism, so called from the name which the Hindus bestow upon the Creator, in his ninth incarnation or descent upon the globe. There is indeed a controversy, which of the two is the original belief, and whether Brahmenism preceded Booddhism. But in this dispute we are nowise called upon to interfere. The two modifications of the religion agree pretty nearly in the same views of mythology, and character of the Godhead, and differ considerably in matters of ceremonial observance. The grand distinction is constituted by the important circumstance of castes, or the separation of the people into hereditary professions, and

ranks. This separation, which it is well known is one of the grand features of Brahmenism, is detached from Boodhism, and constitutes, it must be allowed, a very important difference between the forms of Hindu and Birman society. If we inquire to which side this remarkable circumstance throws the advantage, it may be remarked, that the institution of castes, as it is naturally the invention of a rude and comparatively a barbarous age, so, by an irresistible and baneful operation, it perpetuates rudeness, by precluding improvement. The Birmans are delivered from the chains which this imposes upon the progress of civilization. But we are not perfectly sure that in a rude state of society and government, the elevation of the priesthood, which is part of the institution of castes, may not impose a salutary restraint upon the ferocity of power in the hands of an unlimited monarch, and tend to soften the tone of administration. It is not impossible that the mildness of the Hindu disposition, which constitutes a remarkable feature, at so low a stage of civilization, may not in a considerable degree have been owing to the gentler character impressed upon the government by the controlling power of the Brahmens; while the rude and harsh tone of despotism which holds the Birmans in barbarity, might not be softened by the influence of a powerful order of priests in counteraction to the arbitrary and capricious will of the monarch.

What is communicated respecting the Literature of the Birmans, is calculated to convey to us an idea of it quite as high as we have of that either of the Hindoos or of the Chinese. 'The Barma language,' says Dr Leyden, 'has been highly cultivated in composition, and contains numerous works in religion and science; besides numerous books on astrology, mythology, medicine and law, in the latter of which the most important is the *Dam ma-Sat Kyee*, or great system of justice, with the constitutions of the Barma princes. The Barmas are asserted by Dr Buchanan, to possess numerous historical works relative to the different dynasties of these princes. These people, says he, have also translated histories of the Chinese and Siamese, and of the kingdoms of Kathee, Koshan-pyee, Pagoo, Saymmay and Layn-zayn.* They also possess, of course, a still greater assortment of works of the poetical class. Colonel Symes, who saw the royal library, informs us, that 'every thing seemed to be arranged with perfect regularity, and I was informed, (says he), that there were books upon divers subjects; more on divinity than any other: but history, music, medicine, painting, and romance had their separate treatises. The books were regularly class-

* On the Language and Situation of the Indo-Chinese nations, by John Leyden, M. D. *Asiat. Researches*, vol. x. p. 234.

ed, and the contents of each chest were written in gold letters on the lid. The librarian opened two, and showed me some very beautiful writing on their leaves of ivory, the margins of which were ornamented with flowers of gold, neatly executed. And, if all the other chests were as well filled as those that were submitted to our inspection, it is not improbable, that his Burman Majesty may possess a more numerous library than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China.' Those characteristics of the literature of a rude people, which adhere to that both of the Hindus and Chinese, distinguish also the literature of the Birmanis; and still farther prove their approximation to the same level of civilization.

They have made a progress in the Arts, which will also bear a comparison with that of the most celebrated nations in their own quarter of the globe. The works of the loom, for example, are carried among them to great perfection; and they excel in the art of dyeing. But these manufactures they prosecute only for their own consumption. They smelt metals, iron in large quantities; make paper and various articles of lacquered ware; refine culinary saltpetre; make gunpowder, but, compared with European, of indifferent quality; manufacture their own ironmongery, which is coarse; found brass for various purposes; build ships and boats; turn in wood and ivory; polish and cut their precious stones; and excel in pottery. Their agriculture is rude, like that of the Hindus, and its implements coarse and inefficient; but they are said to be skilful in working their cattle, and thus excel the Chinese, who chiefly cultivate the ground by the spade and the hand.

There seem to be none of those stupendous masses of architecture which have been so often the productions of a rude age and an oppressive government, though they are so commonly admired as the vestiges of civilization and prosperity. In constructing, however, and in adorning their houses, and what is perhaps the superior art, in planning their towns and forming their streets, there is no deficiency of skill. 'The streets of Pegu,' says Colonel Symes, 'are spacious, as are those of all the Burman towns that I have seen. The new town is well paved with brick; and on each side of the way there is a drain to carry off the water.' Of the hall of audience in the royal palace, and of that in which he was received by the grand priest of the empire, Colonel Symes gives the most magnificent description; and represents the appearance as highly grand and striking. Of any of the other fine arts among the Birmans, little seems to have met the eye of the few observers whom we have yet introduced into the country, or to have excited their research. Colonel

Symes, however, gives us an account of a dramatic exhibition performed at Pegu, in the open court of the viceroy's house, which was illuminated by lamps and torches. The actors were from Siam, and displayed no common talents in their art. 'The dialogue,' says that author, 'was spirited without rant, and the action animated without being extravagant; the dresses of the principal performers were showy and becoming.' The plot was taken from the famous Hindu poem, the *Ratnayana*.

With respect to the character of the people, and the description and tone of their government, we have an instructive example of the different aspects under which, upon a superficial observation, the same things present themselves to different eyes; and of the necessity of exerting a little critical discrimination in extracting the matter of evidence from the eyewitnesses of Indian scenes. We have hardly any Indian observer of greater intelligence, or more above vulgar errors, than Colonel Symes and Major Francklin; yet the one of these gentlemen represents the government of the Birmans as mild, considerate, humane; and the people as orderly, benevolent, and sociable:—while the other describes the government as coarse, boisterous, and unfeeling; and the people as rude, cruel, and treacherous. 'The Birmans, under their present monarch,' says Colonel Symes, 'are certainly rising fast in the scale of oriental nations. Knowledge increases with commerce; and as they are not shackled by any prejudice of castes, restricted to hereditary occupations, or forbidden from participating with strangers in every social bond, their advancement will, in all probability, be rapid. At present, so far from being in a state of intellectual darkness, although they have not explored the depths of science, nor reached to excellence in the finer arts, they yet have an undeniable claim to the character of a civilized and well-instructed people. Their laws are wise, and pregnant with sound morality; and, in general, I believe, conscientiously administered. Their police is better regulated than in most European countries. Their natural disposition is friendly and hospitable to strangers; and their manners rather expressive of manly candour, than courteous dissimulation. A knowledge of letters is so widely diffused, that there are no mechanics, few of the peasantry, or even of the common watermen, who cannot read and write in the vulgar tongue.' This description announces to us, a government and a people, of both of which, the virtues are of no ordinary standard. The picture resembles that which is so often held up to us of the supposed state of things among the ancient Hindus. But we have next to hear in what manner these very objects are portrayed by another observer. 'The government,' says Major Francklin, 'is an unlimited monarchy—all prescriptive rights, usages, life, liberty, and property, are prostrated at the feet of the despot. He assumes

the prerogative, and exacts the same adoration as is paid to the Deity. His will is law; and his voice fate. Every officer, civil or military, is a judge; and can try petty causes, or punish trespasses by flogging, fine, or imprisonment; an authority productive of infinite oppression and abuse. It may be truly said here, that there is no country where there is so much law and so little justice. Causes originate in one court, may be removed by appeal to another, and ultimately to his Majesty in Council, where the decisions in general are pretty just, but the expense of obtaining a hearing enormous. I have only stated the regular system and proceedings of government; but the abuses are dreadful indeed; and I could detail such a narrative of enormities as would excite commiseration in the most obdurate breast. On the character of the Birman, both those of exalted and those of low rank, Major Francklin thus expresses himself. The Birman court appears to me an assembly of clowns, who have neither improved their manners nor their sincerity by their transposition. They have retained their native chicane, and vicious propensities, and have not acquired the blandishments of polish to veil the deformities of vice, or expansion of mind to check its domination. To their superiors, the Birman are abjectly submissive; towards strangers audacious and ungrateful; in power rapacious and cruel; in war treacherous and ferocious; in their dealings litigious and faithless; in appetite insatiable and avaricious; in habit lazy; in their ideas, persons, houses, and food, obscenely filthy, below any thing I have ever seen that has claims to humanity. It must not be denied, that they possess brutal courage; but it tends rather to debase than exalt them; it is irregular, uncertain, and not to be depended upon. They are strict observers of the ceremonial parts of their religion; charitable to their priests—and to the poor. In the country, I am told, hospitable, and not vindictive;—superstitious, addicted to magic;—cheerful;—patient under sufferings; hardy; frugal; and affectionate parents. They would make good soldiers in the hands of a skilful general; and, perhaps, good subjects under a virtuous magistrate. But unhappily their present government seems only calculated to exalt their vices, and to depress their virtues.

Among such contradictions and inconsistencies, which are to be found, not merely in the accounts of different persons, but in different parts of the same observer's narrative, it requires some exertion of critical skill to find out the truth. It is pretty well ascertained by the facts in which all observers agree, that the Birman are placed in a stage of society considerably removed from savage life; while the same facts establish that they are, perhaps, still farther removed from the condition of a civilized and polished nation. And when Colonel Symes remarks, that 'the Birman government exhibits almost a faithful picture of Europe in the darker ages, when, on the decline of the Roman empire, the principles of feudal dependence were established by

barbarians from the north,' we may so far agree with him, (though there is no feudality in the government of the Birmans), as to admit, that in rudeness and refinement, in excellence and defect, in vice and virtue, in knowledge and ignorance, in coarseness and art, in the government, and in the personal qualities of the people, the Birmans and the Europeans of the middle ages, are not very far removed from each other. As soon as this conclusion is established, we can no longer be perplexed by the discordant accounts of Colonel Symes and Major Francklin. We know that a people situate at that intermediate stage of civilization, displays a mixed character: That as it exhibits the seeds of many of the virtues of civilized life, some of them germinating, others considerably grown; a large proportion remains unexterminated of the plants of a ruder age. There is a mixture of that industry which characterizes a cultivated people, with that sloth which adheres to a savage race; of that power of restraining the more hurtful passions, which is acquired by a people trained under efficient laws and regulated manners, with those explosions which are habitual among rude and lawless tribes; of those tender affections which hardly in any situation are altogether obliterated from the human breast, with something of that obdurate cruelty which a state of habitual terror, suffering and oppression, are found to engender; of a love of truth and fidelity to engagements, with the falsehood and treachery of savage life; of that adherence to general rules, which proves the excellence of a regular government, with much of that momentary exertion of arbitrary will which characterizes a rude one. The different representations, therefore, of Colonel Symes, and of Major Francklin, (and we may extend the observation to the various classes of our instructors with regard to the Hindus), are apt to mislead, and to perplex, not because they are false, but because they are partial.

While nothing is in truth more rare than the talent of understanding the spirit of nations, and delineating their true character, every traveller thinks it incumbent on him, instead of detailing facts, (from a large collection of which only, reasonable conjectures may be formed), to set about an estimate of the characters of the people. Such attempts are almost always unsuccessful. Some striking feature is selected as indicating a character or place in the scale of nations, which a more enlarged observation would have shown to afford no true criterion, and the portrait is unconsciously distorted. In the relations of those who have described to us the nations of the East, this error is apparent in two opposite ways. Some of them seem to have been first struck, or, on the whole of their limited observa-

tion, most deeply impressed, with some trait (which in the mingled character of such a nation as we have been describing may easily be found), appearing to indicate a cultivated spirit and high state of civilization; while others have chanced to encounter examples of the treachery or cruelty which belong to a ruder age. And, from such partial observation, the one has ranked the people among the more civilized nations of the world, and described their institutions, and their arts and policy, consistently with that idea; while the other has viewed them as little removed from savage life, and construed all that they could understand, or were permitted to see, of their institutions, according to that impression. Thus it appears to us that Major Francklin has, from an observation too limited, formed an estimate, and given us a delineation of the character of the Birmanians less favourable than it ought to have been; while those who have described the Hindus and Chinese have run into an opposite fault. To the one nation has been given a place in the scale of civilization much lower than the truth; to the other has been assigned a rank considerably too high.

There is, however, but one voice with regard to the importance of the Birman dominions in a *commercial* point of view: This has appeared from the exertions of our government, in India, to establish commercial regulations with the government of the Birmanians; and the importance of the establishment is greatly increased by the recent abridgement of the monopoly, and the partial opening to a free trade with the regions of India. It is a country distinguished not only by great fertility of soil, under a temperature adapted to the cultivation of the most precious productions of the ground, but blessed with uncommon salubrity of climate. It possesses the advantage of water carriage, not only from the great extent of coast, but by means of its navigable rivers, opening communications to the principal parts of the kingdom. It is situate most commodiously for intercourse with India, with China, with the islands in the Southern Sea, and even with Europe.

Mr Francklin estimates the population in the whole of the Birman dominions, at 11,200,000 persons. Colonel Symes supposes, that if we should carry it as high as 17,000,000, including Arracan, we should 'rather fall short of, than exceed the truth.' Even if we should suppose, that the lowest of these estimates is considerably exaggerated, (and this is what we incline to believe), what Major Francklin subjoins is undoubtedly true; 'that a free market for the supply of such a population, unrestrained by religious prejudices, and *particularly partial to our manufactures*, both Indian and European, are objects of no small importance to our commercial interests.'

This is a circumstance to which it would be well that our commercial countrymen who may have views upon India, should particularly direct their attention. The Honourable the Directors of the East India Company, in the debates upon the opening of the monopoly, were very eager to depreciate the trade with the Western Peninsula, by raising a pretence of the want of a taste for our commodities; not reflecting, it seems, that a commercial country can always adapt itself to the taste of its customer. But in the Eastern Peninsula, it happens, that no efforts of adaptation are required. Our goods are there in particular demand. There too the unprivileged merchants will find another advantage, which possibly they may have occasion to prize,—exemption from all those obstructions which the Company, in their strangely confounded characters of commercial rivals and despots, *may* impose upon their operations in the Indo-Britannic dominions. It is even not impossible, that the exemption from those obstructions, which will be seen to exist in the eastern side of the bay, will prevent, or at any rate diminish, the disposition to create them on the western. Major Francklin observes, that a nation situate as that of the Birmans, with a great extent of fertile soil to cultivate and to people, will naturally present a demand for manufactured goods, with which it will be their interest to supply themselves from abroad, confining chiefly their own industry to the productions of the ground. This indeed is an observation, which may with equal justice be applied to all the countries of the Eastern Peninsula; and if we were to add, of all India, we should not greatly mislead. This circumstance, were perfect freedom of trade to leave scope to the operations of nature, would secure for ages the most beneficial sort of commercial connexion between Europe and Asia, on which the distance and expense of carriage, would impose the only limits.

After what we have thus said of the Birmans, it will not be necessary to use many words on the subject of the Siamese. It so happens, that we have little or no information respecting this people from any Englishman. The few circumstances respecting their language and education, which Dr Leyden had gleaned, and which he has exhibited in the discourse already quoted, constitute (slight and unsatisfactory as they are) nearly the sum of what we have received upon the subject from an English pen. Our chief informant is La Loubere, who went as ambassador from Louis the Fourteenth to the King of Siam. And accounts have been published from the representations of the French missionaries, of which that from the papers of the Bishop of Tabraca, by Turpin, in 1771, is the most important.

Every thing which we are told respecting the government, the laws, the literature, the arts, and personal qualities of the Siamese, marks a correspondent state of advancement with that of the Birmans. Of the diversity of mere modes, our information is too scanty to enable us to determine the extent. That the religion of the Siamese is the same with that of the Birmans, and derived from the same origin as that of the Hindus, there seems to be sufficient evidence. Their laws are in high reputation all over the East; but as no Englishman has yet looked into their written codes, it is not ascertained whether, like those of the Birmans, they are of Hindu, or of indigenous birth. Although Dr Leyden conjectured (and all that he appears to have known, entitled him but to conjecture), that the common language was different from that of the Birmans, yet there are facts which appear to establish a contrary opinion. One circumstance which we have already stated, on the authority of Colonel Symes, is very strong—that Siamese dramatists come to perform in the Birman dominions; an event not very probable, unless the language were common. The Portuguese first, and afterwards the Dutch, had important settlements in Siam. The French were permitted, in the time of Louis the Fourteenth, to erect both a factory and a fortification;—and two cities were yielded to them in absolute property; but they did not improve their advantages. Siam, in respect of fertility, loco-position, and productive labour, possesses commercial advantages of the same nature with the Birman empire; but on the coast, at least, the climate is far from healthy. If the Birman empire holds together at its present extent, Siam, there is little doubt, will ere long be deprived of its independence. But it is an event not, perhaps, less probable, that the Birman empire itself will fall into confusion, and be dismembered.

Notwithstanding the circumstances already stated, which appear to connect these nations with the Hindus, two other circumstances are mentioned, which denote an affinity with the Chinese; so curious are the gradations by which these people melt into one another. Those circumstances are, a similarity of persons, and a peculiarity of language. We doubt, however, whether the similarity of persons is so strongly marked, as to constitute any certain indication; and we are pretty sure, that there is something fanciful in the conclusions that are built upon the distinction of monosyllabic and polysyllabic languages. Our acquaintance with the more distant languages of the East is so slight, that a writer of strong imagination may form, and with a little ingenuity justify and support, respecting their origin and affinity, any opinions to which he may be inclined.

2. We shall now proceed to the people inhabiting the eastern part of this peninsula, between whom and the Chinese there is a more decided affinity. Those countries have in general been known by the names of *Tunquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambochu*, *Siam*, and *Laos*. They are all maritime, except the last, which is inland, and not little known. It is a mountainous region, and the people are represented by the author of *M. de la Bissachere's* account, as rude and savage. Their religion and manners have been said, or rather conjectured, to resemble those of *Siam*, though their persons are liker to those of the Chinese. It is a matter of some doubt, therefore, to which side of the peninsula they belong. We have placed them in the Chinese division, because they are ranged under the same government.

Our information respecting this part of the further peninsula, was, till lately, exceedingly imperfect. The voyage to China of *Lord Macartney*, gave an opportunity to *Mr Barrow* to make great additions to political and philosophical geography; and, though his means of observation were exceedingly scanty, that gentleman's work on *Cochin-China* brought us first acquainted with many of the leading circumstances in the constitution of those countries and their inhabitants. Since the publication of that volume, has appeared the work, the title of which we have placed at the head of the present article. 'C'est une exposition' (to use the words of the author) 'de faits constatés par *Monsieur de la Bissachere*, missionnaire Français, le seul Européen qui, après avoir habité le *Tunquin*, reside actuellement en Europe. *M. de la Bissachere* a passé dix huit années dans le *Tunkin*, et la *Cochin-Chine*; les a parcourus dans presque toute leur étendue, ainsi que la plupart des états adjacens; il en entend et en parle la langue, et a été en relation avec toutes les classes des habitans de ces pays. Père temporel, confident, conseil des Chrétiens, qui, dans ces pays, sont en assez grand nombre, il a été en société avec les plus grands personnages de l'état; souvent en conférence avec les *Mandarins*; il a eu lui-même un *Brevet de Mandarin*; des *Tunquinois* ont été par ordre du gouvernement attachés à son service personnel; plusieurs fois il a été admis à l'audience de l'Empereur. Sur des faits sur lesquels il n'a pu fournir de notions, on en a eu indépendamment de lui par la communication de mémoires, et de lettres de personnes, qui ayant résidé dans ces contrées, ont eu part aux événemens qui y sont survenus, et à tous les titres méritent confiance.'

We earnestly wish that *M. de la Bissachere* had told us his own story, instead of committing it to the hands of a *redacteur*. It is, by this unhappy expedient, reduced, from direct testimony, to the state of hearsay evidence. From what the book contains, and from the minute and perfect information, of almost every thing which we should wish to know, that *M. de la Bissachere*

must have possessed, we conclude that a work, however poorly written, if full of details from his own immediate observations and recollection, would have proved in the highest degree instructive and entertaining. We doubt not that the redaction from the communications, written or verbal, of M. de la Bissachere, has been faithfully performed. The character of the *Redacteur*, and the presence of the author upon the spot, competent to correct whatever he did not approve, are sufficient pledges for a conformity between the materials and the report. The book is not calculated to mislead; nay, it is instructive in a high degree; but it would have been infinitely more instructive, had it consisted of the rough minutes and diaries of the missionary.

There are two modes of communicating the observations of a traveller. One is by narrative and description, in which we are carried along with the writer, introduced to the persons with whom he converses, observe the scenes which he visits, and hear his observations upon every object as it occurs. Another is, that by systematic or classified statement, in which the author, leaving the character of a traveller, becomes a collector of statistical facts under general heads.

On the subject of countries which have been amply explored, with regard to which we abound in works of detail, and of which the most minute particulars have been described again and again, the latter mode may perhaps be preferable. A skilful generalization and distribution of the parts, by one who has himself verified them, is valuable, as it brings them more under our command; though, even in this case, it is desirable to have the observations of the eyewitness in their first, original colours. The work of generalization may be performed, and generally better performed, by one who has not had the opportunity of observing. In summing up the evidence of a variety of witnesses, entire impartiality is indispensable; and a man's own observations are extremely apt to give a bias to the judgment.

But we are so little acquainted with Cochin-China and Tunquin, and so far from needing the aid of artificial and scientific arrangements to enable the memory to command the facts, that details are here the very thing of which we are in want. The means of affording us such information, must have been amply enjoyed by M. de la Bissachere; and, however unskilful in description, his peculiar acquaintance with the circumstances should have enabled him to give us some interesting notices. We should have wished to accompany him into the houses, into the fields, into the assemblies, into the workshops of the Tunquin-

se and their neighbours—to have gone with him to their tables—to have seen them in domestic privacy—at their entertainments, at their meetings for business, at their assemblies for amusement;—to have seen, in short, how they live.

The *Redacteur* of M. de la Bissachere's materials, unhappily for us, had a different ambition. The philosophical parade of generalization seduced him. A scientific arrangement appeared to him most worthy of applause; and so we have the following assortment of titles;—*Denomination—Aspect Géographique—Aspect Météorologique—Aspect Géologique—Aspect Anthropologique—Population—Aspect Zoologique—Sol et Culture—Pêche et Navigation—Arts et Manufactures—Beaux Arts—Commerce, intérieur, extérieur—Alimens—Vêtement—Logement—Constitution politique et Gouvernement—Droit privé—Finance—Force Militaire—Religion—Mœurs—Usages—Langue—Sciences—Littérature*—with a separate chapter allotted to each. The inconvenience of this arrangement is, that he has given us the result of personal observations, not the observations themselves; he has exhibited general, not particular facts; and, though we undoubtedly learn much that is important, and that previously we did not know, or knew not so well, (for the *Redacteur* appears to have drawn from rich materials, and has given us, after all, an instructive book), he has thus left a great many things untold which we should have been delighted to learn; and if the papers of M. de la Bissachere are in being, we cannot help expressing a wish that they may yet be given to the public in their original form. From what this writer has afforded, aided by the information which we had previously received, we shall now endeavour to communicate to our readers as exact an idea of the people of the eastern part of this further peninsula, as our materials and limits will admit.

Tonquin, with the countries stretching from it southward to the Gulf of Siam, was, in the first epoch of its history, a part of the Chinese empire; the governors of which acquired, in time, a sort of hereditary possession,—afterwards threw off their allegiance,—and, at the end of a long series of struggles, established their independence. This event is said to have happened so late as about the beginning of the sixteenth century. At first, Cochin-China was under a sort of obedience to the sovereign of Tonquin; but a daring leader in a short time arose, whom the Cochin-Chinese acknowledged as their king, and that country became independent. If more civilized countries in immediate vicinity are almost continually at war, it is not surprising that the Cochin-Chinese and Tonquinese were in hostility with each other. About the middle of the last century, the governments

of both were broken up by civil commotions; which introduced a long series of bloody wars, and terminated in a revolution of no small importance.

Among the curious coincidences which are to be traced in the history of early nations, one is, the frequent transition of the power of the sovereign into the hands of a leading servant; who becomes king in reality, though not in name; and who, gradually engrossing the whole authority of the state, renders his office hereditary in his family, while a pageant of royalty is maintained in the person of the ancient monarch. The history of the *Maire du Palais* in France, and of the Peshwa among the Mharattas, is nearly the same story which is to be found in the annals of the Tunquinese, where the *Chua* exerted the same powers almost exactly as the Peshwa among his countrymen. 'A la verité,' says our author, 'les ordres qu'il donnait ne pouvaient être mis à execution que quand le *Dova* (the king) y avait apposé son scéau; mais c'était une pure formalité qui suivait indispensablement la signature. Telle était la nullité du *Dova*, qu'il ne pouvait pas même choisir entre ses enfans son successeur; les *Chua* seuls en decidaient. Souverain par les lois, dans la realité sujet couronné, prisonnier dans son palais, il n'en sortoit que pour des ceremonies, presque toujours ayant un objet religieux, et rarement un objet politique. Un *Chua* eut même le projet de s'ingérer à faire un sacrifice au ciel, prerogative religieuse, exclusivement réservée au roi. Mais la nation ne voulut point consentir à cette usurpation; et les *Chua* furent obligés de se contenter d'être tout puissans dans les affaires temporelles.'

Upon the death of a *Chua*, who was assassinated by one of his confidants, leaving no children, a civil war was kindled by his relations, who disputed the succession. Amid the confusion which desolated the kingdom, the king found means to assert his rights; to abridge the power of the *Chua*; and to render the succession to the office no longer hereditary, but dependent upon himself.

About the same time, the misconduct of the rulers in Cochin-China had prepared the minds of the people for a revolution. A dissipated sovereign, who had disgusted and harassed his subjects by his vices and exactions, destroyed their reverence for the government; and left the succession to a son, whom he had by a favourite concubine, to the prejudice of two legitimate sons. They did not long survive the succession of their spurious brother: But the new sovereign, having no talents for government, did not reconcile the people to his objectionable title; and a rebellion, headed by a part of the mandarins, was finally planned. They invited the king of the Tunquinese to their assistance; and the prospect was too alluring to be neglected. An army

arrived; and the king of the Cochín-Chinese compelled to seek his safety, by flight and submission, was, after a series of mean and spiritless actions, put to death as he was departing from a dramatic entertainment. In the mean time, three brothers of very low birth, had contrived, amid the confusion of the times, to draw upon themselves the notice of their countrymen, and to obtain followers. By one step after another, they obtained the obedience of the principal part of the country; and most of the princes of the royal blood fell a sacrifice to their ambition and jealousy. One prince however escaped, named *Nguy-en-Chung*, who, after some fruitless exertions, was compelled to fly, to seek an asylum from the king of Siam. The three rebellious brothers not only divided the kingdom of Cochín-China among themselves, but invaded, and made a conquest of Tunquin. *Nguy-en-Chung* distinguished himself by great actions in the service of the king of Siam, who lent him ten thousand men to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. This army, joined by the partisans of *Nguy-en-Chung*, gained at first some advantages; but the Siamese were more intent upon pillage than conquest; and he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. After a period of fruitless solicitation at the court of Siam for a renewal of assistance, a ground of misunderstanding arose, which compelled him to seek his safety in *Pullo-vai*, a small uninhabited island in the Gulf of Siam. From this he opened a correspondence with some persons of power in Cochín-China, where discord among the brothers had already broken out. He was soon enabled to land in the country, and gain a footing. Improving to the utmost every advantage, and pushing his enterprises with uncommon talents, he prevailed, after a series of desperate struggles, over the three brothers, and established himself in his kingdom. The state of Tunquin rendered that important kingdom an easy conquest. To these acquisitions he added the adjoining kingdoms of Cambodia, Laos, and Siam-pa; and united, into one great empire, the whole of the eastern division of the further peninsula. This great revolution was consummated about the beginning of the present century; and in the year 1807, when M. de la Bissachere departed from the country, *Nguy-en-Chung* was about fifty years of age, and commanded the reverence and obedience of his people, as well by his great qualities, as by his power. Educated in the school of adversity, and profiting by her lessons, he acquired a character superior, in some degree, to the stage of civilization which his countrymen have reached. It is alleged, however, that he has not borne the trial of prosperity with equal magnanimity as the lessons of misfortune; that luxury and indolence have crept up-

on him; that severity characterizes his government; and that he who, during his struggles, had performed acts of clemency which partook of imprudence, has, in the security of power, been the author of cruelties from which he had nothing to gain.

Amid these events, one circumstance presents itself which bears such a relation to the feelings of our countrymen, that a short account of it ought not to be omitted. When *Nguy-en-Chung*, with his mother, first fled from the hands of the rebels, they lived for several months in a forest, concealed in the hollow of an umbrageous tree; and were enabled to make good their escape by means of a French ecclesiastic, a bishop *ex partibus*, styled bishop of Adran, who was at the head of a Christian mission, and greatly revered in the country for his virtues and knowledge. When the fugitive king took shelter in the island of Pullo-vai, after leaving the court of Siam, he committed the education of his son to the bishop of Adran; and directing him to remove the youth from danger, by withdrawing into France, he gave the bishop a commission to negotiate an alliance, and obtain for him assistance from that country. The attempt succeeded; and an alliance was, in 1788, formally concluded between the Kings of Cochin-China and France. On his part, the King of France contracted to furnish a squadron of twenty ships, seven regiments, and five million of dollars. On the part of the King of Cochin-China, it was stipulated, to cede to the King of France, in absolute property, the port and territory of *Hau son*, and the adjacent islands; from *Fay-so* on the south, to *Hui-vucign* on the north; to cede the revenues yielded by that territory; to grant within it religious freedom; to furnish materials and workmen for the construction of such forts and works as it might be thought to require; to allow wood to be cut in his forests for the construction of ships; to keep fourteen ships of the line at the disposal of the King of France; to furnish sixty thousand men, at the least, together with their pay and provisions, in the event of any attack by the enemies of France upon the ceded territory; and to grant permission to the King of France, in case of his making war in any part of India, to raise fourteen thousand men within his dominions.

The critical situation into which the French monarchy was precipitated, by the events of the Revolution which immediately followed, prevented the execution of this treaty; which would have given possession of the noble bay of Turon; opened an independent channel to every branch of the Indo-Chinese commerce; afforded a firm footing once more to the French nation in the East; and yielded important advantages for carrying on

a war with any of the powers of India. Had it been executed, it is not very easy to set limits to the events of which it might have been productive. The very report of it was of the utmost importance to Ngay-en-Chung, who intimidated his enemies by threatening them with the thunders of the French arms; disciplined his troops, and erected forts upon the European plans, by means of French officers who entered his service; and purchased ships from French merchants, upon the model of which he augmented his fleet.

In *physical* circumstances, the people of this united empire, are among the most favoured on the surface of the globe. A temperature fit to mature the productions of the warmest sun, is yet so mild and equal as neither to oppress the feelings, nor obstruct the vegetation of colder climes. Their soil is in general fertile; and in its variations from plain to mountain, from sand to clay, from humid to dry, affords scope to the tea plant of China, the coffee of Mecca, the sugar cane, the anana, with the rice and cotton of India, the wheat of Europe, and forests of oak and teak, which are inconvenient only by their extent. Of the most important of all species of riches, the food of man, the fisheries on their coasts, which they prosecute to a great extent, are peculiarly productive. In point of commercial situation, it is only necessary to look at the map, to be convinced that few countries on the globe have equal advantages. And after all the ravages of the late revolution, the dominions of the King are said, even by a moderate calculation, to contain twenty-three millions of inhabitants.

The Government is a despotism, upon the model of that of China; the fiction of paternity in the person of the ruler being in both countries upheld. The emperor is the father of the state; each mandarin is the father of the province which he governs; and each magistrate, of whatever gradation, father of the subordinate department in which he presides. These ideas, *si sages, si humaines, si bienfaisantes*, says our author, in the style of those with whom eloquence is more a favourite than wisdom, *ne suffisent pas pour empêcher le malheur, et l'oppression des peuples.*—No?—What then makes them *sages, humaines et bienfaisantes*? It requires no great depth of observation to perceive, that the fiction was not invented for the benefit of the *people*. That it was framed for the benefit of the *despot*; to possess the people with a false conception of the beneficence of their government; and under that persuasion to preserve their governors more free from danger, while employing their power for the gratification of their own passions, and the promotion of their own designs.

Circumstances, however, are not wanting in Tunquin, which soften the rigours of the despotism, and render it rather less inconsistent than it sometimes is with the happiness of human beings. As among the Birmans, and the ancient Hindus, a council of state is a constituent part of the government, and the immediate organ of the royal power; and though the king thus commands its decisions, yet the necessity of submitting his will, though merely a matter of form, to their consideration, must at any rate impose an obstacle to those momentary freaks of a diseased and pampered mind, which in Persia and in Turkey, not to speak of Morocco and other places, produce the frightful scenes of which we read. One institution, of which in the work before us we receive an account, bears little resemblance to any thing which we find among the other nations of the East. Each village, or small jurisdiction, possesses a power of legislation over its own people, in all matters of police, and also of enforcing its regulations by a jurisdiction of its own. In this germ of democratical power, should contingencies be favourable, the most important reforms may find themselves enveloped. Another circumstance, by which some reference, however slight, to the will of the people is shown, a circumstance not unworthy of observation under an eastern despotism, is the power which every subject is allowed of addressing representations to the sovereign, on any political reforms which may suggest themselves to his mind: Representations which are submitted to the council, and of which, as often as honoured with their approbation, the ideas are carried into effect.

The administration of justice, as well as the government, is upon a similar footing in Tunquin and in China. The laws of China form, indeed, the basis of the Tunquinese jurisprudence; modified, however, by the decrees of the sovereign, and by local usages, and in some provinces, it is said, entirely superseded by particular regulations. A vague conception is all which, without the actual statement of the laws, it is possible to convey to us, of what in any country constitutes, in practice, and as it affects the welfare of the people, the entire legal system. The facts, however, which are presented to view, exhibit the same rudeness of contrivance the same marks of an ignorant age, the same inaccuracy in the conception of the ends of justice, to the same want of skill in adapting means to ends, which are manifest in the codes of the Chinese and Hindus, and which characterize the laws of the Gothic nations of Europe in the early ages.

The laws which define the rights and obligations attached to the more important relations which men stand in to one another,

as parents and children,—as husbands, wives,—hardly appear to differ from those in China; except that infanticide is not permitted; and that the liberty of the women (a circumstance, however, more connected with the manners than the laws) is much less restrained.

What the laws which regulate the rights of property, and the modes of their transfer, are in themselves, is perhaps of less importance, than that they should be clearly known: But, in the law of Debtor and Creditor, the arrangements themselves, independent of the fulness and accuracy of the terms in which they are laid down, produce serious effects on human happiness. Some of the most enlightened nations in this department of jurisprudence, retain the marks of primeval barbarity. The laws of the Tunquinese, like those of the Hindus, are on this point peculiarly barbarous. The creditor seizes successively the moveables, the cattle, the land, the house of his debtor, next his children, and even his wife, whom he may force to work for acquittal of the debt; and, last of all, the debtor himself, whom he not only may compel to labour, but may beat, to make him discover concealed property.

There is a certain general character which marks the code of punishments among the Chinese, the Hindus, and the Tunquinese, and we may add those also of our own Gothic ancestors, and in general of nations in the infancy of civilization. Mutilations of the body are more common than death; fines very frequent, because the benefit accrues to the king and the judge. The Hindus, the Chinese, the Tunquinese, are, like rude nations in general, fond of minute distinctions, in legislating upon crimes and punishments; but their distinctions are often without a difference. They will distinguish, for example, between a wound on the right hand, and the same sort of wound on the left; and assign a different punishment to each; between the theft of a piece of property in one shape, and a piece of property of the same value in another.

Among the Tunquinese, as among their neighbours, the forms of legal procedure are simple and expeditious. In many respects they are also inefficacious and rude.

The party by whom justice is demanded, makes his application to the judge; the defendant is summoned; and if he appears not, is brought by the officers of the court with a piece of wood fastened about his neck. The parties, in presence of one another, and without professional substitutes, state their pleas to the judge, produce their witnesses, and hear the decision. Perjury is punished with great severity; and any failure by the parties in the temper and decency of their language, is chastised

with the bamboo, by the judge on the spot. Much parade is employed in tracing out the evidence of the more atrocious crimes. Several mandarins repair to the spot, examining the facts with a minuteness in which days and even weeks are sometimes consumed; draw up reports, and make plans of the place. There are four stages of jurisdiction. The first is the district collectively, of which we have already spoken; whose legislative and judicial functions are performed in an assembly composed of all the men of the district above eighteen years of age. This assembly judges definitively upon all matters connected with the regulations which it is within its own competence to make. In other cases, an appeal lies from this decision to the tribunal of three districts; from this tribunal to the government of the province; and thence to the King and Council. Presents to the judges are regular and avowed perquisites of office,—the fee which is paid for the service performed. The state of the law, and of the public mind allow great scope to the judge to regulate his proceedings by his interests.

In the necessary and elegant arts the Tunquinese are likewise upon a level with their neighbours; in the mode and style of their performances most resembling the Chinese. Their *agriculture*, though it extends to a great variety of productions, is weak and unskilful; and, like the Hindus and Chinese, they scratch rather than plough the ground. In catching the fish with which their shores, and rivers, and lakes abound, they exhibit an ingenuity and dexterity which no nation appears to surpass. In constructing and equipping the vessels which this occupation requires, as well as the shipping adapted to the higher operations of commerce, their art is represented as excelling that of the Chinese. 'Leurs vaisseaux sont plus grands, mieux coupés, mieux construits, que les vaisseaux Chinois.' The *manufactures* of the loom they carry to the greatest perfection, not inferior to that of any nation of the East. 'Les toiles de coton de Tunkin sont d'une telle finesse, d'une telle beauté, qu'on les préfère aux plus belles étoffes de soie, et qu'on les paye à un plus haut prix. La fabrique des étoffes de soie est dans le Tunkin d'une excellente qualité et supérieure à ce qu'elle est en Chine.' That circumstance which we find so constantly reported as a mark of nations in the infancy of the arts—that circumstance with which we are so familiar in the accounts of the Hindus and Chinese—we mean the rudeness and simplicity of their tools and implements, and the dexterity and address with which they employ them, is also particularly mentioned as a characteristic of the Tunquinese. Another characteristic of nations in that stage of civilization, is a barrenness of invention in matters of art, but great readi-

ness and correctness of imitation. The Tunquinese make no exception to the general rule—'Il est plus porté à l'imitation qu'à l'invention, et quand il a un modèle, il l'exécute avec succès.' In articles of great nicety they are said not to reach completely, though they fall but little behind, the perfection of the Chinese workmen. Their carpenters and turners are good, and only inferior to those of Europe. Though they make a species of white pottery of great hardness, they attempt not to rival the Chinese in the manufacture of porcelain. Labour is imperfectly divided; a man is frequently his own shoemaker, taylor, and weaver; raises his own corn, and grinds it and bakes it for the use of his family.

The *music* of the Tunquinese seems to be not only simple and artless, but, if we may trust to our reporters, is endowed with little expression; though the people are represented as possessing the most exquisite ear, and intensely hurt by the slightest discord. Their instruments are more valued for their noise, than the delicacy or extent of their musical powers. Of their *paintings* the same character is given exactly as of that of the Indians and Chinese. They have no knowledge of perspective, or of the use of light and shade; but details they copy with prodigious exactness; and their colouring is brilliant and lively. Architecture among them, as among the Chinese, has hardly risen to the rank of an elegant art. The material of which their wooden houses are composed, and the model of tents, upon which their plan of building seems to have been originally formed, have not been favourable to the pursuit of symmetry or elegance in their architectural forms. In the art of landscape gardening, however, or the art of gratifying the fancy by the artful disposition of wood and water, of hill and valley, of rocks and plains, they are said to equal, if not to excel, the Chinese, by whom the rest of the world is excelled.

Among the Tunquinese, *science* and *literature* have made little progress; and of the works either of the understanding or the fancy, they appear to have less to produce than either the Hindus or the Chinese. Hitherto the object of their lettered men has rather been to study the Chinese models, than to create a literature of their own. They have little physical science, or even mathematical. Their astronomy is very elementary and rude. And the logical sciences are supplanted by the pursuit of useless subtleties and verbal puzzles. On medicine they have written copiously, but without much advantage, it appears, either to the science or the art. The best part of their literature, as in all the nations of Asia, in general, is their poetry. It seems to consist mostly, if not altogether, of short pieces ad-

apted to music, and which it is a favourite amusement of all classes to sing. The chief topics are those exploits, of their country and their countrymen which are calculated to nourish their national vanity and pride. They excel the Hindus in one important article of literature. They are not without historical compositions; on which, however, no great value deserves to be fixed. The historian is not very skilful, nor very solicitous, in separating truth from falsehood, — the possible from the impossible; and it is but a distant approximation to a knowledge of events which his works are calculated to afford. In this, as in so many other circumstances, the similarity of the nations of Asia is remarkable. The style of the Tunquinese, we are assured by our author, is much less inflated than that of most Oriental nations. ‘Rarement on se sort de métaphores.’ And in another place he says—‘Le style Tunkinois est sage; les auteurs ne se permettent point de dénaturer les expressions par un emploi forcé. Point de métaphores exagérées, point d’hyperboles gigantesques, point d’images monstrueuses par leur excès.’ Yet Dr Leyden asserts, without qualification, that ‘the *Anam* (Tunquinese) style is sometimes highly bold and figurative, and attains a degree of animation which is not very common among the Indo-Chinese nations of the continent.’ The proof on which he appears to lean is the French translation of a manifesto.

If the following picture is not too highly coloured, science and literature ought to advance in Tunquin; and to carry along with them the improvement of a country; ‘ou les sciences sont fort honorées, et ou tout genre d’instruction est favorisé et protégé. Il y a des écoles publiques, ou on donne des leçons de morale, d’économie rurale, d’économie politique, d’art militaire, d’éloquence, de poésie; et les étudiants sont exempts de corvées, et parviennent à la qualité de lettrés, qui élève au dessus de la masse du peuple. Trois grades de lettrés, bachelier, licencié, docteur: grades auxquels on ne parvient pas par un tempe d’étude, mais qui sont conférés annuellement au concours, d’après le suffrage de personnes capables d’en juger; et il n’est point des places sur la collation desquelles la faveur ait moins d’influence. A la qualité de lettré docteur est attribuée la dignité de Mandarin, mais sans fonctions politiques, réserve d’autant plus sage que ces fonctions détourneraient de l’étude de sciences.’

In moral qualities, the Tunquinese are represented as standing in the very highest rank, which seems compatible with the stage of society in which they are placed. Even after making a large allowance for partiality and exaggeration, we may regard them as a people with whom Europeans may open an agreeable and profitable intercourse. ‘Honesty and veracity, qua-

ties of so much importance in the ordinary business of life, are said to prevail among them, not only to a much higher degree than among the Chinese; of whom fraud in all its modifications forms so remarkable a characteristic,—but to a much higher degree than among any other people of Southern Asia, where improbity is so generally diffused. They are impressed with a much higher respect for human life, than is almost ever found among a rude people; and murder, which is held in the deepest abhorrence, is extremely rare. There prevails among them a strong spirit of beneficence and generosity. Their sayings are—*That the man in want is the creditor of the man who enjoys;—that Nature is bountiful, and should be imitated by her children.* Their domestic affections, on which so much of human happiness depends, are tender and strong. The reverence of children toward their parents, is a marked ingredient of the national character;—and to this the warmth of the parental attachment, and the beneficence of the parental care, sufficiently correspond. It is no uncommon thing for a parent, before his death, to divide his whole property among his children, and to live with one of them, the rest contributing their proportion to his maintenance:—nor is it almost ever known that he has occasion to repent of his generosity. The women enjoy a liberal freedom;—are not prisoners and slaves, as in other Asiatic countries;—go abroad by themselves;—and receive and return the visits of their friends. There is, however, a great reserve of manners; and the purity of the sex is highly prized. To balance these praises, we are told that the Tunquinese are not fond of labour; and that they set a high value on the pleasures of the table. Besides the character which they display towards one another, it is of importance to us, in a commercial point of view, to know the disposition which they manifest toward strangers. In this, too, we could hardly desire a more favourable report.—‘ Dans les relations avec les étrangers qu’admet le gouvernement, le Tunkinois se montre encore sous un aspect intéressant; il n’a point la froide insouciance, et l’orgueil insensé des Asiatiques; les Européens le trouvent communicatif, accueillant, serviable, disposé à donner les notions que desire la curiosité, s’efforçant de suppléer par des signes à la difficulté que la différence de langues met à la transmission des idées; empressé à tirer instruction des Européens, dont ils ne dissimulent pas la supériorité.’ According to this account, it is only necessary to overcome a little jealousy and distrust of foreign connexions which the government displays, to open the most liberal intercourse with the improving and improvable people of these productive realms.

3. We have now very nearly accomplished the task which we

set to ourselves on the present occasion. On the Malays, the only part of our subject which yet remains, a minute elucidation will not be required. Neither the territory which they occupy, nor the commodities which they produce, nor the qualities which they display, render them of much importance as a nation of the peninsula, with which alone our attention is at present engaged. The best information, also, which we possess of this people, is contained in our own language, — and in a book which, having reached a third edition, may be supposed to have left few of our readers unacquainted with the little that we know of the Malays.

They inhabit that part of the southern extremity of the eastern peninsula, which lies opposite to the island of Sumatra. From that island, it seems, the peninsula first received them. There is something remarkable, and as yet totally unexplained in their history. They are found possessing the coasts of a great proportion of the eastern islands. — But from what country they originally sprung, or to what causes their dispersion is to be ascribed, remains among the secrets of Oriental history.

They appear to us to be inferior in civilization to the other nations of the peninsula; and, except in the arts of navigation, to which their situation particularly called them, they are behind in every useful acquirement.

Their government seems to be one of the rudest to which that name can well be applied. Its authority is far from complete; and to a certain extent, and that not very inconsiderable, the people may be considered as living without government. The king is little more obeyed by the chiefs, and the chiefs by the people, than according to their good-will. Violent acts of immediate power are committed, both by the king and the chiefs. But there is no regular system of obedience. The reason which Mr Marsden assigns, is quite sufficient; — that the poverty of the king and the chiefs, is inadequate to the maintenance of a military force, by which the authority of either can be regularly maintained.

Agriculture is in the lowest state of the art. The plough, which is little more than a piece of wood drawn by a buffalo, is very partially used; the hoe sufficing in many places, and the burning of the standing trees in others, to prepare the soil for the seed.

The art which is celebrated as having been carried to the greatest perfection among the Malays, is that of their gold and silver filagree. It is the minuteness of the parts, and the delicacy of finger required for the manipulation, for which this manufacture is justly admired; and Mr Marsden remarks the usual

rudeness of implement, and dexterity of use, which distinguish the arts of an uncultivated people. They manufacture silk and cotton cloths for their own consumption. 'Some of their work,' says Mr Marsden, 'is very fine, and the patterns prettily fancied.' But no branch of industry appears to be pursued among them to any considerable extent.

In literature, it would appear that the Malays have rather made a greater progress than in government and the arts. Their language is celebrated for its softness and melody. Its most numerous class of writers, of course, are the poets; but Dr Leyden seems not to hold them in great account. Historical narratives, he says, abound; 'occasionally,' he doubts not, 'embellished by fiction.' He also affirms, that 'the juridical customs, or traditions of the Malays, have been collected into codes.' And the most ancient of their legal regulations, he thinks, have been derived from the Javanese. 'Malayan literature,' says Mr Marsden, 'consists chiefly of transcripts and versions of the Koran; commentaries on the Mussulman law; and historic tales, both in prose and verse, resembling in some respect our old romances. Many of these are original compositions; and others are translations of the popular tales current in Arabia, Persia, India, and the neighbouring island of Java.' The cultivation of the sciences they appear not to have begun. 'Tens of thousands are the highest class of numbers the Malay language has a name for.'

One of the most remarkable peculiarities in the description of the Malays is their religion. It is the Mussulman; derived immediately from connexion with the Arabs. It is sufficiently known, that during the thirteenth century, to which the conversion of the Malays is assigned, the Arabs were a maritime people; and conducted a trade of considerable extent with the islands and continents of the East. By what means they recommended their religion to the Malays is yet buried in obscurity. But they founded the city of Malacca about the year 1260; when it appears not that any thing deserving the name of a city was yet possessed by the Malays.

The introduction of the Mussulman religion was also the introduction of the Mussulman law, the Koran being the divine standard of both. As the Koran, however, is sufficiently vague, and still more so the laws or traditional customs of the Malays, a worse amalgamation might easily be made. The Malays, too, embraced the religion of the prophet with a kind of laxity, retaining a large proportion of their ancient feelings and ideas; and it is not the pure and most rigid Mohamèdism which they profess. Their laws, accordingly, are a mixture of their own

customs with the regulations which the Mohamedan doctors have pretended to draw from the sacred text. Of the form of their tribunals, or the modes of procedure, we have as yet received no information.

The moral character of the Malays is painted in the most unfavourable colours. 'They retain a strong share of pride, (says Mr Marsden), but not of that laudable kind which restrains men from the commission of mean and fraudulent actions. They possess much low cunning, and plausible duplicity, and know how to dissemble the strongest passions and most inveterate antipathy, till the opportunity of gratifying their resentment offers. Veracity, gratitude and integrity, are not to be found in the list of their virtues; and their minds are almost strangers to the sentiments of honour and infamy. They are jealous and vindictive. Their courage is desultory, the effect of a momentary enthusiasm, which enables them to perform deeds of incredible desperation; but they are strangers to steady magnanimity and cool resolution in battle. The Malay may be compared to the animals of his country, the buffalo and the tyger: In his domestic state, he is indolent, stubborn, and voluptuous as the former;—in his adventurous life, he is insidious, blood-thirsty, and rapacious as the latter.'

The Malays appear to inhabit coasts only. The interior of the country is mountainous, and covered with forests, in which a people roam, who as yet are altogether unknown. In point of climate, their country seems to resemble Sumatra. The temperature, though high, is equal and mild; but the prevalence of woods, and of moist exhalations, renders the situation unwholesome. The space which is occupied by the Malays is naturally fertile, and abounds with many of the finest of the vegetable productions. But it is cultivated to no advantage. The Arabians first, the Portuguese next, and lastly the Dutch, held the city of Malacca; but rather as a convenient station, than for the sake of any trade which they were able to carry on with the country.

ART. V. *Quelques Détails sur le Général Moreau et ses derniers Moments, suivis d'une courte Notice Biographique.* Par PAUL DE SUININE, chargé de l'accompagner sur le Continent. pp. 144. Londres, Longman. 1814.

THIS is indeed a meagre production upon such a subject. But, unsatisfactory as it is, the interest of that subject carries us through, and prevents us from being quite overcome by Mr Suinine's total incompetency to do it justice. Although,

however, we cannot pass this publication entirely over, yet it will not detain us long.

Who, or what Mr Suvinet may be, he has left us to guess. That he is a Russian, we indeed find in every page; that he was appointed to accompany Moreau, he tells us himself; but in what capacity, whether as a companion, an attendant, or a *superintendent*, he has omitted to mention. He was with him during the voyage from America; and exclaims, 'Je n'oublierai jamais cette heureuse époque de ma vie ! J'étais tout entier au plaisir de l'entendre disserter sur toutes sortes de sujets.' But it really appears that he has forgotten all that passed; for of 'all sorts of subjects,' he gives us none, except a few sentences of his own dull description of the General's manner of conversing.

'Sa manière de s'exprimer quoique pure et souvent élégante, n'appartenait qu'à lui; elle tenait de la franchise militaire et de la politesse de l'homme du monde. Il exposait ses pensées avec clarté, avec aisance, et il avait tant lu et tant observé qu'il répandait la plus grande variété et le plus constant intérêt dans la conversation. Les seuls objets sur lesquels il était difficile de le faire parler, étaient les faits qui constituaient sa gloire militaire, et les persécutions qu'il avait essuées de la part de ses ennemis. Il ne pouvait pardonner à Napoléon les maux que celui-ci faisait éprouver à la France, mais il lui pardonnait tous ceux dont il l'avait affligé. Son âme angélique ne connaissait pas la haine, et son cœur repoussait toute idée de vengeance particulière. Les seuls traits que j'ai pu recueillir de lui relativement à son emprisonnement et à son exil, se rapportent aux refus et à la fierté qu'il opposa sans cesse aux insinuations des agents de Napoléon, qui cherchaient à lui faire faire quelques démarches envers ce dernier pour opérer un rapprochement.' p. 21-23.

Then come one or two of the traits with which the volume abounds, that lead us to doubt the correctness of the narrative. It is all written to be read at court,—and is crammed with fulsome compliments to the Allies, especially Russia—compliments not only excusable, but laudable in the mouth of the author himself—but wholly intolerable when put by him into Moreau's. For example, we more than doubt every one of the three following anecdotes, which occur within the space of two pages. 'When Buonaparte found that he durst not sacrifice Moreau, says our author, he sent F (which we presume means Fouché, though surely a more foolish piece of coyness cannot be imagined than this blank) to offer him terms of liberty and reconciliation; but these were drily rejected by the General; who said he preferred his own lot to that of his persecutor.' Now, as far as our observation of human affairs goes, such epigrams belong only to heroes of the stage, or of German novels, and never

come from great men of real life. At all events, if the story have any foundation, we are confident it is built of Mr Suinine's own materials; and that, if Moreau said any thing of the kind, it was only—'Tell him I would not change places with him,' or some such phrase; and nothing about '*mort sort,*' and '*mon persecuteur.*' The next fact is, that when he arrived at the Spanish frontiers, the officer who had accompanied him, (and apparently travelled those 400 miles in silence), 'said mysteriously to him, that if he wished to write to the Emperor, he might do so, and await, on the frontier, the answer, which must be speedy and favourable;' and this, be it observed, after Moreau had said, while in prison, that he would not change lots with Buonaparte. The General answered, 'that he would not write to *what the officer called his Emperor,*' nor have any communication whatever with him.' Perhaps Mr Suinine has forgotten that his own sovereign has very lately set his hand to a declaration, in which Buonaparte is called 'His Majesty the Emperor of the French;' not to mention the scene of the raft at Tilsit. He has also, it should seem, forgotten the letter written by Moreau to Buonaparte, the price of his liberation. The next anecdote is no doubt genuine. 'Il aimait aussi à s'entretenir du génie et des talens militaires de notre immortel Souvaroff, qu'il jugeait cependant avec une impartiale sévérité.' It is very odd that he should never have conversed on the greater talents of a military genius whom he knew much more of—the Archduke Charles.

It must be admitted, that the flattery of this author towards all princes *de facto*, provided they are on the side of Russia, is pretty indiscriminate. He never stops to consider the origin of their dignities—else why should Buonaparte be alluded to as '*what you call your Emperor,*' while the Crown Prince of Sweden is treated as a Sovereign, and cited as '*S. A. R.*?' Their titles to sovereignty, however, are the very same; for who can be so foolish as to fancy, that the voice of the people, had more to do in the Swedish than in the French Revolution?—This inconsistency signifies very little in Mr Paul Suinine; and we should not have noticed it, but for the prevalence of the same folly among persons of greater importance; certainly not among the Allied Sovereigns, whose conduct in this, as in most other respects, has hitherto been marked with sound sense and consistency.

The General landed at Cottenburgh; and then begins the flattery of Bernadotte, but in so clumsy a way, as to be often incompatible with the admiration of Moreau. Marshal d'Essen, an old Swedish officer, bursts forth in expressions of joy at seeing

Moreau. His emotions, however, are truly courtly; they are the reflexion of the Prince's; or rather he only feels happy at the event, because he knows how it will delight his master. One should think, a little genuine admiration might have been expressed for the illustrious stranger on this occasion—but we only find a string of praises, not very lofty, put into Bernadotte's mouth.—How delighted our Crown Prince will be, who never ceases to speak of his friend General Moreau! How often has he told us that Moreau was born a General, that he had the conception, the coup-d'œil, the decision of a great captain! So that an inferior commander becomes all of a sudden Moreau's superior, and entitled to assume the most intolerable tone of preeminence, that of praising, as soon as he is made a Prince. This blundering man (whether the Marshal or the writer we know not) cannot find any thing to say of Moreau's genius, better than that Bernadotte has a high opinion of him. The same unfortunate disposition leads to the telling of an anecdote, which, if true, is not creditable to Bernadotte's discretion,—that above a year before, he had freely talked of Moreau's coming to Sweden. If he really did so, it was many chances to one, that the plan was frustrated.

After telling how little baggage the General travelled with, and how he packed it, distributing it equally among his bags or boxes, so that each might contain a little of every thing, and the chances of having some supply of every article be increased; the author hastily mentions the anxiety of all ranks to see and entertain, and show every civility to the traveller on his route to Ystad, where he took shipping for Stralsund, where the Crown Prince and he met. The interview of these distinguished warriors under circumstances so extraordinary, is certainly a striking event; and even Mr Suinine cannot tell it feebly—though he gives us far less of it, than might be wished. Bernadotte's first question to every one after this was, 'Have you seen Moreau?' Mr Suinine adds a fact, considerably more in the spirit of candour, than could have been expected—that during the three days these great men were together, they arranged the whole plan of the subsequent campaign.

The journey towards head-quarters, is rendered very interesting, by the enthusiasm for Moreau, shown in the people of all ranks. Every one expressed his feelings in his own way; the innkeepers refused his money, and the postmasters furnished him with their best horses. No sooner did he stop in any place, than he was surrounded with crowds eager to see and applaud him. With his accustomed modesty, he ascribed all these marks of esteem, not to himself, but to the detestation of Buonaparte. A great deal of conversation is said to have passed be-

tween the travellers, but scarcely any part of it is preserved. That which is, rather surprizes us. It seems, one of Moreau's two favourite heroes was Charles XII.; a choice not easily to be anticipated, or explained. The other was Frederick II. The injudicious narrator, takes this occasion of recording a violent invective against Buonaparte, pronounced by Moreau, as a contrast with the two heroes just mentioned. We say record; but it is very difficult to believe that the following matter came really from that great man. He is speaking of Frederick II. 'Celui-là,' disait-il, 'ne jamais abandonné son armée au milieu des combats. Ses victoires étaient le fruit des plus hautes combinaisons, secondées du coup-d'œil le plus juste, de plus rare sang-froid, et d'un courage tel qu'il convenait aux Souverains d'en montrer. La tactique fumbonde de Buonaparte a entièrement bouleversé l'art de la guerre; les batailles ne sont plus que des boucheries; ce n'est pas comme autrefois en éparpillant le sang des soldats qu'on détermine le succès d'une campagne, mais bien en le faisant couler à grands flots. Napoléon n'a gagné ses victoires qu'à coups d'hommes.'—(p. 36. 37.) Surely he could not have chosen so unfortunate a topic as the first which is here introduced, when he must have known that Frederick actually run away from the first battle he was ever in; nor the last, when he makes Charles XII. one of his chosen heroes. It is impossible to detest Buonaparte more than we do, as a tyrant and a man utterly regardless of the blood he sheds;—but in this respect, he resembles other heroes; and certainly Charles XII. was not sparing of his people.

At Berlin the same joy is shown as every where else; and, after a few hours' stay, the General proceeds on his journey. He meets many deserters from the French army,—but only one who had served under him; and the author makes him say, that the greater part of the veterans who had served under Moreau in the campaigns on the Rhine, had perished in the retreat from Russia, and the rest diminished in numbers daily, from the necessity of exposing them to support the raw troops. Is it then intended that we should believe that the veterans of 1795, or even 1800, (the last campaign of Moreau), were left in any considerable numbers as late as 1812, nay, some as late as the present campaign? Who then fought all the battles in Spain, and the campaigns of 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1809, in Germany and Poland? The mere lapse of time would have accounted for most of them; but when the events too are considered, we can surely only ascribe it to the author's determination to destroy them in Russia, that any of them should be imagined to have survived in a state fit for service. The same deserter being asked why he deserted, made answer, that there

was no longer any pleasure in serving with the French armies; because they were full of children who would not fight except when their ears were deafened with artillery.

Moreau meets on the road a detachment of Russian artillery, which he admires exceedingly; and of this we can have no doubt;—but we greatly doubt if he expressed his admiration in such terms as he is here made to do. ‘It is thus that the thunder of war should be borne; the appearance of your artillery explains to me its superiority in the last campaigns:’ An observation, by the way, somewhat unlucky, and leading one to suspect that it is not Moreau’s;—for though Mr Suinine is too good a Russian to know that the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen were gained by the French, and chiefly by artillery, we guess General Moreau could not have been ignorant of the fact. Flattery is not quite so easy a trade as is sometimes supposed; they who practise it ought, according to the tenor of an ancient adage, to have good memories.

At length the General arrives at Prague, then the head quarters of the Allies; and his reception by their Majesties is kind and friendly in the highest degree. The Emperor Alexander appears to have demeaned himself with the plain and simple frankness which so eminently distinguishes him: he came to his lodgings between eight and nine in the morning, before Moreau could get out to call upon his Majesty, and remained two hours in conversation with him. The effects of Imperial condescension are certainly very considerable, and often work strange emotions in the greatest minds. It would argue, therefore, too much presumption, wholly to disbelieve that even Moreau should have been so much affected as our author describes him. But we venture to doubt his having given vent to his feelings in the terms lent him by this loyal Russian. ‘He came to me,’ says Mr Suinine, ‘with tears in his eyes, and with a faltering voice exclaimed, Ah! mon cher S.... quel homme que l’Empereur! dès ce moment j’ai contracté l’obligation de sacrifier ma vie pour lui. Il n’est personne qui ne se fasse tuer pour le servir. Que tous les rapports flatteurs que j’avais entendus sur son compte, que toutes les idées avantageuses que je m’étais faites de lui, sont au-dessous de cet ange de bonté!’

From the Emperor we are taken to their Imperial Highnesses the Grand Duchesses of Weimar and Oldenburgh, whose talents, information and manners enchanted the General. He then saw the generals and ministers. The day after he was presented to the Emperor of Austria, who very politely returned him thanks for the moderation and gentleness which he had on all occasions shown in his campaigns on the

* Rhine, adding, that his personal character had greatly contributed to diminish the evils of war.' Afterwards the Emperor of Russia brought the King of Prussia and *presented him to Moreau*, in these words. 'General Moreau, S. M. le Roi de Prusse.' All this kindness we consider as the height of wisdom and goodness on the part of such personages; for undoubtedly it is much more rare to find Sovereigns laying aside their rank and dignity, and treating a truly great man as their superior, than to see them taking strong cities, and performing the other feats of what is usually called greatness. This conduct does not seem to have been thrown away upon Moreau; but M. Suininé must always give us his words. Thus, he says, that hearing one of the Generals call the Emperor Alexander 'the best of Princes,' he replied eagerly, 'Comment, Monsieur? Dites le Meilleur des Hommes!' He also said, that in speaking of military matters, the Emperor's 'observations were so just, and his commentaries so profound,' that 'he could fancy himself conversing with the most experienced General.' And, after more praises, he added, that 'the only fault which his Majesty had to diminish all these 'perfections, was an excess of modesty.' 'Il professait aussi la 'plus haute admiration pour la grande Duchesse d'Oldenbourg. 'C'est, disait-il, la Grande Catherine elle-meme,' &c. One feels somewhat anxious under this compliment, touching the state of health of his Serene Highness the grand Duke of Oldenburgh. The two grand Dutchesses express the utmost curiosity to learn from our author, 'jusques dans ses moindres details sa maniere 'de vivre au nouveau monde.'

From Prague the General proceeded with the Emperor to Dresden, where the fatal event happened, which even those who are compelled to lament his joining the enemies of his country, cannot fail to deplore. The eternal flattery of the author even follows him here. He makes Moreau's first words, on being wounded, to be, 'Je suis perdu, mais il est si doux de mourir 'pour une si belle cause, et sous les yeux d'un aussi grand Prince.' However, he describes very well the affliction produced all over the armies by this catastrophe; the tears moistening cheeks furrowed with scars, and the sinking of the most courageous minds under so severe a shock. It is quite superfluous to add, that nothing could exceed the calmness with which the General bore the amputation of both legs, and the operation, if possible, yet more dreadful, of being carried for many leagues of the most frightful mountain roads, in the worst weather, and with a retreating army. Indeed the slender hopes entertained of his recovery, rested wholly on his immovable constancy of mind, and the excellent habit of body, derived in all probability from

nature, but maintained or improved by that habitual temperance which virtuous and contemplative men delight in; as soon as the first heats of youth have boiled over.

Even on this dreadful journey, M. Suinine will not leave the dying warrior alone; he must make him say, when he heard the news of Ostermann's victory, 'qu'on devait attendre les plus grandes choses des meilleures troupes du monde.' But this is not the only plague which he was destined to endure; a very singular trait follows. He had, contrary to the advice of his attendants, insisted on writing the letter to Madame Moreau, so much celebrated; and being exhausted by the effort; they all kept away from him that he might not be induced to talk in a crisis so infinitely hazardous. 'We were desirous,' says M. Suinine, very naturally, 'of excluding every person from his chamber; nevertheless we could not refuse his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who remained about a quarter of an hour with him.' We really believe this intrusion of princely importunity is unexampled; and can by no means bring ourselves to believe, that the circumstance has been accurately reported by this Russian blunderer. We have seen how those truly magnanimous Princes, the Allied Chiefs, treated the great man,—assuming no superiority from their exalted rank, but rather paying their court to Moreau; and then, we are told, comes a person, utterly without importance, only known as a man of high rank;—and presuming on this rank, (of which let us hope he means one day to be the ornament), thrusts himself into the General's sick-chamber, at a moment when his attendants deem his life to depend on perfect quiet! It is impossible to speak temperately on such an exhibition;—as Englishmen, it is impossible not to feel the difference in the demeanour of the princes. But what passed, according to this suspicious narrative? truly a strange colloquy. The Duke, who now *for the first time* saw him, said 'he was very happy to make his acquaintance; but that his happiness would have been still greater if he had made it on the field of battle!' Then why did he not? What prevented His Royal Highness? The Emperor of Russia was close to Moreau when he was shot.—The other sovereigns of all ranks had been on the same field of carnage.—Not one of them had deemed it beneath his dignity to share in the uttermost dangers of the campaign.—Where was the English prince the while? Did he not deign to show himself on this scene of blood and of honour? Possibly he was otherwise engaged—employed in some mission of importance; for he certainly had no military functions. But we had ambassadors too, of all ranks, in those great fights—the glories of which seemed so tempting, that

no one could resist joining in the fray, or content him with a distant view? Had we not the gallant Stewart wounded in that very field? Was not Lord Cathcart constantly present, and in the midst of the fire? Was Sir Robert Wilson ever to seek where the work of death was doing? But if either his occupations or his exalted station prevented him from being on the field of battle with the vulgar herd, why regret not having there met Moreau? Above all, why start up, all of a sudden, never having before been heard of, and force his way into the great man's sick-chamber 'to make his acquaintance,' and talk to him of fields of battle? The whole story, we repeat, is incredible; though the sequel is imagined with a sufficient air of probability. The General, apparently not aware of the extreme dignity of the personage from whom he was fated to receive this visit, said, 'that it was very probable they might meet in the field 'in six weeks.' The narrator exclaims that he was the only person who had any such idea, because others then gave him over; but he does not appear to doubt the fulfilment of the prediction had he lived, nor to question the readiness of the Duke to stoop to the low amusement of lounging or poking about among bullets and bayonets. This extreme reserve, and withdrawing loftiness, of his Royal Highness, which appear never for a moment to have bent to the plebeian occupations of war, that engrossed the whole time of the Allied Sovereigns—has been singularly enough rewarded by an appointment, of a military—and not of a spiritual nature, as had naturally been expected;—more especially when his Royal Highness, in a contemplative mood, seized on the Bishoprick of Hildesheim. The Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, one of the bravest of men, has been pleased to send to the Duke a Field Marshall's baton; being the one granted immediately after Lord Wellington's.—But to return.

As the life of Moreau draws nearer a close, M. Suinaine hastens to crowd his narrative with stronger and stronger specimens of flattery towards his court. Not content with making the General express, '*avec une chaleur étonnante,*'—his delight at Vandamme's capture in these words, '*Il est bien temps que ce monstre soit mis hors d'état de faire du mal!*' he adds, that an act of rigour on the part of the Grand Duke Constantine gave him '*le plus grand plaisir.*' The Emperor Alexander, it seems, had, by an 'excess of kindness,' allowed Vandamme to retain his sword; but this was speedily redressed by the Grand Duke, who answered the complaints of the prisoner at being publicly exposed to the insults of the populace, by observing, that the worst treatment would be generosity to—

wards such a wretch. This anecdote of his Imperial Highness, it seems, gave Moreau, then on his deathbed, the utmost satisfaction. The moment of his decease now drew on apace; he had been seized with the hiccup, and vomiting.—During the night, he was restless, though without much pain.—He constantly kept striking his watch, and calling his aid-de-camp Rapatel, or this author, to write under his dictation ‘a letter to the Emperor.’ At length the morning of this awful night dawned;—he felt that he had not many moments to live; when, about seven o’clock, ‘observing (says M. Suininge), that I was alone with him, he made me take the pen, and dictated the following lines.’—Now, it is singular, that just at this critical moment, the faithful Rapatel, and all others except the author, were removed.—But it must be confessed that he makes the best use of the opportunity; for he writes—‘to the dictation of Moreau,’ the following half-sentence. ‘Sire,—Je descends au tombeau avec les memes sentiments d’admiration, de respect et de devouement, que V. M. m’avait inspiré dès le premier moment de notre entrevue.’ . . .—‘He paused, (continues this man), and shut his eyes. I thought he was meditating on what was to follow, and kept my pen ready to follow—but he was no more.’—We only marvel that the Grand Duke Constantine was not hooked in by the same means into the compliment;—we verily believe that so gross an outrage to a great man’s memory never was committed, as this flatterer here offers to General Moreau.—Does the reader desire to see how he reflects on his handywork?—‘Ainsi finit ce heros, en consacrant sa dernière action et sa dernière pensée au Souverain qu’il regardait avec raison comme le principal réparateur des maux de l’Europe, comme celui à qui la France devrait un jour la chute de son tyran et le rétablissement de son bonheur sur les bases justes et solides de la légitimité. Ce fut l’observation que je fis à mon Souverain quand je lui annonçai cette triste nouvelle.’

Next follows the letter of the Emperor to Madame Moreau, which has been so generally read, and deservedly so much admired, for the simple and touching expression of his feelings conveyed in it. Our author, as usual, does his utmost to destroy its effect by extravagant praises; calling it—‘the noblest language ever employed by greatness, and the softest consolations ever used by pity;—affirming, that all we shall ever see written on Moreau, will never do his memory so much honour, as these ‘immortal lines;’—and that they have ‘restored the afflicted widow to existence, and recalled her from the gates of death, and prevented her from sinking under the

* most poignant grief, of which the human heart is susceptible.* Among the General's papers, were found part of an intended proclamation to the French; from which, and from other circumstances, M. Suinine positively contradicts the one published in the newspapers under his name, and known to be a mere fabrication.* He also mentions a journal of the operations of the campaign, which the General had begun;—But the author adds, what we shall believe when we see it so written under General Moreau's hand, that he was keeping it to send to the Dutchess of Oldenburgh. In short, every thing in this narrative is daubed over with a flattery, so nauseous, because mixed up with, and attached to most interesting facts, that we have rarely seen a performance relating to the life of a great man, more calculated to offend all readers of right feelings.

The work closes with a biographical notice of Moreau, which is below criticism, and apparently introduced only to swell the volume. The only part which has any interest, is the account of the conspiracy which led to Moreau's exile; and if this is at all correct, it distinctly admits the General to have been engaged in Pichegru's plot, and in the scheme of Georges. The author attempts, indeed, but very feebly and unsatisfactorily, to show that Moreau did not come into these designs, until after Pichegru's arrival at Paris: but he describes him as a coadjutor, and ready to come forward as soon as Georges should have succeeded in the first step of the conspiracy, which was to attack 'Buona-
'parte on his way to St Cloud, and carry him off by main
'force.' We are quite confident that this is incorrect;—such a project bears far too near a resemblance to an assassination, (in which most probably it would have ended), to make it credible, that so good a man as Moreau would engage in it. Of this consideration, however, our author, accustomed to the details of Russian history, is perhaps wholly unaware:—He adds, that the General's plan was by degrees to prepare the way for restoring the Bourbons—and how?—By first restoring the power of the Republican party!—This is really too tiresome to dwell upon.—

Before concluding the present article, we must remark, that, high as the veneration may be in which all good men hold the memory of its illustrious subject, there can be only one opinion among those who allow themselves to reason upon the last and fatal act of his life. He ought not to have borne arms against

* The story of his taking the rank of Major-General in the Russian service, was absurdly fabricated by the same inventors. Mr Suinine states positively, that he refused every offer of this sort which was made to him.

his country. This is an inflexible rule; and he who can admit exceptions to it, must be prepared likewise to defend assassination. But it was against Buonaparte, and to free the French from his yoke, that Moreau joined the enemy. How could he answer for the intentions of the Allies? In truth, short as the time is which has elapsed since his death, we have seen proof that no such scheme is entertained by them. They have in the moment of victory recognized the Tyrant of France, and offered him a larger empire over Frenchmen than the Bourbon kings enjoyed. For whom and for what was Moreau then fighting? For Russians and Germans seeking the liberation of their own countries, and justly seeking it—but their liberation from a French yoke;—and this was not an object of enmity to any Frenchman. They never have pretended to desire any French object,—to have any purpose in view which a Frenchman could justly abet them in attaining. We cannot understand what new light some people have suddenly received on the score of universal philanthropy. Those who were wont to rail at all such chimeras, now praise Moreau for fighting the battles of Europe against France. What would they say of an Englishman, who, from some personal or party quarrel with the ruling powers, should be found in arms for the liberty of the seas? They would (and we think very properly) speak to him through the medium of certain jurors for our Lord the King.

Far be it from us to deny the doctrine of resistance, or to dispute the existence of a crisis in France which gives every friend of liberty a right to raise his arm against the Government. The propriety of calling in foreign assistance in such circumstances, opens a much nicer question; but it does not arise in the present case—for all must agree, that such aid is only to be subsidiary, and to back the efforts of the people against their oppressors. The Allies, when Moreau joined them, were engaged in liberating Germany,—and no movements in France were within their contemplation. Moreau, then, cooperated with them in mowing down the ranks of his own countrymen, because Buonaparte commanded them. Which of the patriots of the seventeenth century ever thought himself justified by Cromwell's breach of all faith with them, in joining the Dutch or Spanish forces against that usurper? Indeed the matter will not bear inquiry; and the discussion might have been spared altogether, if the injudicious praises of those, who never before his quarrel with Buonaparte saw any merit in him, did not impose upon us the necessity of exposing doctrines—shall we call them?—which strike at the root of all the principles of patriotism.

It is with the most unfeigned reluctance and sorrow that we feel ourselves thus compelled to censure the last public acts of

such a man as Moreau,—not only because he has already expiated his errors by a death of glory, but because his private character appears to us to have been more pure and gentle, and his public principles on the whole more sound and disinterested, than those of any other individual whom the eventful days of the French revolution have brought into notoriety. But the principle we have just stated is too clear and too important—especially in such a crisis as now impends over the world—to let us permit any shadow of doubt to be thrown upon it, from respect or from pity for the fate even of such a man. It is singular, indeed, that but a few months have elapsed since we would have quoted Moreau himself as the greatest practical authority for the principles for which we are now contending; since we have occasion to *know*, that, up to the period of his last embarkation for Europe, it was the decided opinion of that great man, that no circumstances could justify an individual in taking up arms against his country, but the cooperation of a great part of its natives; and that it was his professed determination, up to the hour of his departure from America, never to fight against Bonaparte but at the head of a *French army*,—which he firmly believed that the authority of his name would very soon enable him to collect, partly from the emigrants and prisoners that would be disposed to join him, but chiefly in consequence of the large defections which he reckoned upon from the forces of the tyrant.

By what circumstance he was afterwards led to abandon this noble and worthy resolution—or rather, as is more probable, to conceive that it might be substantially reconciled with the part which he actually adopted, we have no means of learning; and should look in vain to such a writer as M. Suinine for information. It is probable that he may have thought his own active example necessary to decide the conduct of those whom he still expected to flock to his standard; and that it became him to hazard even his consistency and reputation, in making an experiment, on the issue of which so much depended. Of such a man we are willing not only to judge favourably, but to presume highly; and had he lived to command in a *victorious field*, we make little doubt that he would have been joined by multitudes of those very men who are now fighting under the banners of Bonaparte; and, finally marching at the head of his countrymen to the liberation of his country, might have set at defiance the imputations to which the early part of his career had subjected him. Unfortunately for him—and for the world—that part was all that he was permitted to perform; and a death, which postponed the deliverance of Europe, has necessarily left a shade on his fame.

ART. VI. *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803.* By JOSEPH FORSYTH, Esq. 8vo. pp. 393. London, Cadell and Davies. 1813.

IT is very refreshing to meet with a work like the one now before us, exhibiting the impressions made by an interesting journey, though over a beaten path, on a mind of no ordinary strength and originality, without the prolixity so fatiguing in most modern writers, and with no appearance whatever of book-making. The unfortunate termination of the author's travels in France, where he was detained, and from whence he dates his work in the tenth year of his captivity, adds a claim to the forbearance of critics, more especially in those points where the want of acquaintance with recent productions might otherwise have been noticed. He appears to have been kept in ignorance of the works published in this country during the greater part of his detention.

Mr Forsyth is evidently a man of observation and reflection: He brings to his task, a very respectable knowledge of the subjects which ought to occupy an Italian traveller; and he is for the most part both liberal and original in his remarks. He expresses himself shortly and with force, though he does not always steer clear of affectation, and not unfrequently takes dogmatical and even extravagant views of things. He writes, too, rather for those who have examined the subject, or are engaged in surveying it, than for the uninformed; and this often gives his statements and observations an air of obscurity, which the initiated will be content to take for the sake of their shortness and substantial qualities. His book is, indeed, in all respects a contrast to Mr Eustace's valuable work; for it is full of vigour—always displays an active reasoning mind free from prejudice—more prone at all times to argue than to feel, and occupied with the matter rather than the language—or only careful about the latter, with the view of condensing it, and giving it the vigour of epigram and point. Frequently he is very happy in description.

After the length to which our account of Mr Eustace's book extended, we shall not follow Mr Forsyth minutely over the same ground, but, regarding this article rather as a supplement to the former, shall notice generally some of his most remarkable passages. Perhaps the reader may now take a livelier interest in guides to Italy, than could reasonably be felt on the former occasion. We then had about as much connexion with that

fair country, as if it lay in another planet, and not much greater chance of seeing it. Now there is scarcely a doubt, that the communication with its treasures of art and nature will speedily be thrown open, and that the pleasures of wandering over classic ground, so long cut off, or enjoyed by stealth, will be restored to all the rest of the world.

Mr Forsyth begins his excursion at Nice, about Christmas 1801, where 'a soft and balmy air, oranges glowing in every garden, lodgings without a chimney, and beds with musquitocurtains, presented the first signs of Italy.' His observations here and at Pisa, are few and meagre; for he had arrived at the latter place before he thought of committing any notes to paper. We thus early in his book, however, meet with traces of the vigorous tone which it every where sustains. Speaking of a dead Christ in alto relievo by Michael Angelo, he says, 'The life and death which he has thrown into this little thing, the breathing tenderness of the Virgin, and the heavenly composure of the corpse, appeared beauties foreign to the tremendous genius of the artist.' And upon visiting the '*Hospital of Incurables*,' where priests and choristers were 'chanting between two rows of wretches, whom their pious noise would not suffer to die in peace,' he adds, that 'the very name of such hospitals, by forbidding the patient to hope and the physician to struggle, cuts off, at once, two sources of recovery.' p. 6.

The author's remarks on Tuscany, lead him naturally to speak of the most celebrated literati who flourished in Italy about the time of his journey. The following sketch of Fontana, brother of the Abbate, is sufficiently characteristic.

'This museum is under the direction of Felice Fontana, now a Cavaliere, yet more generally known than his brother by the title of Abbé; merely because he had once worn the clerical habit, from motives of economy. Fontana seems to preside here in the scientific world; not by superior knowledge, for his is rather diffuse than deep; by bringing into science the man-of-the-world faculty, by a well-managed talent of display and evasion, which gains him credit for double what he knows, by the art of improving the inventions of others, and passing their joint work under his own name. In his hands every man's ability is available, and nothing is lost.

'Fontana is above that consequential reserve which many affect on subjects where they are known to excel. He readily detailed to me the history of imitative anatomy, "an art invented by Zumbo, and revived," said Fontana, "by me. I began with a very young artist, whom I instructed to copy the human eye in wax. This I showed to Leopold, who, pleased with the attempt, and desirous that his sons should learn anatomy without attending dissections, ordered me to complete the whole system."

"I stood alone in a new art, without guide or assistants. Anatomists could not model, and modellers were ignorant of interior anatomy. Thus obliged to form workmen for myself, I selected some mechanical drudges, who should execute my orders without intruding into my design. Superior artists are too full of their own plans to follow patiently another's; too fond of embellishing nature, to toil in the slavish imitation which I required. Such difficulties I surmounted; but before I finished the system, the funds had failed."

"This active Prometheus is creating a decomposable statue, which will consist of ten thousand separable pieces, and three millions of distinct parts, both visible and tangible. I saw only the head and the upper region of the trunk; but this machine appeared to me as sensible to the weather as its fleshly original is. The wood is so warped by the heat, that the larger contours are already perceptibly altered, and the pieces are connected by pegs which become unfit on every change of atmosphere. When I suggested this to the Cavaliere—"The objection is nothing. Ivory is too dear: papier mâché has been tried, but it failed." p. 39, 40.

"Our author is equally expressive in painting the dead; the following sentence is horribly picturesque, and is somewhat liable to the objection which it states against the gloomy modeller.

"Wax was first used in imitating anatomy by Zumbo, a Sicilian of a melancholy, mysterious cast, some of whose works are preserved here. Three of these bear the gloomy character of the artist, who has exhibited the horrible details of the plague and the charnel-house, including the decomposition of bodies through every stage of putrefaction—the blackening, the swelling, the bursting of the trunk—the worm, the rat and the tarantula at work—and the mushroom springing fresh in the midst of corruption." p. 38.

"The subject of *Improvvisatori* is well handled; and its due share allotted to the facilities of the language, and the various tricks of the art, in accounting for the wonders displayed by its professors. We suspect, however, that much more light would be thrown upon this matter, by a very simple experiment, than has yet been struck out by those who have treated of it. We shall first give the account of *La Fantastici*, and then mention our experiment.

"This lady convenes at her house a crowd of admirers, whenever she chooses to be inspired. The first time I attended her *accademia*, a young lady of the same family and name as the great Michael Angelo, began the evening by repeating some verses of her own composition. Presently *La Fantastici* broke out into song in the words of the motto, and astonished me by her rapidity and command of numbers, which flowed in praise of the fair poetess, and brought her poem to our applause. Her numbers, however, flowed irregularly, still varying with the fluctuation of sentiment; while her song

corresponded, changing from aria to recitativo, from recitativo to a measured recitation.

'She went round her circle, and called on each person for a theme. Seeing her busy with her fan, I proposed the Fan as a subject; and this little weapon she painted as she promised, 'col pennel divino di fantasia felice.' In tracing its origin she followed Pignotti, and in describing its use she acted and analyzed to us all the coquetry of the thing. She allowed herself no pause, as, the moment she cooled, her *estro* would escape.

'So extensive is her reading, that she can challenge any theme. One morning, after other classical subjects had been sung, a Venetian count gave her the boundless field of Apollonius Rhodius, in which she displayed a minute acquaintance with all the argonautic fable. Tired at last of demi-gods, I proposed the sofa for a task, and sketched to her the introduction of Cowper's poem. She set out with his idea, but, being once entangled in the net of mythology, she soon transformed his sofa into a Cytherean couch, and brought Venus, Cupid and Mars on the scene; for such embroidery enters into the web of every *improvvisatore*. I found this morning-academia flatter than the first.' (p. 54. 55.)

Now, we hope it will not be deemed ungallant to this fair performer and her art, if we suggest the propriety of having a short-hand writer stationed in some convenient nook, with the implements of *his* art; we should thus have the real merits of the verse before our eyes, stript of its various accompaniments; not merely of music, vocal and instrumental, beauty, hospitality, society, voice and gesture, for these are accidental; and an old Tuscan peasant, and a deformed Roman staymaker, have recently been the first *improvvisatori* of their day;—but we speak of the circumstance always accompanying this feat, and disqualifying the audience from rightly judging,—the suddenness of the exhibition,—the rapidity which hurries us on from verse to verse and thought to thought, without leaving time to weigh the real merits of the composition; so that, after hearing a long declamation, we are left unable to tell whether we admire any thing more than a knack of pouring forth indifferent rhymes without stint. The measure and rhyme, indeed, aid the deception; and its conditions being complied with, we are very apt to forget how many of the requisites of poetry are left unprovided for. The *improvvisatore* would certainly, if desired to deliver a piece of sensible, elegant and fanciful prose, feel himself much at a loss.

Among other notices of the dramatic writers in Tuscany, we find many remarks on Alfieri, the praises in which, all candid men will admit to be somewhat exaggerated, and Englishmen will find it hard to endure. On his conduct, Mr Forsyth is

somewhat severe; and we meet here with a curious sally of Jacobitism, which, for the rarity of the thing in these times, may be noticed. Alfieri dedicated his *Agis* to Charles Ist's memory, in a fit of hatred to kings. 'Was it manly, (says the author) was it humane to call up the shade of an accomplished Prince, a Prince fully as unfortunate as he was criminal, on purpose to insult him with a mock dedication?' But the next charge is rather more singular; for it seems to insinuate that the Jacobites owe to Alfieri their want of a head; and that our gracious Sovereign holds an undisputed throne by force of the same deficiencies. 'Of all Italians, (says he), this least became Alfieri, the reputed husband of that very woman whose sterility has extinguished the race of Charles.' For our parts we profess to feel no regret at the fate of the individuals, or the extinction of the family. The death of Charles I., and the glorious struggles that led to it, are among the very foundation stones of English liberty; and if feelings of regret mix themselves at all with the contemplation of those times, it is, that the fate of the Royal Martyr did not befall the profligate and perfidious son, rather than the misguided and unhappy father. An Englishman in these times must have lived abroad, until he has forgotten the blessings of a limited and constitutional monarchy, before he could whine in favour of the Stuarts; and we verily believe that a long duration of wicked and unfortunate policy in their Royal successors, would scarcely revive the interest in their behalf, which the freedom of a century has now extinguished.

The same interesting picture is given by Mr Forsyth of the superior industry and worth of the Tuscans, in which all other writers agree. Of their agriculture he mentions a few rather singular circumstances. No leases are granted; but the farmers cultivate as much in the security of not being turned out, as they do in this country under similar circumstances. Many now occupy the same ground that their remote ancestors tilled in the times of the Florentine republic. An ancient species of contract prevails here, as it once did in other countries immediately after villenage was abolished,—half the stocking belongs to landlord, and half to tenant; and this extends down to poultry and pigeons. The plough is conceived less favourable to productiveness than the spade; and hence the tenant is generally bound to dig, or rather shovel one-third of his farm with a triangular spade. The corn fields are intersected with rows of vine and olive trees, so close, that a plough can with difficulty work between them. One-half of this fine country is mountainous, producing nothing but timber; one-sixth part consists of hills covered with the o-

live and vine; and the remaining third is plain. The property is distributed in the hands of about 40,000 families and bodies corporate. 'This number,' says Mr Forsyth, 'was greatly increased by Leopold, who, in selling the crown lands, studiously divided large tracts of rich but neglected soil into a thousand little properties, and thus made them tenfold more productive. His favourite plan of encouraging agriculture, consisted not in boards, societies, or premiums, but in giving the labourer a security and interest in the soil, in multiplying small freeholds, in extending the *livelli*, or life-leases, wherever he could, and in maintaining sacredly that equal division of stock and crop between the landlord and the tenant, which engages both equally in improving the farm. The younger Pliny, who practised this last plan, sets it in its true light. "Non nummo sed partibus locum, ac deinde ex meis aliquos operis exactores fructibus ponam. Est alioquin nullum justius genus redditus quam quod terra, cælum, annus refert; at hoc magnam fidem, acres oculos, numerosas manus poscit." p. 85.

The delightful regions of Camaldoli and Vallombrosa, the very names of which are pleasurable from their liquid softness, are described with considerable animation; but we have formerly dwelt on this spot with sufficient minuteness. We shall therefore turn to some of Mr Forsyth's observations upon Rome, and her prodigies of ancient and modern fame. We cannot introduce these better than with his just and manly invectives against the Roman character, poured forth with a praiseworthy contempt of the slavish and fashionable pedantry which would make us admire such a people for their crimes, because their poets were tuneful, and their orators consummate masters of the passions. He is speaking of the Colosseum, and the horrors of which it was formerly the scene.

'Every nation has undergone its revolution of vices; and, as cruelty is not the present vice of ours, we can all humanely excrete the purpose of amphitheatres, now that they lie in ruins. Moralists may tell us, that the truly brave are never cruel; but this monument says "No." Here sat the conquerors of the world, coolly to enjoy the tortures and death of men who had never offended them. Two aqueducts were scarcely sufficient to wash off the human blood which a few hours' sport shed in this imperial shambles. Twice in one day came the senators and matrons of Rome to the butchery: a virgin always gave the signal for slaughter; and when glutted with bloodshed, those ladies sat down in the wet and steaming *arena* to a luxurious supper.

'Such reflections check our regret for its ruin. As it now stands, the Colosseum is a striking image of Rome itself:—decayed—vacant—serious—yet grand;—half grey and half green—erect on one side and fallen on the other, with consecrated ground in its bosom—

inhabited by a beadsman—visited by every cast; for moralists, antiquaries, painters, architects, devotees, all meet here to meditate, to examine, to draw, to measure, and to pray. “In contemplating antiquities,” says Livy, “the mind itself becomes antique.” It contracts from such objects a venerable rust, which I prefer to the polish and the point of those wits who have lately profaned this august ruin with ridicule.” p. 159, 160.

This is well thought, and well said. The following passages may show the power with which this sturdy and original observer expresses himself on the fine arts.

“Caravaggio wrought some years exclusively for this palace, where he found an asylum from the galleys, and painted in a room which was blackened to harmonize with his genius and his heart. The rustic loved the scriptures, and rarely excelled out of them. His frugal pencil gives but few figures, nor much of those few; for his lights fall in red and partial masses, without any diffusion. Whatever they fall on, indeed, starts into life; but the rest is lost in abrupt darkness: a transition hardly in nature, or true only in candlelights.—Here are his Christ awaking the disciples, Thomas touching the wound, a faun squeezing grapes, and some fine old saints. This gloomy man could paint deep thoughtfulness, strong passion, intense devotion, or broad laughter; but he had no pencil for smiles, or beauty, or placid dignity, or love.

“Here are two figures of St John, writing the Revelation; the one by Raphael, the other by Domenichino. Raphael places the Evangelist among clouds and thunders, in the act of obeying the call—“Write;” Domenichino sets him on a stone, turning in ecstacy from his books and angels, round to the Voice which dictates. Both the figures beam with beauty, and grace, and soul, and inspiration; but their beauty is that of the young Apollo, and St John at Patmos was nearly a hundred years old.

“The Massacre of the Innocents, a subject inexplicably horrible to me, forms here an admirable picture; where the horror is not, as usual, dissipated in a multitude of details. Like Aristides, in painting the sack of a town, Poussin gives only one child and one mother, but a mother whose shrieks frighten away her friends. Expression is just on the extreme. Agony, carried one point further, would fall into the ludicrous.

“Guido’s Paul and Anthony, is a noble picture, disgraced by a wretched glory. Glories broke into painting during the Gothic period of the art, and still prevail over all its philosophy and improvement. Superstition knew her right as a patroness, and dictated her own absurdities to the masters whom she paid.

“Here is Christ before Pilate; the work of the worthy Honthorst. Here, left to himself, and in himself, the Saviour awakes all those sacred prepossessions, which must be felt for arraigned and insulated virtue. Here is no dignity of costume, no glory above him, no

ring nor rays round his head, no light but a candle flaring on his benign features. Bring round him those childish heads, called cherubim, and all the interest escapes: we regard the whole as a fiction of the pencil.'—p. 210, 211, 212.

Every now and then there breaks out a little pertness and flippancy. Thus, speaking of some of Piranesi's restorations, he exclaims, '*those lying engravers!*' Silius Italicus, whom he spares no opportunity of undervaluing, (as Mr Eustace scarcely gets through a page without quoting him), is, besides much other vituperation, freely called '*the Ape of Virgil.*' All modern Latin poets are treated with a contempt very much exaggerated. Sannazaro and Vida are '*mere versifiers,*' whose language can be safe only while 'it imitates, and pleases most 'when it betrays imitation' (303). In other words, their verses are little better than *centos* of the ancients; and accordingly, they are brought afterwards (313) into the same sentence with the Capilupi of Mantua, professed cento-makers, after a *fling* at Martial for complimenting Silius Italicus, whom Mr Forsyth ranks with the '*chippers*' of pure Virgilian coin. The author now and then makes a word for his own use, as *complicate*, for complicated; and, still less fortunately, '*grandiosity,*' (p. 343). With all these, and similar faults, we know not where we can find so lively and faithful a description of Naples as the picture exhibited in the following passage.

'Naples, in its interior, has no parallel on earth. The crowd of London is uniform and intelligible: it is a double line in quick motion; it is the crowd of business. The crowd of Naples consists in a general tide rolling up and down, and in the middle of this tide a hundred eddies of men. Here you are swept on by the current, there you are wheeled round by the vortex. A diversity of trades dispute with you the streets. You are stopped by a carpenter's bench, you are lost among shoemakers' stools, you dash among the pots of a *maccheroni*-stall, and you escape behind a *lazarone's* night-basket. In this region of caricature every bargain sounds like a battle: the popular exhibitions are full of the grotesque; some of their church-processions would frighten a war-horse.

'The mole seems on holidays an epitome of the town, and exhibits most of its humours. Here stands a methodistical friar preaching to one row of *lazaroni*: there, Punch, the representative of the nation, holds forth to a crowd. Yonder, another orator recounts the miracles which he has performed with a sacred wax-work on which he rubs his *agnuses* and sells them, thus impregnated with grace, for a *grano* a piece. Beyond him are quacks in hussar uniform, exalting their drugs and brandishing their sabres, as if not content with one mode of killing. The next *professore* is a dog of knowledge, great in his own little circle of admirers. Opposite to him stand two jocund old men, in the centres of an oval group, singing alternately

to their crazy guitars. Further on is a motley audience seated on planks, and listening to a tragi-comic *filosofo*, who reads, sings, and gesticulates old Gothic tales of Orlando and his Paladins.

'This is a theatre where any stranger may study for nothing the manners of the people. At the theatre of San Carlo, the mind, as well as the man, is parted off from its fellows in an elbow-chair. There all is regulation and silence: no applause, no censure, no object worthy of attention except the court and the fiddle. There the drama—but what is a drama in Naples without Punch? or what is Punch out of Naples? Here, in his native tongue, and among his own countrymen, Punch is a person of real power: he dresses up and retails all the drolleries of the day: he is the channel and sometimes the source of the passing opinions: he can inflict ridicule, he could gain a mob, or keep the whole kingdom in good humour. Such was De Fiori, the Aristophanes of his nation, immortal in buffoonery.' p. 293, 294.

From Naples Mr Forsyth made an excursion to Pæstum; and then returned to Rome, and thence proceeded to Ancona. He afterwards visited Bologna and Venice, which, as he truly says, may be easily and completely delineated by books and pictures; whereas all the arts of eloquence and design in vain attempt to convey an accurate idea of the Neapolitan scenery. We shall close our extracts with the following reflections, with which all travellers may sympathize.

'My stay at Venice was short. We make the tour of Italy, as we make the circuit of a gallery. We set out determined to let nothing escape us unexamined, and thus we waste our attention, while it is fresh, on the first objects, which are not generally the best. On advancing we are dazzled with excellence, and fatigued with admiration. We can take, however, but a certain dose of this pleasure at a time; and at length, when the eye is saturated with picture, we begin to long for the conclusion, and we run through the last rooms with a glance. Such a feeling as this will account for the hurried manner in which I passed through the few final towns; and this feeling was enforced by the dread of an impending war, the love of home, and the impatience of my companion.

'Whoever goes abroad merely for observation, should avoid his own countrymen. If you travel in a party, your curiosity must adopt their paces: you must sometimes post through towns which are rich in art or antiquity, and stop where the only attraction is good cheer. While you linger with fond delay among the select beauties of a gallery, your friends are advanced into other rooms, and the keeper complains when you separate: you thus lose the freedom of inspection, your ears ring with impatience, and often with absurdity. If you travel with one who is more ignorant of the language than yourself, you must stand interpreter in all his bickerings with the natives; and a man is usually harsher, when his spleen is to pass through the mouth of another, than when he speaks for himself.' p. 371—373.

After leaving Venice, the traveller went up the Brenta to Padua, and then to Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Milan and Turin, where he arrived in May 1808; and had no sooner finished the delightful tour on which we have been accompanying him, than he was arrested as a British subject, and sent into France; and there he has lingered out the interval in tedious, and, till very lately, almost hopeless captivity. He dates his work from Valenciennes, June 1812.

Notwithstanding this example, we have no doubt that the approaching peace will again let loose half the upper ranks in our country to gaze in Paris, and ramble over France. How many are likely to remove with other views of a more permanent kind, is a different and more interesting question. The temptations of cheap living and a fine climate, with taxes extremely light in comparison of those entailed upon us by the '*deliverance of Europe*,' and which unaccountably never produced any return till the frost of 1813:—how far these inducements may be sufficient to overcome the natural love of home, and the fear of destitution and conscription, is a subject too long and difficult to be taken up on the present occasion. The lower of the middling orders, and persons of manufacturing skill, are most likely to be led away by such views; but we are not without hopes of soon returning to this topic, and shall therefore not now anticipate the discussion of it.

ART. VII. *State of the Prisons in England, Scotland, and Wales, extending to various places therein assigned; not for the Debtors only, but for Felons and other less criminal Offenders.* By JAMES NEILD, Esq. 4to. pp. 643. London, 1812.

ON the subject of this valuable work, it has not always been found easy to fix the attention of the public, nor even of those individuals to whom the laws have entrusted the regulation of prisons, and on whose humanity and honour their country relies for the effectual discharge of this important trust.

What, indeed, have we reason to expect from the ordinary standard of human virtue? The miseries of jails are of necessity concealed from general observation; and not unfrequently the elegant or castellated walls, like the whitened outside of the sepulchres to which the Pharisees of old were likened, are far from warning us of the rottenness within. Besides, the inhabitants of those dreary abodes are not apt to appear to our imagination in any interesting or engaging form; but, on the con-

trary, as the proper objects of aversion, on account of their guilt or imprudence, as well as of their poverty. Hence, perhaps, it may sometimes happen, that conscientious magistrates either forget, or easily excuse themselves for the neglect of, loathsome duties, for the omission of which they are never called to account;—that rich and powerful men are either ignorant or regardless of disgraceful oppressions committed at their very door, by the vilest agents;—and that many of the affluent and charitable, who might contribute greatly by their liberality or influence to remedy the grievous abuses in our prisons, occupy themselves in more agreeable exertions of their benevolence and patriotism, and avoid supererogatory interference in that lowest department of the police, for which the law may be supposed to have made sufficient provision.

Thus, in the county jail of Beaumaris, in the Isle of Anglesey, Mr Neild was informed by the keeper, that *no magistrate had been within it for seven years.* (p.31.) Thus, a great nobleman, of eminent public spirit, has probably never once heard, that in Alnwick, the very town which is honoured by his princely residence, there is a house of correction, where a poor young fellow, who is not worth half-a-crown, and who has had the misfortune to be committed for a drunken frolic, may remain imprisoned for life, from his inability to pay 13s. 4d. for a fee to the jailor; that in this house of correction, there are no rooms set apart for the sick—no day-room allotted—no bath or oven to purify foul or infected clothes—no water accessible; that the act for preserving the health of prisoners, and the clauses against spirituous liquors, are not hung up as the law directs; and farther, that the prisoners have no share in what is earned by their labour, nor receive any money at their discharge to carry them to their homes, however distant. (p.9, 10.) Or, let us go to the other end of England, to the *privileged* prison of Dover Castle, which is destined for debtors within the Cinque Ports. We all know, that the last constable, or warden, of the Cinque Ports, was our great minister Mr Pitt, upon whose decease succeeded the present Earl of Liverpool; and we are informed in the present publication, that the jail of Dover Castle, and its repairs, are considered as belonging to the department of the Board of Ordnance. Here we have the protection of two Ministers of State, with all the mechanical powers of that Honourable Board, which has at its disposal the heads and hands of all his Majesty's engineers, military and civil, speculative and operative. But what do we learn from Mr Neild's Report? From the court-yard, the sun and air are almost excluded. A very small part only of the court is paved; so that

the ground is damp, and the place unhealthy. The putrid vegetables, dirt and ashes, of the prison, are constantly thrown into this court, where they form an offensive dunghill. The rooms are without grates; a want which is severely felt in so bleak a situation. Neither mops, pails, brooms, fire nor candle, are allowed; and the prisoners themselves are obliged to pay a woman for washing their rooms. The vile custom of *garnish* is not yet abolished; so that every prisoner, at his admission to this *privileged castle*, has to pay one shilling and sixpence to his fellow captives, for the advantage of their countenance and society. But this is nothing, compared to the exactions which are authorised by the following TABLE OF FEES, hung up in DOVER CASTLE GAOL:

Arrest	-	-	-	-	-	-	L. 1	1	0
Commitment	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	13	4
Guard money, and bed for a night							0	0	4
Discharge	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6	8
Yeoman porter	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2	6
Clerk of Dover Castle	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	6

L. 2 7 4

And besides all this, there is one guinea charged for the *Latitat writ*; and in case the prisoner is brought from Margate, the expense of a guinea and a half is added;—making together, on the first commitment, four pounds nineteen shillings and tenpence. Mr Neild has even stated, and in a manner expressive of the proper feelings of a generous freeborn Englishman, that a prisoner may be from ten to twenty months in this privileged Castle, at the suit of the Crown (for the privileges are in favour of the Crown, not of the subject) without a trial or hearing before a Court of Justice; and that many of the prisoners, from penury, are absolutely incapable of suing for their Habeas Corpus. Such was the state of things in 1808; and we are willing to believe that the only reason why it continued so long was this, that the distress of the wretched prisoners did not come to the knowledge of the respectable wardens, engrossed as they were with the cares of the troubled empire. It came, however, to the knowledge of a compassionate Quaker, who, by a noble donation of 800*l.* in the three per cent. consolidated annuities, enabled Mr Neild to pave the court-yard, and to make a permanent provision for the poorer debtors. We are happy to be informed that orders have since been issued from the Board of Ordinance for repairing the rooms, and furnishing them with grates (p. 169-172.); and it would be agreeable to learn that the Noble warden had moved the Legislature to abolish, both here

and elsewhere, those heavy fees, whether to judges, attorneys, or turnkeys, which, in *England*, so often detain a poor wretch in misery, after every original and just claim is fully satisfied;—and likewise, that the Royal *privileges*, which do not add much either to the honour or emolument of the Crown, were graciously parted with;—and that in this and the other privileged castles, there were held regular sessions of oyer and terminer, or jail delivery, with some allowance granted, when necessary, to the destitute prisoners,—and with any other advantages which are afforded in less dignified jails.

But we ought by no means to despair that, in the administration of prisons, the abuses and grievances will at last be removed, which have so long disgraced our laws, our magistrates, and our nation. Much has been done since the memorable time when Howard achieved the painful and perilous adventure of visiting those dens of corruption, infection, guilt and misery, and astonished his countrymen with the plain unexaggerated narrative of the horrors he had seen. To his exertions we are indebted for the act for preserving the health of prisoners; and, to be sensible of its good effects, we have only to consider how rarely the jail fever is now heard of, while we attend to the following awful statement of its former ravages. ‘From my own observations in 1772 and 1773,’ says Mr Howard, * ‘I was fully convinced that many more were destroyed by it than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. This frequent effect of confinement in prison seems generally understood, and shows how full of emphatical meaning is the curse of a severe creditor, who pronounces his debtor’s doom to *rot in gaol*. I believe I have learned the full import of this sentence, from the vast numbers who, to my certain knowledge, some of them before my eyes, have perished in our gaols.’

Much also has been effected by the Society for the discharge and relief of persons imprisoned for small debts, of which Mr Neild is treasurer; yet it is humiliating to think, how tedious and weary a work it is to obtain a reform of the most grievous abuses, even in cases where it is not possible for the most sensitive and hypochondriacal politician to apprehend the remotest danger either to Church or State. At the Courts of Conscience, which are instituted in the metropolis and various other places in *England*, for the recovery of debts from one shilling to forty, the costs of suit, at least in London, amount-

* Howard’s *State of the Prisons in England and Wales*, 2d Edit. 1780, p. 11.

ed to eight shillings and eleven pence ; and if the debtor was imprisoned in one of the city compters in Woodstreet and the Poultry, the fee exacted by the jailor at his discharge was no less than fifteen shillings and eightpence. Thus, a poor wretch, who was unable to pay a debt of one shilling to a vindictive creditor, might find himself overwhelmed by the incomparably heavier burden of legal expenses, amounting to more than four and twenty shillings, which he behoved either to pay or to be *imprisoned for life with felons.* (p. 62.) It was not till near fourteen years after the establishment of the humane and most respectable Society mentioned above, that ' their repeated applications ' were so attended to, as to effect a total change in the horrid ' system ; ' and indeed not till the enormous exactions already stated were published by their order, in February 1805. ' The ' happy result, ' says our benevolent author, ' has been, that all ' fees to gaolers on these petty and injurious prosecutions, are ' every where abolished ;—expenses are reduced ;—the term of ' imprisonment is restricted ;—and, in most of our county gaols ' throughout the kingdom, a due separation is observed betwixt ' an unhappy debtor and the most flagitious offenders. ' p. 63.

The judicious and unwearied exertions of Mr Neild himself, both as a magistrate and as a private gentleman, have been attended with extremely beneficial effects, in various parts of the Island. The detailed description which, from his own inspection, he published in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1804, of the loathsome old bridewell at Chelmsford in Essex, made the freeholders ashamed of that disgrace to their opulent county. It was accordingly pulled down ; and a new one, constructed and managed on better principles for accomplishing the good purposes of such an institution, was opened in 1806. The vile borough gaol and bridewell of Colchester, in the same county, after being exposed by Mr Neild in the same Magazine, for the same year, has since received great improvements ; though, we are sorry to add, that still farther and very important alterations are much required ; particularly the abolition of the jailor's fee of thirteen shillings and four pence upon every debtor's discharge, and the removal of the abominable nuisance of tubs, instead of sewers, perpetually polluting the air of the two small rooms inhabited by the prisoners accused of felony. Hoping that this part of the jail, if the change has not already taken place, will be duly reformed, as well as the other, we must be highly pleased that so much has been already done, both here and elsewhere ;—that there have appeared so many prisons and houses of correction, skilfully constructed and under careful ma-

nagement and constant inspection, and that such men as Mr Neild, Mr Morton Pitt, and Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, of such exemplary character, and such extensive influence, have so strenuously and perseveringly exerted themselves in this national concern. In the counties of Buckingham, Dorset and Gloucester, with which these gentlemen are more particularly connected, the effects of their benevolent and patriotic labours are chiefly conspicuous, and well deserve the attention and imitation of the rest of the kingdom.

In the county jail and bridewell of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, where Mr Neild has exercised the duties of a magistrate so long and so honourably, proper provision is made for the very important purposes so often most cruelly neglected, of cleanliness and ventilation. Water is well supplied from a rivulet at the bottom of the keeper's garden, by means of a forcing pump worked by the prisoners;—one pound and a half of best wheaten bread per day, and a pint of soup twice a week, is allowed to debtors and prisoners of every description;—a liberal supply of coals is granted to the day-rooms from the 16th of October to the 16th of April; and if the weather be very severe, the time may be extended by the magistrates. A humane provision of bed-steads, bedding and blankets, is afforded by the county, without the exaction of hire from the prisoners;—the sleeping rooms are not rented, as in too many other jails;—the court-yards, assigned separately to debtors and felons, are both paved with flag-stone,—as we hope are likewise the other two court-yards belonging to the bridewell department, though Mr Neild has not actually said it. A good infirmary is allotted for the sick;—there is no intermixture of the felons with the debtors, which takes place in so many prisons, and is so productive of the worst effects;—every Sunday, divine service is regularly performed, which all the prisoners are required to attend;—the act of Parliament for the preservation of health, and the clauses against the use of spirituous liquors, are conspicuously hung up;—books are kept, in which the visiting magistrates, chaplain and surgeon enter their several reports;—all fees are abolished, except only that the under sheriff (*proh pudor!*) ‘takes from each debtor two shillings and sixpence for his *liberate*,’—and the poor prisoners, when discharged, are not exposed pennyless to the almost irresistible temptations of want, but receive an allowance of money for their sustenance, according to their distance from home. All this is excellent; and we have pleasure in stating, for an example to the rich and powerful, that Aylesbury prison, which, in ‘the original construc-

tion of the building, was faulty in the extreme,' owes much of its present advantages to the humane interference of the Marquis of Buckingham in those humble but important concerns. p. 15-19.

The humane and judicious management of the county jails at Gloucester and Dorchester, is also highly honourable to the Magistrates; and more particularly, if we mistake not, to Sir George Paul, in the one case, and to Mr Morton Pitt, in the other. There are, however, two things, which may be humbly submitted to the serious consideration of those very respectable gentlemen, and of the Legislature itself,—namely, the warming of the prisons, and the abolition of fees.

One of the severest sufferings, to which prisoners are exposed in most of our jails, is the pinching cold which, in this climate, they experience for months successively, often to the irreparable ruin of their health. We rather believe, though it is not distinctly mentioned by Mr Neild, that all the inhabited parts of the Gloucester jail are properly warmed, as well as the apartments of the *Penitentiary prisoners*, which are expressly stated to be heated by brick-flues, and to have their temperature regulated by the thermometer. But in the account of the Dorchester jail, although we are told that *criminal* prisoners are allowed for their common room a peck of coals daily, during the six winter months, and half a peck daily during the six summer months, it is chilling to read, that there is 'no allowance of coals to debtors, male or female, except in very severe winter weather; or unless an especial order is made for that purpose, by the visiting Magistrates.' It would surely be more conformable to the general tenor of that humanity, with which the prisoners in these jails are treated, to have all the inhabited parts warmed by flues of heated air, to a proper temperature;—an arrangement which, after the first construction, would require but little trouble, and a very moderate expense, even in the largest buildings. However compassionate and considerate the present Directors may be, a matter of this consequence ought not to be left to the uncertain determination of varying Magistrates, in their casual visits:—And, indeed, a well-fed Mayor, wrapt in warm clothing, and braced by exercise, will be extremely apt, judging from his own sensations, to pronounce, on this subject, a decision—which a meagre, ragged prisoner may feel extremely cruel.

It is likewise to be deeply regretted, that in so many places jail-fees are authorised, which the poorer prisoners are frequently altogether unable to pay; and even after the offender has undergone the full punishment of his offence, or after the debtor has satisfied every demand of his creditor—this involuntary po-

erty is liable to be punished by the dreadful doom of perpetual imprisonment! In the county jails of Gloucester and Dorchester, indeed, it is only the debtors who are burdened with fees; but it is unpleasant to learn, that in the latter prison, a fee of thirteen shillings and fourpence,—in the former, a fee of one pound, may be exacted from persons in such unhappy circumstances; and that, over and above this exaction, the *under Sheriff* of Dorsetshire demands two shillings, and the *under Sheriff* of Gloucestershire demands six shillings and eight pence, at the discharge of every debtor. We are far from supposing, that the present very respectable Directors of these two jails, would ever countenance or permit so grievous an oppression. On the contrary, we read with great satisfaction, the following Note, subjoined to the ‘Table of Fees to be paid by Debtors,’ in the Dorchester prison:—‘Every debtor who, during his confinement, has behaved orderly in prison, and submitted to the regulations with decent respect and attention, on his discharge is entitled to a certificate of such good behaviour, from the Chaplain, and a visiting Justice, or Chaplain and Governor: And this certificate is a complete acquittal from all and every fee payable to the Keeper.’ p. 247.

To this, the following Observation is immediately added by Mr Neild, who seems, by his inverted commas, to be making a quotation, though he does not mention from what writing:—‘By the police of this prison respecting debtors, it is considered as the best expedient, to guide them to good deportment, by the prospect of benefits; and no otherwise to punish their irregularities, than by removing them from a participation of those benefits. Had the exemption from fees been *unconditionally* given, they would soon have claimed it as their right, and forgotten it as a benefaction; and this negative influence on their conduct would have been lost.’

Now, this perhaps may be the best way of producing some good from so great an abuse; but it is most devoutly to be wished, that no jail-fees whatever should be permitted to be exacted from prisoners of any description, in the same manner as they have been already abolished by an act of Parliament, in the present reign, in the case of those who have been charged with felony, or other crimes, and are acquitted by proclamation. How can it be endured, in a country which boasts of freedom and equal laws,—that a Turnkey, or even an Under Sheriff, or a Justice of Peace, should have the power of superadding to the inevitable distress of poverty, the inexpressible wretchedness of hopeless imprisonment?

Along with these observations, we have the greatest pleasure to join the rest of our countrymen in the applause to which the Magistrates of Gloucestershire and Dorsetshire are so well entitled, for their great exertions of benevolence. We would more

particularly praise the attention bestowed in Dorchester jail to the formation of industrious habits in the prisoners, both by providing them with regular employment, and by giving them a considerable share in the profits of their labours. Of the produce of the work performed, one half is allowed to the prisoners;—the keeper has a sixth part, to excite his attention; ‘the remaining third is accounted for to the county, and defrays a considerable portion of the prison expenses.’ The good effects of this arrangement, and of the general management of this jail, will appear from the following very striking fact, which we shall state verbatim from Mr Neild. ‘Upon inquiry made into the characters of all the Dorsetshire prisoners, on charges of felony, during a period of fourteen years, it has appeared that out of three hundred and ninety-three persons, of both sexes, no less than 242 have been so well reclaimed, as to maintain themselves by honest industry.’ p. 163.

We rejoice too, that this excellent spirit of improvement in the management of prisons, has displayed itself in many other quarters; and feel no small pride in the admirable construction and management of the county bridewell in our own city of Edinburgh. Mr Neild has certainly contributed his share, and far more than his share, in this patriotic service; and we most earnestly wish that his useful and curious publication, in which he describes the present state of the greater part of the jails in this island, may gain the attention not only of our Magistrates, but of all persons who have power or influence, and more especially of the Legislature.

We are aware that it is sometimes attempted to throw ridicule upon the subject, as if those who pressed it upon the consideration of the public, wished for somewhat of elegance or magnificence, forming a strange contrast with the real uses of a jail; and, indeed, the handsome exterior of one or two of the later buildings, afford some ground for the insinuation. At the same time, it cannot be doubted, that in the present state of our prisons, there are abuses which it is disgraceful to continue, and there are improvements which it would be both humane and wise to adopt.

With regard to the warming of the apartments, and the exaction of jail fees, we have already said what appears sufficient at present, not without many fears that we may afterwards have occasion more than once to resume the whole subject of the management of prisons. In the mean time, we must add, what is connected with both of these topics, that while better accommodation is provided for those who chuse to have it, every jail should furnish gratuitously dry bedding, and two blankets, for each of the prisoners. But it is distressing to observe, from

Mr Neild's statement, in how very few prisons this office of common humanity has been attended to. On this head, however, our author has made a remarkable omission, which deserves to be exposed. For Mr Paterson, in his excellent report on the prison of Ayr, and the situation of the prisoners, in April 1812, tells the following tale, which we believe to be literally true. 'The prisoners in Ayr gaol never had any blankets or coverlets, till the humanity and generosity of Mr Neild furnished them to the poor starving wretches about two years ago. Till that period, all the prisoners lay on straw, without undressing even for months or years.' (Dr Paterson's Report, p. 8). But, Mr Neild, in his remarks on this prison, while he mentions that 'there is no bedding but some loose straw,' omits the rest of the story. We much suspect that he has made many other omissions of a like nature, though unfortunately we have not the means of detecting them.

From severity of cold, many prisoners have suffered much injury; but still more serious injury has arisen from a neglect of cleanliness in their apartments and persons, from want of ventilation, and from no infirmary or separate room being provided for the sick. The Legislature, however, has not been inattentive to those important objects, at least in England. For, by an act passed in 1774, for which the country is chiefly indebted to Mr Howard, the Justices of the Peace, at the Quarter Sessions, are required to order the walls and ceilings of all rooms occupied by the prisoners, to be scraped and whitewashed once a year at least, to be kept clean at all times, and supplied with fresh air; and also to order two rooms, one for men and the other for women, to be set apart for sick prisoners. They are likewise to see a warm and cold bath provided in each prison, and to appoint an experienced surgeon, with a stated salary, who is to report to the Justices, at every quarter-sessions, a state of the health of the prisoners under his superintendence. Besides, if any jailor disobeys the order of the Justices, he is to pay such fine as the Judge or Justices shall impose. But we are not told what is to be done to the Justices who disobey the order of the Legislature; and, that this disobedience is not altogether an imaginary case, appears from various instances in Mr Neild's important publication. At present, we shall only lay before our readers the following extracts from a letter dated 11th December 1804, addressed by our author to the Right Honourable Peter Perchard, Esq. Lord Mayor of London.

My Lord—I beg pardon for the liberty I take in addressing myself to your Lordship; but when the importance of the subject, and the object it has in view, are considered, they will, I trust, plead excuse. It is now more than three years since I made my first Report

to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, on the state of the Borough Compter. A committee was appointed to inspect it. The windows were repaired and glazed; it was white-washed and swept. This being all the improvement it has received, permit me to trespass on your Lordship's patience, and that of the Honourable Court, while I describe its present state.—Men and women debtors have nothing but the dirty boards to sleep upon. No bedding, nor even straw allowed. No fire, even in this cold damp season. No medical assistance in sickness. Neither mops, brooms, or pails, are allowed, to keep the prison clean. Soap and towels are not afforded to the prisoner, so that a man may, for a debt of one guinea, remain in this wretched place forty days, without once taking off his clothes, or washing his hands and face.—Mr Alderman Combe, when Lord Mayor, honoured my remarks on the Poultry Compter with the most prompt and effectual relief; and I humbly hope, my Lord, for a like exertion of your high authority, and for the exercise of a like compassion towards the unhappy objects of it.' p. 60.

Most gentlemen, we believe, would have thought this letter entitled to a civil answer: Most magistrates, considering how much the country was indebted to Mr Neild, would have thought it entitled to a respectful answer. Mr Peter Perchard was of a different opinion. 'To the above letter,' says Mr Neild, 'I had not the honour of receiving any answer.' What is worse, it does not appear that any attention was paid to its contents.

On this part of the subject, it is shocking to reflect, in how many cases a tub, sometimes an uncovered tub, standing constantly in the room inhabited by the prisoners, is substituted for a necessary.

Why the act 1774 was not extended to Scotland, and whether it was in compliance with the instructions of their constituents that the Scotch members allowed their country to be thus overlooked, we presume not to inquire. Of one thing only we are certain, that it was not because the general cleanliness of the Scotch prisons rendered the act unnecessary; for it is truly deplorable to observe, how many instances Mr Neild has found himself obliged to record of their *abominable filth*.

But however clean and well ventilated a prison may be, the health of its inhabitants must suffer essentially, during a long confinement, if there is not a court-yard where, at proper hours, they may have the benefit of air and exercise. Most of the English jails afford this humane indulgence; but, in Scotland, very few indeed; for the Scotch Legislature having imposed the duty of providing sufficient prisons, not upon the counties, but upon the boroughs, our prisons are generally built in the streets of towns, where an open area cannot easily be spared. The object, however, is so very important, that we flatter ourselves our

country shall not be long exposed to this reproach; but that every jail shall be enclosed within a court-yard;—a measure which would contribute greatly both to the health and the secure custody of the prisoners.

Here we must advert to an idea which is entertained by Mr Neild, and seems to be prevalent in England, that, the laws of Scotland refuse to an imprisoned debtor the benefit of exercise in the open air, even though it can be obtained within the precincts of the jail. But this idea (like many other notions upon our law rashly embraced and published by Mr Neild) is a hasty and ill founded conclusion from some expressions in our law-books, without attending either to the principles of our jurisprudence, or the practice of our courts. When the caption or warrant of imprisonment orders the debtor to be kept in 'sure ward, firmance, and 'captivity,' nothing more is understood, than that he shall not be allowed to pass the limits of the prison. And the very same thing is understood in the following declaration of the law by the Court of Session, in their act of sederunt. 'After a debtor 'is imprisoned, he ought not to be indulged with the benefit of 'the air, not even under a guard; for creditors have an interest 'that their debtor be kept under close confinement, that by 'the *squalor carceris* they may be brought to pay their debts.' This act was intended, not to debar the debtor from enjoying any benefit which could be obtained within the limits of their prison, but to put an end to an illegal practice, of which various instances had occurred, of debtors being indulged by the keepers to make excursions beyond their limits. For imprisonment is considered by the law of Scotland as a means of constraining the debtor to pay his debt, as far as he is able. We say, as far as he is able: because the severity of this measure is mitigated in our law by two principles, the action of *cessio bonorum*, and the *bill of health*; neither of which seems to be recognized by the law of England. By the first, (which is borrowed from that admirable system of jurisprudence, the Roman law), a debtor, after a month's imprisonment, may obtain his freedom, upon a surrender of all his effects to his creditors. And here the interest of creditors is cautiously guarded; for every creditor must be summoned as a party to the action; all the effects which the debtor may afterwards be possessed of, are still liable to be seized, till his debts are completely satisfied; and even his person is not protected from imprisonment for future debts. On the other hand, by the bill of health, an imprisoned debtor, whose life is certified by medical authority to be endangered by his confinement, is permitted, with the attendance of a guard, to enjoy the benefit of the air; and also, when it is judged necessary for his recovery, to have the comforts of a private lodging

beyond the limits of his jail. These parts of the law of Scotland, as well as many others, are perhaps not altogether unworthy of the consideration of Englishmen. Of our law we are not ashamed; but we are much ashamed indeed of the general state of our prisons.

Among the most flagrant abuses, of which both the English and Scotch may well be ashamed, is the dreadful corruption of morals, to which the prisoners, in the greater part of our jails, are exposed; not only by total idleness, and a total neglect of the services of religion, but also by the shocking intermixture of debtors with felons, and of young and petty offenders with the most hardened criminals. The noble example of the county jail in Dorchester, of which we have already mentioned some remarkable particulars, shows most convincingly, that it is no idle speculation to expect an essential and permanent reformation of manners, when moral and religious instruction is impressively administered,—when intemperance is prohibited,—when the different classes of prisoners are kept apart from each other,—and when they are well furnished with regular employment, and receive at least a share of the profits of their industry. How lamentable is it, that such an example, confirmed by the experience of many years, has been hitherto so much unknown, or so much disregarded!

In our own *Good Town* of Edinburgh, for example, a standing committee is annually appointed, consisting of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, with other Members of Council; which Committee, it is said in the act of Council, 5th September 1810, ‘shall be termed *The Committee on the Gaol*:’—and shall have for its duty,—‘to take a general superintendence of ‘every thing connected with the gaol.’ Yet in Mr Neild’s work, which was published only last year, 1812, it is expressly recorded (p. 187–189)—that ‘no employment is *permitted*’ in the city gaol;—that both debtors and felons, ‘man and woman, ‘without distinction, mix promiscuously together of a morning;’—that he found four women felons confined in the same room, with as many female debtors;—that ‘every prisoner may ‘have as much beer as he can pay for;’—and that an attendance on divine service is ‘*not permitted* to felons.’ Where so little attention is paid to the good conduct of the prisoners, it is not surprising that their proper accommodation should be neglected. Accordingly, in Mr Neild’s Report, we are at once shocked with the abominable nuisance of tubs serving for sewers, standing in the inhabited rooms; and at the same time much edified, by comparing together the two following passages.—‘The gaol, indeed, had been white-washed,’ says Mr. Neild.

(p. 189), 'about six months before my visit in 1802; but it was the only time I was told, in the space of *twenty years*.' And afterwards, he says, (p. 193)—'My first visit to this prison, in September 1809, was on a Saturday;—but the Lord Provost, being out of town, *the gaoler would not permit me to enter the prison-rooms*: therefore, I did not gain admission till Monday the 25th, *when I found the place clean, as I expected, and the tubs all emptied; but it did not appear to have been whitewashed since my former visit in 1802.*'

We have already observed, that the County and City Bridewell of Edinburgh, which was opened in 1795, is admirably conducted. Our Author, whose long and diversified experience, entitles his judgment to great authority, praises, in the highest terms, the exemplary attention which is paid both to the health and the reformation of the prisoners. From the very different styles of management in the Bridewell, and in the City Jail, we are inclined to believe that the former is under the direction of the gentlemen of the county chiefly; yet the Magistrates of the city are certainly connected with them in the management; and it would have delighted us, if the Right Honourable Magistrates of our metropolis, in the management of their own city jail, had vouchsafed to take some hints from the country gentlemen in their neighbourhood.—But we do not despair.—A new prison is projected; and we trust will soon be opened;—the very circumstance of its being new, and that it will be constructed on a far better plan than the wretched old building, will naturally tend, in no small degree, to produce a better management;—and we accept, as a favourable omen, our Author's good natured prophesy, that the 'prisoners will then enjoy fresh air, that genuine cordial of life;—and the present sad place of confinement will be happily effaced from memory.' p. 193.

But even our present Tolbooth, in the state in which Mr Neild found it, is fully as good and as well managed as many other jails, particularly town jails, both in England and Scotland. It is not idler than Birmingham-Court prison for debtors, where the keeper becomes liable for the debt and costs of any prisoner whom he allows to work. (p. 48). It is not half so wretched as the Borough Compter of Southwark, which has Sir Wathin Lewes for its keeper, and is under the direction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. (p. 57.) And we assure the Magistrates of the city of Canterbury, the metropolis of England, that if they do not make an immediate reform in their city jail, we shall fall upon some way of informing the Archbishop, that it is one of the filthiest, idlest, worst regulated, most wretched prisons in the whole island. (p. 105.)

In recommending Sir Neild's work to public notice, we have

thought it best, avoiding the general discussions which tempted us on every hand, to present our readers with as correct an abstract, as our limits would permit, of the information it contains. The mere details themselves are unhappily but too fruitful in reflection; and we preferred to introduce, by a bare statement of facts, the consideration of a subject, on which other opportunities may soon enable us to enlarge. It is, indeed, well entitled to the serious consideration of all good citizens, and of those, especially, who possess the highest influence and authority in Church and State. The present condition of the greater part of our prisons, is, in several respects, dishonourable to a humane, a civilized, a Christian country: And it would have been becoming the paternal care of the Ministers of the Crown, to have taken the lead in reforming this important and extensive department of the national police. For their encouragement, an opportunity presented itself, such as may not return for a century to come. They had at their command the services of a Magistrate, whose experience and distinguished exertions in this capacity recommended him as peculiarly qualified for the duty;—a man of high character and independent fortune;—who had no party to serve;—who sought for no place, no pension, not even his expenses, in the discharge of a task which was to be the painful and weary labour of many years;—a man, on whom the spirit had descended of the ever revered and ever memorable HOWARD. Yet the Ministers withheld from him all encouragement, all countenance, all facilities. He went forth, unauthorized, unaided and alone; and, accordingly, as might have been expected, ‘many prisons proved to be difficult of access,’ and ‘the information which he sought was not easily obtained.’ (p. 617). But his heart was strong in a good cause; and his country is deeply indebted to him for his generous and important services. He has brought forward, to the praise and imitation of his fellow-citizens, many examples which evince what happy effects result when magistrates are faithful to their duty. He has exposed to public view those dreadful miseries which there is no ear to hear, and no eye to pity, when the Magistrates desert the sacred charge of *personal inspection*, which the law has entrusted to their honour. He has pointed out all that appears to be still defective or erroneous in our present regulations and present practice.

He has done his part; and, whatever return he may now receive from the world, his reward is sure and great. It remains for the Magistrates and Judges to exert the authority with which they are already invested, for removing the shameful abuses which have been too long connived at. It remains for the Legislature to appoint some means of enforcing those duties of

personal inspection and written reports, for which experience has clearly proved, particularly in town jails, that honour and conscience are too feeble obligations. In a word, it remains for the Legislature to revise the whole system of imprisonment; for, while many examples are to be seen, both of public and private exertions, which are highly honourable to particular districts and particular individuals; yet we must repeat, that the general management of our prisons is still, in several respects, a disgrace to the Nation, the Magistrates, and the Laws.

ART. VIII. *Prabodh Chandrodaya, or the Rise of the Moon of Intellect, an Allegorical Drama; and Atma Bodh, or the Knowledge of Spirit; translated from the Sanscrit and Pracrit, by J. TAYLOR M. D., Member of the Asiatic Society, and of the Literary Society at Bombay. London, 1812.*

THE popular superstitions of the Greeks and Romans differed in one important particular from the erroneous systems of faith prevalent amongst other civilized nations. They were not embodied in any work which claimed divine origin. The Vedas are supposed by their followers to contain the words of Brahmā; and Vyasa, who arranged them in their present form, to have acted under the influence of immediate inspiration. To Thaut (the genius of the planet Mercury), the works held sacred by the Egyptians and Phœnicians were ascribed by those nations. The theology of the Assyrians was revealed by a divinity in the form of a fish, who corresponds with the Matsya avatāra (or pisciform god) of the Hindus. The Zendavesta, as the fire-worshippers suppose, was revealed by Ormusd to Zaratusht, in a cave of the mountain Alborj; and Mohamed professed only to publish the doctrines imparted to him by the angel Gabriel.

That the Greeks possessed no such embodied system of faith, is a fact no less certain than it is easily accounted for. The Egyptians and the Pelasgi brought their respective dogmata into Greece; but the works which promulgated them were confined to the sacerdotal class, who were too wise to embark in these dangerous adventures; and the languages in which they were composed soon became unknown to the descendants of the first settlers. This circumstance appears to afford a plausible explanation of a fact, from which we are inclined to deduce some important consequences, which have sometimes been ascribed to the nature of polytheism itself. The facility with which new gods were introduced and new rites adopted by the ancients, may, we think, be imputed in a great measure to the want of a consolidated and embodied system, which, while it enjoined the belief in certain doctrines, virtually or expressly excluded all others.

The feeble assent given by loose and unauthenticated traditions, chiefly transmitted by the poets, did not easily take alarm; and unless when political causes cooperated with popular indignation, the philosophers of Greece were at liberty to promulgate opinions subversive of the national faith; and the temples of the gods might be contiguous to a school which denied their existence. Accordingly, we find that the sceptical philosophers contented themselves with contesting all the received opinions, without advancing any; whilst those who ventured to affirm, either produced doctrines unconnected, or inconsistent with the popular notions. Zeno alone, or rather his follower Chrysippus, attempted to reconcile the national superstitions with the stoical philosophy; so that, as Cicero wittily expresses it, the ancient poets, Orpheus, and Hesiod, and Homer, must be astonished to find that they had all been Stoics, without ever once suspecting it.

But did these sceptical systems originate in the minds of the Grecian philosophers? The popular superstitions of Greece were demonstrably and avowedly exotics, and may be distinctly traced to other countries. Is it impossible that the same countries may have furnished the speculations taught by its philosophers? Without presuming to give a positive answer to this question, we may be permitted to observe, 1. That the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which was a leading tenet of some of the schools, was indisputably a religious dogma of the Egyptians and Hindus. 2. That although the Greeks have transmitted some account of the popular superstitions of the Egyptians, they have not treated of their philosophical opinions; though the high degree of civilization to which Egypt early attained, excludes all doubt of their existence. 3. That the opinions even of the founders of sects in Greece have rather been handed down to us as *dicta*, than accompanied by the arguments which enforced, or the explanations which modified them. Had this not been the case, we should probably have found that the dogma which forms the basis of the Hindu theology was embraced by Pythagoras, 'qui censuit, animum esse per naturam rerum omnium intentum et commeansem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur.' By Xenophanes, 'qui mente adjuncta, omne præterea, quod esset infinitum, deum voluit esse.' By Plato, 'qui in Timæo dicit, et in legibus, mundum deum esse.' By Aristotle, who says, 'mundum ipsum deum esse.' By Heraclides Ponticus, 'qui modo mundum, modo mentem deum esse putat.' By Cleanthes, 'qui cum ipsum mundum, deum dicit esse, tum totius nature mentis, atque animo hoc nomen tribuit.' 4. That the Indian systems of philosophy, which would probably throw light on those of Egypt, are still unknown to the European.

world; and, notwithstanding the luminous observations of Sir William Jones, must certainly continue so, until translations are afforded of at least one important work in each.

It seems that Sir James Mackintosh had pointed out this inquiry to Dr Taylor as a curious and important one. Accordingly, the Doctor commenced an attack on both the *Nyāya* or logical system, and the *Vedānta* or that founded on the Vedas. But, as might very naturally be expected, he found the matter extremely abstruse, and the style extremely obscure; and on inquiring, whether some information might not be obtained in a more popular form,—‘the Moon of Intellect’ arose! Whatever gratification may be derived from this work, we are afraid that it will be found to reflect but little light on the subject recommended to the Doctor’s research. Yet we cannot blame his attempt. Who would not be glad to collect the vestiges of feudal times through the medium of Walter Scott? or to study the transcendental philosophy in the pages of Madame de Stael?

The Allegorical Drama for which we have now to claim the attention of our readers, is the greatest literary curiosity which, since the publication of Sacontālā, the learned research of our countrymen in the East, has presented to an ungrateful world. Our account of it has been delayed by a wish to compare it with the original Sanscrit: and having at length been so fortunate as to procure a copy from the East India Company’s library, we have carefully collated them, and must pronounce Dr Taylor’s translation to be as accurate, as the original is curious. We blush to confess, that had we not had recourse to this method, the typographical mistakes which occur in the proper names, and the injudicious system of orthography (or rather the want of any system) which he has substituted for the admirable one of Sir William Jones, would have led us to form a very unjust and inadequate idea of Dr Taylor’s merits as a Sanscrit scholar.

This Drama is a severe and cutting satire on the heretical sects prevalent in India at the time of its composition,—in which their errors are ridiculed, their vices exposed, and their systems confuted. The outline of the fable is as follows.

Reason and Passion were two brothers. Reason had been for some time estranged from his queen Revelation, through the artifices of his enemies, Love, Anger, Avarice, &c. who had conspired to raise the authority of Passion, on the only basis on which it could rest, the separation of Reason from Revelation. The faithful adherents of the latter, Contemplation, Devotion, Contentment, &c. labour to restore their former union. Each party musters its forces: an engagement ensues, which terminates in the discomfiture of Passion: and the sacred city of Varanasi (Benares)

receives Reason within its walls, and witnesses his inseparable reunion with Revelation. It is needless to add, that all the heretical sects are active partisans of Passion, and furiously inimical to Reason, and to all his adherents; *tutti quanti*. In battles of this nature the author appears always a powerful auxiliary to the side which he espouses. But he seldom declares himself, until the matter is decided by others. If the followers of Buddha had been able to preserve the ascendancy which they possessed before the period described, the Moon of Intellect might probably have shown Reason putting to flight the Brahmins, and casting the holy Vedas into the no less holy Ganges. As matters have turned out, the heretical sects fall in the ranks of Passion; while his auxiliaries Love, Anger, &c. are obliged, like the Kings of Denmark and Saxony, to make the best terms they can with the victors.

The state of the Drama indicated by this work is probably nearly similar to that of the Athenian Comedy, before the time of Aristophanes; and there is something, indeed, both in the design and execution of the singular work before us, that forcibly reminds us of the most celebrated performance of that classic author. The humour is broad and exaggerated; but the piece abounds with passages in an elevated strain of poetry. Under the rude hand of a literal translator, it cannot be expected that the highly polished verse should retain its charm, or even reach the dignity of impressive prose.

The heretical sects introduced are, *1st*, the followers of Jina; *2d*, the votaries of Buddha, or Sugata; and, *3dly*, the sectaries who devote themselves to the exclusive worship of Bāghesa (or Bacchus). As a specimen, we insert the speech of a priest of Buddha to his disciples. In the copy deposited at the India-House, there is a commentary accompanying the original text, composed by Rāmadāsa, who is altogether as zealous and orthodox as the author he comments. It has afforded us some amusement; and we add his notes within parentheses. Those who have perused the excellent travels of Symes and Turner into Ava and Tibet, know, that celibacy is enjoined to the priests of this religion: But every body knows, that the prohibition implied in it never prevented any thing but marriage; and probably will not be disposed to attribute greater purity to a monastery of Gylongs, than to a monastery of Franciscans. The Brahmins, therefore, to whom marriage is not merely permitted, but expressly enjoined, delight in exposing the frailties to which monks and friars have in all ages been obnoxious.

‘A Buddha enters in the character of a mendicant priest, holding a book in his hand, and thus addresses his disciples. (*Commentator.* Persons who study atheistical doctrines.)

' Our illuminated understandings are now freed from the illusions of sense ; and we know that the visible, transitory, and unintellectual objects which seem to exist externally, are only the ideas contained in our own minds. (*Com.* Therefore, we are omniscient !) How admirable is the religion of the Saugatas ! It admits both of present comforts and future bliss. It gives us superb monasteries to inhabit, (*Com.* No anchorets' cells !); and an opportunity of associating with merchants wives, beautiful and docile. (*Com.* These people never marry.) We may eat when we please. (*Com.* No restriction on the appetite.) It allows us to recline on soft beds, (*Com.* Their beds had no thorns in them like those of our ascetics.); and to pass the moonlight nights in amorous play with lovely damsels, sprinkled with odoriferous powders. (*Com.* The religion of others is rigid and austere ; ours unites pleasure and salvation.)

' *Carunā.* Who is this that approaches, tall and straight as the palm tree ? His person emits an unpleasant odour ; he is dressed in red garments, and the hair is pulled from his head and body.' This description corresponds perfectly with that of a Bauddha priest as given by Simes and Turner.

' *Sānti.* This is a Bauddha.

' *Bavuddha.* Listen, O ye devotees and ye holy mendicants, while I read the words of Sugata the lord ! (*He reads.*) I survey worlds with the eye of intellect ; and mark the good and the bad which befalls my mendicant priests. It is I who cause the transitory appearances of existence. The soul itself is not permanent. (*Com.* There is no future state.) Therefore, should you discover mendicants engaged with your wives, it is not a matter worth your attention. (*Com.* Appearances are transitory ; resentment and indignation are passions ; and the mind of a Bauddha should be exempt from passion. Besides, external objects exist only in our ideas ; and the whole scene is imaginary.)'

We pre-ent our readers with another extract. The scene is in the neighbourhood of Benares. On the banks of the Ganges, a multitude of Hindus, after performing their ablutions, are chanting their morning orisons. Self-Conceit enters—

' *Self-Conceit.* The world is filled with folly ; with men little better than beasts ; who do not hearken to the doctrines of Prabhācar the great teacher. Ignorant of the system of Causārila ; unacquainted with the principles of Sālighira ; what can they know of the opinions of Vāchaspati ? The contents of the Mahāvratī, and the maxims of Mahodadhī, they probably never heard of. What do they sit here for, without having studied the nature of abstract existence ? Satisfied with chanting the words of the Vedas, they do not understand one syllable of them. They have adopted the profession of saint for a livelihood. But their explanation of the Vedānta is unintelligible. And, indeed, if this Vedānta contain doctrines opposite to the evidence of sense, the Bauddhas themselves can advance nothing more absurd. Talking to such persons is sinful !'

He then enters the house of Hypocrisy; and, after some conversation with his servant Batu, the latter says—

' *Batu.* Venerable Sir, you have come from a distant country; but you have not yet told me the name of your family, or your profession.

' *Self-Conceit.* Listen. In Gaur, (Bengal), a country of unrivalled excellence, there is a city, by name Rārāpuri, which contains a noble mansion, called Bhuri Sreshtaca; there my father dwells. (The mansion where the father of Self-Conceit dwelt, was probably a celebrated monastery of Bauddhists.) Who has not heard of his magnanimous offspring? amongst whom I am distinguished for understanding, abilities, knowledge, courage, mildness, and the strict performance of all my duties.

' *Batu.* Respectable stranger, take that small copper vase, and wash your feet, lest you sully the purity of this holy retreat.

' *Self-Conceit (aside.)* As it is not of much importance, I shall do so.

' *Hypocrisy.* Stand farther off. Methinks the wind blows the particles of your perspiration in my face.

' *Self-Conceit.* This is a strange kind of Brāhmanism.

' *Batu.* This is our Brāhmanism. The kings of the earth, who worship my master as a holy saint, presume not to touch his feet; but the sparkling jewels which adorn their heads, irradiate the space before his seat.

' *Self-Conceit.* This is the land of Hypocrisy. I shall however sit down, as I am tired.

' *Batu (removing the seat.)* The greatest men, after saluting my master, do not presume to touch a seat.

' *Self-Conceit.* Shall I, whose holiness is celebrated in the city of Rārāpuri, not be permitted to take a seat! I was the husband of the daughter of an Agnihotra Brāhman. My wife was the object of my warmest affections. The son of the maternal uncle of the friend of my brother-in-law was falsely accused of only a trifling offence. Yet on account of her relation to this person, I repudiated my beloved wife.'

The following extract is in a different style. The goddess Contemplation had been selected to oppose Love in battle.

' *Contemplation speaks.* Grateful odours; female blandishments; nights illuminated by the moon's pale beams; the spring opening in shady fields, cheered by the hum of the bee; the season which impels thunder clouds fraught with rain, when the breeze blows gently through the sweet-scented Cadamba; these are the incentives to Love. But my haunts are islands washed by sacred streams: mountains, from whose cliffs rivulets of pellucid water are precipitated; thick forests, under whose verdant canopy the holy anchoret breathes his vows, and recites the sacred hymns. In such retreats, all-subduing Love is destitute of power.'

The Jaina, or votaries of Jina, are the most ancient of Hindu sectaries. They reject the authority of the Vedas, though divided into castes, and more scrupulously cautious against the accidental extinction of animal life than the Hindus themselves. Their adoration is exclusively offered to deified mortals; and in this class they include most of the Hindu divinities. The doctrine of transmigration, the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, and the whole of the Pauranica history, is common to them with the orthodox Hindus. Their own mythology is engrafted on the latter. As merchants, they are still found dispersed over the whole Continent of India; but it is only in the western and central parts of the Peninsula, that they are sufficiently numerous to constitute a distinct population. Their proper denomination is Arhats, from *ārhat*, *reverendus*, the name which they bestow on the objects of their worship. Formerly powerful, and widely disseminated, this sect suffered a great diminution, from the extension of the more recent heresy of Buddha. At present, its more opulent members find it convenient to resume the orthodox persuasion; and as they always retained the division into castes, this may be effected without difficulty.

The votaries of Buddha, now completely driven from India, have seen their religious system adopted as the national faith in all the adjacent countries. It is established in Butan and Tibet. Its influence in Tartary is commensurate with the extension of letters and civilized life. The populous countries of Ava, Pegu and Siam, have adopted its doctrines. In the island of Ceylon, they have superseded those of the Vedas. The Tartar sovereigns of China are votaries of Buddha, whom they term Fo. The island of Japan has received the same rites, probably from Tartary. That matter is eternal, and the soul perishable, is the dogma attributed to them by the Brahmans; yet their account of the tenets of a hostile sect should be received with caution, although it is hitherto almost the only source of information. Like the Arhats, their worship is confined to deified saints, the chief of whom they term Buddhas, or philosophers. The word is derived from the Sanscrit root 'Budh,' to know; whence the Saxon and English verbs *Bodian*, and to *bode*, *forebode*, &c. We have been favoured with the perusal of a work entitled *Nidhyān patha*, or the path of contemplation, translated from the Singhalese by Mr D'Oyley; a gentleman, whose knowledge of both the learned and vernacular languages of Ceylon, is likely to be productive of important advantages to that country. This work completely removes any doubts which might still be entertained on the comparative antiquity of

the Buddhist system and that of the Vedas. It shows, from the sacred works of the Buddhists themselves, that their account of Sākya Singh, whom they term the last Buddha, corresponds, in every essential particular, with that given by the Brahmans. Both declare him to be the son of Suddhodana, king of Oude, born in the solar line of princes, twenty-three generations after Vrihadbala, who reigned in that country when the Vedas were arranged in their present form by Vyāsa. The scenes of his mythological adventures are Benares, and the adjacent cities. This part of India has given birth to both the heresies of the Arhats and Bauddhas. The books of the former are composed in the Mūgadhī Prācrit, or vernacular dialect of Bahar, to which the Pāli, or sacred language of the priests of Buddha, bears a close affinity.

In this Sanscrit drama, the inferior female characters express themselves in Pracrit, as denoting superior sweetness and gentleness. The meaning of those words, 'Pracrit' common, and 'Sanskrit' refined, had given rise to an opinion that the former was the most antient, and had served as the basis for the more refined Sanscrit. The specimens afforded in this work effectually destroy this theory. With a less complicated system of grammar, Pracrit words differ from Sanscrit, only by omitting consonants, which might impart a harshness to the utterance. The Italian words *piombo* and *fiume*, compared with their Latin originals *plumbum* and *flumen*, exemplify the nature of these changes. The most antient language is indisputably that in which all the radical letters are found; but the Prācrit rejects all that might injure the euphony. Philologers may desire an additional proof of the universality of the process by which antient languages assume their modern form, amongst a people powerfully affected by harmonious modulations. The occasional omission of a consonant, and the substitution of liquids for nasals, seem the principal alteration, unconnected with grammar. We select at random.

Caruṇā says, "O my friend, behold this Faith! She is the daughter of Error.

In Sanscrit. Sakhi, prekshaswa, rajasa sutān Sradhān yā eshā.

In Prācrit. Sahi, parckayasa, rajasa sudān Sadhān jā esā.

The Sōma Siddhānta, or exclusive worshippers of Baghesa or Bacchus, are more modern than either of the above mentioned heresies. Their priest thus announces himself. 'My necklace and ornaments are of human bones. I dwell among the ashes of the dead, and eat my food in human skulls. I look with eyes brightened by the collyrium of devotion, and I believe that the parts of this world are reciprocally different, but that the whole is not different from God.' The priests of Jina and of Buddha are struck with astonishment and horror at the savage rites which he de-

scribes; but the wine which he prevails on them to drink, and the charms of a female Bacchante open their eyes to the excellence of his principles; and their conversion is celebrated by a Bacchanalian dance. There is a considerable portion of spirit and humour through the whole of this act, which Dr Taylor might perhaps have rendered more prominent, without deviating from his plan of affording a literal translation.

The drama is the work of Crishna Misra. The translator has endeavoured, with little success, to ascertain the country where, and the period when it was composed. 'Misra is an appellation taken from the country where he was born. I have not ascertained its situation; but from the inscriptions found at Monghir, which mention persons under the name of Misra, and the information I have received that it joins Maithila or Tirhut, and contains a town called Janacapur, I imagine that it is a small tract lying between Tirhut, and the chain of mountains which divide Hindustan from Nepal.'—Unfortunately, however, the name of Misra furnishes no index to the country of its author: for it is the surname of a numerous tribe of Brahmans, who are found in every part of India, and once were imagined to have emigrated from Egypt.—Misra (Misraim) being the name by which that country is universally known in the East. This conjecture, however, has not been confirmed by subsequent researches. That of Dr Taylor rests on no better foundation; since Misra is unquestionably not the ancient appellation of any country in India. We may fairly infer that the work before us was composed in the vicinity of Benares, since the places incidentally mentioned in it are either adjacent to that city, in Bengal, or in Bahar.

'Perhaps some conjecture may be formed concerning the age of the play, from the mention which is made of the king Kirti Varman. If he was a real being he probably reigned over Magadha, or Bahar.' We have, however, examined a variety of lists of the sovereigns of Bahar, without meeting with the name of Kirti Varman. Indeed, we cannot doubt that this king was an allegorical personage like the other characters of the piece. His name signifies one 'whose armour is renown,' clad in fame. All then that can be affirmed with certainty is, that the work was composed soon after the period when the religion of the Brahmans finally triumphed over the rival sectaries of Jina and Buddha, and drove their votaries from the fair and fertile regions, which had been the cradle of these ancient superstitions, to seek an asylum in neighbouring countries. The victory, however, of Reason over Passion, seems not to have been complete. For the Buddhists found an asylum in Sind, Candahar, Bahar, Bengal, and the countries now possessed by the Nizam of the

Decan, which, the author says, were inhabited by men almost infidels. From these, their last seats in India, they have long since been expelled, to disseminate their tenets, and establish their system, through the wide range of continent to the north and the east of that country.

Amongst the nations where the Buddhists found an asylum, the Huns are expressly mentioned. The name of this people occurs in the Bahar inscriptions, and is repeatedly found amongst those of Barbaric tribes enumerated in the prophetic chapter annexed to some Puranas. No doubt has hitherto been entertained that the warlike and ferocious tribe of Tartars, who carried their arms, and left their name, to a portion of Europe, is the people alluded to. But notwithstanding the identity of name: notwithstanding the acknowledged fact, that the white Huns, or Indoscythæ, established a powerful empire in Bactria, and extended their power from the source to the confluence of the Indus: and notwithstanding that M. de Guignes has proved from Chinese records, that the religion of Buddha existed in those countries two centuries before Christ, we confess we are not completely satisfied that the subjects of Attila are the nation alluded to. Were this fact ascertained, we should at least attain a *minimum* for the age of this work; since the Indoscythian empire was overthrown, and the Huns driven beyond the Jaxartes, by the Persian King Nushirvân, soon after the commencement of his reign in A. D. 531.

‘ May plentiful rain water the earth; may prosperous kings govern the world; may holy men, who remove ignorance by the light of the first principle, safely cross the sea of Passion, the bottom of which are Sensible Objects and Affection.’

ART. IX. *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire.* By JOHN MACDONALD KINNEIR, Political Assistant to Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm, in his Mission to the Court of Persia. 4to. pp. 486. Murray, London. 1813.

THIS excellent Geographical Memoir of Persia would have obtained a very general attention, and have reached, in a few months, that reputation which it must now take some time to establish, if it had been published four or five years ago. At that period, the danger that seemed to threaten our Indian possessions, from the power and ambition of Buonaparte, gave a peculiar interest to all such subjects; and young gentlemen and old ladies were almost as curious about the best road to India,

as about the pleasantest route to the Lakes of Cumberland, or the still more enchanting scenes that overhang the fairy banks of Loch-Katherine. The glorious march of Alexander—the humble path of Tom Corryat—the bloody track of Nadir Shah and the Journal of Foster,—were all, in their turn, examined with minute attention; and every theorist formed his speculation of the number of years, months, days and hours, that it would take before it would be quite convenient for Buonaparte to proceed in his plans for putting an end to the tiresome debates of our Parliament regarding the best mode of governing the British possessions in India. Those, however, who may be disposed to regret that this work did not appear sooner, should recollect that it had its origin in the same fears that stimulated their curiosity; and it may be a consolation to all such speculators to learn, that they knew almost as much, at that moment of alarm, of the actual condition of most of the provinces between India and Europe, as those whose duty it was to guard against the danger of the attack that was threatened.

This work is dedicated to Sir John Malcolm, late envoy-extraordinary at the court of Persia; and its author gives, in a very cursory manner in this dedication, what would have been better explained in an introduction, an account of the materials from which his map and memoir are constructed. It appears, that when Sir John Malcolm was appointed envoy to the Court of Persia in 1808, he very naturally deemed an exact knowledge of those countries through which our enemies must advance, in case of their attempting an invasion of India, of the utmost importance. It was obvious, that effective measures of defence could only be grounded on such information; and he therefore detached a number of officers through the various provinces that intervened between that country and Persia, some of which were wholly unknown to Europeans. The author of the present work was one of the officers of Sir John Malcolm's family; and was, like several others, employed in surveys. He appears to us, both from the value of his own local observations and his general knowledge, to be eminently qualified for the task which was subsequently devolved upon him by the person under whom he acted, of arranging all the geographical information which had accumulated in the different missions to Persia.

The subject of this volume may be divided into two heads:—the first an account of those provinces, of which we had, before it was published, no knowledge whatever; the second, of those with regard to which our information was extremely imperfect.

Mekran, (the ancient Gedrosia) which lies between the province of Kerman in Persia, and the country of Scind on the

banks of the Indus was, we may state, quite unknown to Europeans; for we cannot dignify with the name of knowledge the scanty and uncertain information regarding this country which was to be gleaned from the pages of the historians of Alexander, who on his return from India traversed a part of Gedrosiâ. Of the southern part of Siestan we were equally ignorant. These countries appear, from the work before us, to have been fully explored by Captain Grant, Captain Christie, and Lieutenant Pottinger, who were detached by General Malcolm for the purpose; and Mr M'Donald has furnished us, from the journals of these enterprising officers, and the routes of some natives, (also employed by General Malcolm) with a very clear and satisfactory geographical description of a large tract of Asia that has long been a blank in our maps; and a knowledge of which was at once a desideratum in science, and an object, as connected with the defence of our empire in India, of great political importance.

The general result of the information that has been collected with regard to these provinces, seems to warrant the conclusion, that they could only be traversed by small armies, very lightly equipped; for, though neither so barren, nor so totally destitute of resources, as they were supposed to be, they are evidently, from the nature of the soil, and the deserts with which they are intersected, incapable of supporting a large force, even for the short period it might take to march through them.

Though we had, before the publication of this volume, some scattered accounts of the other provinces it describes, and a number of routes of travellers who have, at different periods, visited that quarter of the globe, we were without any tolerably correct map, or digested geographical treatise, that could convey an accurate idea of modern Persia. That want is now completely supplied; and we must here state, as a very remarkable proof of the advancement of the science of geography, and of our unabated ardour in the pursuit for knowledge, that more has been done by our countrymen, within the last fourteen years, to illustrate the geography of this interesting part of Asia, than was effected in a period of two centuries that the Sassanian dynasty occupied the throne of Persia, during the whole of which there was a constant and free intercourse between that country and every kingdom in Europe.

Mr M'Donald has greatly added to the value and interest of his Memoir, by giving the ancient names of the provinces and the cities of Persia. He makes constant references to the best authors who have written upon the geography of Persia; but

on some occasions, where his own opinions differ from those whose names are in general received as authorities, he has stated them in a manner that may inform, and cannot offend. We may quote, as an instance of his mode of discussing such subjects, as well as an example of his style, the following description of the appearance and position of the once celebrated city of *Susa*, in which he examines the opposite opinions relative to the site of that capital, that have been entertained by Major Rennell and Doctor Vincent.

‘ About seven or eight miles to the west of *Derzphaul*, commence the ruins of *Shus*, stretching not less, perhaps, than twelve miles, from one extremity to the other. They extend as far as the eastern bank of the *Kerah*; occupy an immense space, between that river and the *Abzal*; and, like the ruins of *Ctesiphon*, *Babylon*, and *Kufa*, consist of hillocks of earth and rubbish, covered with broken pieces of brick and coloured tile. The two largest and most remarkable of these mounds stand at the distance of about two miles from the *Kerah*. The first is, at the lowest computation, a mile in circumference, and nearly one hundred feet in height; and the other, although not quite so high, is double the circuit of the former. These mounds bear some resemblance to the pyramids of *Babylon*; with this difference, that instead of being entirely made of brick, they are formed of clay and pieces of tile, with irregular layers of brick and mortar, five or six feet in thickness, to serve, it should seem, as a kind of prop to the mass. Large blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, are not unfrequently here discovered by the Arabs, when digging in search of hidden treasure; and at the foot of the most elevated of the pyramids stands the *Tomb of Daniel*, a small, and apparently a modern building, erected on the spot where the relics of that prophet are believed to rest.

‘ These ruins, according to Major Rennell, represent the celebrated city of *Susa*; but another distinguished Oriental geographer controverts this hypothesis, and assumes, that *Shuster*, and not *Shus*, occupies the situation of the ancient metropolis of the *East*. As the question at issue appears to me to be enveloped in much obscurity, and, after all, mere matter of conjecture, I shall briefly state the arguments adduced by each, in support of their systems; and, without presuming to give an opinion in favour of either, accompany the whole with a few observations, which a personal visit to the country and places in dispute, combined with the best information I could obtain when on the spot, entitle me to offer.

‘ The inducements which lead Major Rennell to decide in favour of *Shus*, are:

‘ First, the similarity of name; and the situation, which agrees better with the distance between *Sardis* and *Susa*, mentioned in the tablets of *Aristagoras*, than that of *Shuster*. Secondly, the legend of the Prophet *Daniel*, whose coffin was found at *Shus*; and thirdly,

that *Susa* ought to be placed on a river, which has its sources in *Media*. Dr Vincent, in reply, says, "that the similarity of name is a corroborating circumstance, when we are sure of our position; but till the position be ascertained, it is only a presumptive proof, and often fallacious: and that *Shuster* approaches still nearer than *Shus* to *Shushan*, which is its title in Scripture, and *Shushan* differs not from *Susa*, but by the insertion of a dot in the letter *shin*. That to the legendary tradition of the Tomb of Daniel, little more respect is due, than to the legends of the Church of Rome and the Mahomedan traditions. That *Susa* was on the river *Euleus*. That *Shuster* is more ancient than *Shus*, having, in the opinion of Oriental writers, been built by Houchenk, and according to the mythology of the Greeks, by Tithonius, the son of Memnon. That *Susiana*, the name of the province, approaches nearer to *Shushan*; and *Kuzistan*, its modern appellation, derived from the mountains which surround it, is evidently connected with the *Kisii*, *Kussi*, and *Kossii* of the Greeks. That Nearchus sailed up to *Susa*, without entering the *Shat-ul-Arab*; which he could not have done, had that city stood on the *Kerah*: and that when Alexander descended the *Euleus*, he sent his disabled ships, through the cut of the *Hafur*, into the *Shat-ul-Arab*. And, finally, that a strong reason for placing *Susa* at *Shuster* occurs in Ebn Haukul, who says, that there is not in all *Kuzistan* any mountain, except at *Shuster*, *Jondi Shapour*, and *Ardz*: and as it is evident from history, that the castle of *Susa* was a place of strength, it is reasonable to suppose that it stood upon a hill."

'That the city of *Susa* stood on the river *Euleus*, or *Choaspes*, has, I believe, never been denied; but the great point, in my humble opinion, to determine, is, which of the three great rivers, the *Karoon*, *Abzal*, or *Kerah*, is the *Choaspes* of Herodotus. Dr Vincent supposes the river which flows through *Shuster*, and that which washes the walls of *Dezphoul*, to be the same; for he says, that the waters of the *Abzal* are raised by a mound, or dyke, at *Dezphoul*, to supply *Shuster*: and this mistake has been occasioned, by his confusing the *bund* of Sapor with the bridge of the *Dezphoul*. This imaginary river is therefore adopted by the learned Doctor as the *Euleus*. I have stated before, that the *Abzal* and *Karoon* are different streams, and have not the slightest connexion with each other, previous to their confluence at *Bundekeel*, eight farsangs below *Shuster*. *Dezphoul* is twenty eight miles west of this town; and the country is so elevated between the two cities, as to render such a communication utterly impossible. Both the *Karoon* and the *Abzal* will, however, answer Ptolemy's description of the *Euleus*, inasmuch as they have each their sources in *Media*, and enter the *Persian Gulf* by a channel, distinct from that of the *Shat-ul-Arab*. Nearchus might, therefore, have ascended either the *Abzal* or the *Karoon*, without entering the *Shat-ul-Arab*; and certainly could not have done so by the *Kerah*, which meets that stream between *Bassouy* and *Kornz*. But this circumstance will not be much in favour of Dr

Vincent's assumption, for the ruins of *Shus* approach within a few miles of the *Abzal*; and we are uncertain whether the *Euleus* flowed to the east or west of *Susa*. Nor is it, by any means, so evident as the Doctor seems to think, that the *Shuster* is more ancient than *Shus*. *Shus*, which is the term, and not *Sus*, means, in the old Persian dialect, pleasing or agreeable; and *ter* is the sign of the comparative, which, according to the traditions of the best informed natives, was applied to the situation of the present capital of *Kuzistan*, by Sapor, when he caused that city to be built, in commemoration of his victory over the Roman emperor, Valerian; for it was *Susa*, and not *Shuster* or *Shus*, (if neither represent that metropolis), which is alluded to, both by the Greek and Oriental writers, as having been founded by Houchenk and the son of Memnon.

Kohistan and *Kuzistan* are perfectly distinct terms. The former is literally a country of mountains, and could not apply to *Susiana*, which is flat. *Kuzistan* is said to mean a country of sugar, for the production of which article this province had been famous. An additional argument in support of Major Rennell's position may be drawn from Strabo: who tells us, that the Persian capital was entirely built of brick, there not being a stone in the province. Now, the quarries of *Shuster* are very celebrated, and almost the whole of the town is built of stone: but there is no such thing in the environs of *Shus*, which was evidently formed of brick, as will appear from my description of the pyramids that now remain.

The difficulty in determining the true position of *Susa* is greatly increased, by the impossibility of reconciling the present courses of the rivers in this province with the accounts given of them in the writings of ancient historians. Herodotus speaks of the *Choaspes* as the river of *Susa*; but Daniel, Diodorus, and Arrian, only mention the *Euleus*: and we are therefore led to conclude, that the same river is alluded to, under different names. If we admit the ruins of *Shus* to be those of ancient *Susa*, the *Kerah* will correspond with the description of the *Choaspes*, but not to that of the *Euleus*; for the latter entered the Gulf by a channel of its own, whilst the *Kerah* flows into the *Shat-ul-Arab*. As it is not, however, ascertained that the *Choaspes* and *Euleus* were the same, let us suppose the former to be represented in the *Kerah*, and the latter in the *Abzal*: the *Karoon* must then be the *Coprates* of Diodorus, and the *Jerahi* the *Pasitigris*. But the distance is not altogether applicable; for the *Pasitigris* would appear to have been much nearer to the *Coprates* than the *Karoon* to the *Jerahi*. According to Dr Vincent's system, the *Karoon* and *Euleus* are the same, whilst the *Koorkhankende* represents the *Coprates*, and the *Jerahi* the *Pasitigris*. If this system be correct, it is, in the first place, strange, that no mention should be made by ancient geographers, of the great rivers *Kerah* and *Abzal*; and, in the next, the size and course of the *Koorkhankende* will not agree with what is said of the *Coprates*. Diodorus asserts, that Au-

tigonus marched in one night from the *Euleus* to the *Coprates*; but it is utterly impossible for an army to move, in so short a time, from the *Karoon* to the *Koorkhankende*, a journey of about ninety miles. Neither is the depth of this stream sufficiently great, in the dry season, to require boats, or a bridge, for the passage of an army; being fordable for ten months in the year. Antigonus, after his defeat, retired to the city of *Badaca* on the *Euleus*, from which place he despatched Nearchus, through *Cossæa*, to *Ecbatana*. Now, if the *Karoon* be the *Euleus*, *Badaca* must have been situated further down the river, as *Shuster* is close to the mountains. And yet this could hardly be the case, as the army advanced into *Media*, without apparently visiting the capital. Did the *Abzal* represent the *Endeus*, the position of *Badaca* would correspond with *Dezphoul*; and it is to be observed, the nearest route from *Shuster* to *Hamadan* lies through this town.

‘I have thus stated all that occurs to me on this perplexed, and, to most people, uninteresting subject; and will only add, that the site of the city of *Shus* is now a gloomy wilderness, infested by lions, hyenas, and other beasts of prey. The dread of these furious animals compelled Mr Monteith and myself to take shelter, for the night, within the walls that encompass *Daniel's Tomb*.’ p. 99-106.

Mr Kinneir has not confined himself, in the description of Persia, to the present limits of that kingdom, but has included every province that belonged to it in the days of its glory, when it was bounded by the sea of Oman and the Indian Ocean to the south, the Indus and Oxus to the north-east, the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus to the north, and the rivers Tigris and Euphrates to the west. He gives a separate account of each province within these great limits; and the Appendix to his work is enriched with a great number of very valuable routes, obtained by General Malcolm when employed in Persia. If Mr Kinneir has been greatly indebted (which he undoubtedly has) to the great geographers such as D’Anville and our countryman Major Rennell, whose useful genius has been devoted to the improvement of our imperfect knowledge of the antient and modern geography of Asia, he has well repaid the obligation, by furnishing, not only so clear and instructive a treatise, but in collecting such a mass of materials, to aid the future labours of those who devote themselves to this arduous and important branch of science.

We cannot conclude without repeating the high opinion we have of the general merits of this Memoir. We have neither time nor inclination to enter into a minute examination of its defects. It has some; but there do not appear to us to be any errors of material importance. We could almost wish that the dissertation in the first part of the volume before us, upon the

manners and customs of the inhabitants of Persia, had been excluded. This part of the work, which is very well done, and is not prolix, may prove entertaining to a certain class of readers, and relieve what such gentlemen will call the dryness of the rest of the work : But a geographical memoir is meant to be instructive, not entertaining; and any attempt to amuse, may derogate from the higher value that belongs to such a production : And we observe that it has led some, who could only have given it a cursory perusal, to class this work of labour and science with those light and ephemeral books of travels, which are made up, like a thousand other articles, to meet the demands of the season.

ART. X. *Patronage*. By MARIA EDGEWORTH: Author of *Tales of Fashionable Life, Belinda, Leonora, &c.* 4 vol. 8vo. London, 1814.

NONE of our regular readers, we are persuaded, will be surprised at the eagerness with which we turn to every new production of Miss Edgeworth's pen. The taste and gallantry of the age may have at last pretty generally sanctioned the ardent admiration with which we greeted the first steps of this distinguished lady in her literary career; but the calmer spirits of the South can hardly yet comprehend the exhilarating effect which her reappearance uniformly produces upon the saturnine complexion of their Northern Reviewers. Fortunately, a long course of good works has justified our first sanguine augury of Miss Edgeworth's success, and the honest eulogy we pronounced upon her efforts in the cause of good sense and virtue; and it is no slight consolation to us, while suffering under alternate reproaches for ill-timed severity, and injudicious praise, to reflect, that no very mischievous effects have as yet resulted to the literature of the country, from this imputed misbehaviour on our part. Powerful genius, we are persuaded, will not be repressed even by unjust castigation; nor will the most excessive praise that can be lavished by sincere admiration ever abate the efforts that are fitted to attain to excellence. Our alleged severity upon a youthful production has not prevented the noble author from becoming the first poet of his time; and the panegyrics upon more than one female writer, with which we have been upbraided, have not relaxed their meritorious exertions to add to the instruction and amusement of their age. In the prosecution of our thankless duties, it is indeed delight-

ful now and then to meet with authors who neither dread the lash nor the spur ; whose genius is of that vigorous and healthful constitution as to allow the fair and ordinary course of criticism to be administered, without fear that their rickety bantlings may be crushed in the correction. No demands on the tenderness of the schoolmaster ;—no puling appeal to sex or age ;—no deprecation of the rod ! Praise may be awarded—severe truth may be told—and the Reviewer be as guiltless of the blame which the author may afterwards incur—as he is uniformly held to be excluded from any share of the fame he may ultimately achieve.

Such a writer is Miss Edgeworth. In her case, we are not obliged to *insinuate*, to *venture*, to *hint*, but called upon openly to *pronounce* our opinion. The overweening politeness which might be thought due to her sex, is forgotten in the contemplation of her *manly* understanding, and of a long series of writings, all directed to some great and paramount improvement of society ;—to destroy malignant prejudices, and bring down arrogant pretensions—to reconcile humble merit to its lot of obscure felicity, and expose the misery that is engendered on the glittering summits of human fortune, by the pursuits of frivolous ambition or laborious amusement—to correct, in short, the vulgar estimate of life and happiness, by exposing those errors of opinion which are most apt to be generated by a narrow observation, and pointing out the importance of these minor virtues and vices that contribute most largely to our daily sufferings or enjoyments. Her earlier essays were addressed to the middling classes of society. In her later productions, she has aspired to be the instructress of the fashionable world ; a pursuit, in which we ventured to predict, that her direct success at least would not be extremely encouraging. We do not know whether she begins to think so too ; but it seems to us, that she has endeavoured to unite both these objects in the work before us—a short analysis of which we shall present, without farther discussion, to our readers.

The work is intended, as its title indicates, as a picture of the miseries resulting from a dependence on *Patronage*, in every form and degree, and throughout every station in society. ‘ It is twice accursed,’ says our author ; ‘ once in giving, once in receiving.’ ‘ In as far as the public good is concerned, fair competition is more advantageous to the arts and artists, than any private patronage can be. If the productions have real merit, they will make their own way. If they have not, they ought not to make their way.’ And the same argument she applies to literary merit ; and to the merit, generally speaking, of persons as well as things. She also considers the trade

of a Patron as one of the most thankless, as it is the least useful, of all trades. This, it must be confessed, is bold and magnanimous doctrine, and strikes at once at so many interests and vanities, as to require all Miss Edgeworth's influence and authority to save it from general reprobation. What a host of prejudices must be overthrown upon this plan! What a swarm of *littlenesses* divested of their paltry disguises!—Ministers—Mecænas's—mistresses—patrons at court—in the church—and in the drawing-room—all cashiered and depreciated! and the shade of their protection denounced as fatal to the forced and feeble plants which are destined to seek there, either for support or for shelter.—Then the whole tribe of expectant courtiers, impatient authors, querulous artists, and trading politicians, are in danger of being roused from the pleasing dreams of patronage, and are invited to depend for success upon the fair competition of those *emancipated* talents, by which alone they can deserve it!

The story places Mr and Mrs Percy, with their eldest son Godfrey, and their daughters Caroline and Rosamond, at the family mansion on the coast of Hampshire.—A shipwreck happens; which introduces a crew of Dutchmen, with a M. de Tourville, a diplomatic agent at a German court, to the generous hospitality of the Percys.—After a day or two, the Frenchman leaves them, in great distress, at having lost a packet of importance, in the general confusion.—The Dutch crew, having repaired the vessel, set sail, but not until the carelessness of their carpenter had set fire to the old mansion.—The library is destroyed; and this loss is the more severe, because, in examining the papers that had escaped, Mr Percy misses a deed upon which the tenure of Percy Hall depends.—Rosamond exultingly brings to her father a copy, which she mistakes for the original, but, unluckily, in the presence of an attorney, whom Mr Percy's love of strict justice had made his enemy, and who immediately discovers that it wants the seal and signature.—In the mean time Commissioner Falconer, a relation of Mr Percy, is introduced, and announces the arrival of Lord Oldborough in the neighbourhood,—a great man,—a cabinet minister,—and, moreover, an old friend of Mr Percy's, from whom the Commissioner covets an introduction to the Peer, for a reason which he conceals from his friend, viz. that he had found the diplomatist's lost packet, and means to *make the most* of that good fortune, with the minister.—The interview is accomplished;—the bargain is made;—the packet is delivered;—a plot in the cabinet is discovered.—The Commissioner's son, Cuninghame, is made private secretary to Lord Oldborough, and the father becomes his chief agent in the business and politics of the county,

Thus are introduced upon the stage the leading characters of this drama. The Percy family—in all the members of which are discovered the sound morality, good sense, and independent spirit, which are meant to be contrasted by the meanness, folly, and love of patronage abounding in the Commissioner and all his genealogy; and lastly, *the Patron* himself, whose haughty and commanding qualities, got up after the best patterns in the profession, are relieved by the calm and temperate spirit of the one groupe, and the cringing falseness of the other. For some time the tale is employed in developing the characters of which we shall afterwards speak. The Falconers proceed in the road of promotion. The Percys continue in retirement. In Alfred Percy a lawyer, and Erasmus a physician, the same steady and independent spirit is exhibited, which distinguishes the father.—All the Falconers are advanced.—Mrs Falconer and her daughters are the very pink of fashion.—Mr Secretary Cuninghame gets promotion.—John, a dunce, has advancement in the army; and Buckhurst, a *buck* parson, having consented to take orders to save himself from a jail, the Commissioner's joy is complete.

At this crisis of good fortune in the one family, the other endures a reverse.—Rosamond's unlucky disclosure sets the attorney on the alert.—The estate is disputed by Sir R. Percy.—The deed is not forthcoming.—The Percys are unsuccessful; and are obliged to retire to a small property they still possessed in the hills.—Here they continue their steady purpose of independence.—The father refuses office which Lord Oldborough proffers to him.—The sons follow their professions with honour, and without patronage. The daughters refuse several offers of marriage, till at last a German, Count Altenberg, makes an impression on Caroline's heart; but, at the moment when it may be expected his proposals will be made and accepted, imperious duties recal him to his own country!

Another crisis in their history occurs. Count Altenberg returns—proposes to Caroline—is married! At the instant of his departure for Germany with his bride, Mr Percy is arrested at the suit of Sir Robert for immense arrears. The bridegroom's word is pledged to his Prince; and he departs. The Percy family accompany their father to the King's Bench. In this unhappy condition, the last and most trying proofs of their spirit and conduct occur. Godfrey is taken a prisoner of war; and Rosamond's marriage with her lover Mr Temple is prevented by poverty on both sides.

The Falconers in the mean time begin to totter. The eldest daughter indeed is married to Sir R. Percy; but Georgiana, notwithstanding all the mother's manœuvres, is still a spinster—

Cunningham Falconer is disgraced—Buckhurst, the *Dean*, rendered miserable by a mercenary marriage—John, the *Colonel*, dishonoured in his profession—and, last of all, upon the decline of Lord Oldborough's popularity and power, Mrs Falconer, who had been unluckily tempted to forge letters in his name, and commissions with his signature, is discovered and ignominiously exposed. The Commissioner goes to Alfred Percy to consult him about the sale of his estate; and this leads to the *denouement*. In the box of his papers the long lost deed is discovered!—Another trial takes place, and the Percys are restored!—The novel ends with Lord Oldborough's unexpected discovery of a son in Mr Henry, a person of little importance to the story in any other respect.

These are the outlines of the story; and out of these materials, neither very original perhaps, nor very artificially connected, Miss Edgeworth has contrived to produce so many well imagined scenes, so many striking contrasts, and a moral so constantly good, and so pointed in its application, that *Patronage*, if not amongst the best of her productions, is at least not unworthy of her name and genius. Of the characters we shall now say a few words. The *keeping* in the whole family of Percy is perfect—Caroline and Rosamond, though merely sketches, are beautifully diversified.—The keen but repressed feeling and subdued tenderness of the former are well contrasted by the quick and energetic qualities of the latter; and Rosamond's unenviable admiration of, and entire devotion to her sister, forms a most pleasing and affecting picture.

Caroline's feelings had been highly excited by the sight of a girl who had been seduced and deserted by Buckhurst Falconer. Her character, we think, is finely developed in the following scene.

"I do not believe you will ever be in love," said Rosamond.—"I confess I should admire, or at least, love you better, if you had more feeling,"—added Rosamond hastily. "By what do you judge that I want feeling?" said Caroline, colouring deeply—and with a look and tone that expressed her keen sense of injustice. "What proof have I ever given you of my want of feeling?" "No proof, that I can recollect," said Rosamond, laughing, "no proof, but that you have never been in love." "And is it a crime never to have been in love? or is it a proof I am incapable of feeling, that I have never loved one who has proved himself utterly unworthy of my love—against whose conduct my sister cannot find words sufficiently severe to express her indignation?—Rosamond, if I had ever given him any encouragement, if I had loved him, what would have been my misery at the moment you said those words?" "Ah! my dear, but then if you had been very miserable, I should have pitied you so much, and loved you so heartily for being in love," said Rosamond,

still laughing—" Oh! Rosamond," continued Caroline, whose mind was now too highly wrought for raillery—" Is love to be trifled with?—no, only by trifling minds, or by rash characters, by those who do not conceive its power, its danger. Recollect what we have just seen. A young beautiful woman sinking into the grave with shame—deserted by her parents—wishing her child unborn.—Do you remember her look of agony when we praised that child—the strongest charm of nature reversed—the strongest ties dissolved—and—love brought her to this!—She is only a poor servant girl.—But the highest and the fairest, those of the most cultivated understandings, of the tenderest hearts, cannot love bring them down to the same level, to the same fate?—And not only our weak sex, but over the stronger sex, and the strongest of the strong, and the wisest of the wise, what is, what has ever been the power, the delusions of that passion, which can cast a spell over the greatest hero, throw a blot on the brightest glory, blast in a moment a life of fame!—What must be the power of that passion, which can inspire genius in the dullest and the coldest, waken heroism in the most timid of creatures, exalt to the highest point, or to the lowest degrade our nature—the bitterest curse, or the sweetest blessing Heaven bestows on us in this life!—Oh! sister, is love to be trifled with?" Caroline paused, and Rosamond, for some instants, looked at her and at her mother in silence; then exclaimed—" All this from Caroline!—Are not you astonished, mother?" " No," said Mrs Percy, " I was aware that this was in Caroline's mind." " I was not"—said Rosamond; " She who never spoke of love!—I little imagined that she thought of it so highly, so seriously." " Yes, I do think of it seriously, highly may Heaven grant!" cried Caroline, looking fervently upwards as she spoke with an illuminated countenance. " May Heaven grant that love be a blessing and not a curse to me!—Heaven grant that I may never, in any moment of selfish vanity, try to excite a passion which I cannot return!—Heaven grant that I never may feel the passion of love but for one, whom I shall entirely esteem, who shall be worthy to fill my whole soul!" " Mother!" continued Caroline, turning eagerly, and seizing her mother's hand—" My guide, my guardian, whenever you see in me any, the slightest inclination, to coquetry, warn me . . . as you wish to save me from that which I should most dread, the reproaches of my own conscience . . . in the first, the very first instance, reprove me, mother, if you can . . . with severity.—And you, my sister, my bosom friend, do not use your influence to soften, to open my mind to love; but if ever you perceive me yielding my heart to the first tenderness of the passion, watch over me, if the object be not every way worthy of me, my equal, my superior . . . Oh! as you would wish to snatch me from the grave, rouse me from the delusion—save me from disappointment, regret, remorse, which I know that I could not bear and live."—I. 365—369.

Erasmus Percy, the physician, having saved the leg of a poor

Irishman, in spite of the prognostics of a fashionable doctor, loses his election as physician to an hospital, by the interest of the said doctor. We cannot resist giving the following scene, in which Miss Edgeworth's inimitable talent for pourtraying her poor countrymen is displayed.

‘ O'Brien, we hope the reader recollects was the poor Irishman, whose leg the surgeon had condemned to be cut off, but which was saved by Erasmus.—A considerable time afterwards, one morning, when Erasmus was just getting up, he heard a loud knock at his door, and in one and the same instant pushing past his servant into his bed-chamber, and to the foot of his bed, rushed O'Brien, breathless, and with a face perspiring joy—"I axe your Honor's pardon, master, but it's what you're wanting down street in all haste—Here's an elegant case for ye, Doctor dear!—That painter-jantleman down in the square there beyond that is not expected."—"Not expected!"—said Erasmus. "Ay, not expected, so put on ye with the speed of light—Where's his waistcoat?" continued he, turning to Dr Percy's astonished servant—"and coat?—the top-coat—and the wig—has he one?—Well! boots or shoes give him any way."—"But I don't clearly understand . . . Pray did this gentleman send for me?"—said Dr Percy. "Send for your Honor! Troth, he never thought of it—No nor couldn't—how could he? and he in the way he was and is—But God bless ye! and never mind shaving, or another might get it afore we'd be back. Though there was none in it but myself when I left it—but still keep on buttoning for the life."—Erasmus dressed as quickly as he could, not understanding, however, above one word in ten that had been said to him. His servant, who did not comprehend even one word, endeavoured in vain to obtain an explanation; but O'Brien, paying no regard to his solemn face of curiosity, put him aside with his hand, and continuing to address Dr Percy, followed him about the room.—Master! you mind my *min-tioning* to you last time I *seen* your Honor, that my leg was weak *by times*, no fault though to the doctor that cured it, so I could not be *after carrying* the weighty loads I used up and down the ladders at every call, so I quit *sarving* the masons, and sought for lighter work, and found an employ that *shuted* me with a jantleman-painter, grinding of his colours, and that was what I was at this morning, so I was, and standing as close to him as I am this minute to your Honor, thinking of nothing at all just now, please your Honor, *forenent* him—*asy* grinding, *whin* he took some sort or kind of a fit."—"A fit! Why did you not tell me that sooner?"—"Sure I *tould* you he was not *expicted*,—that is, if you don't know in England, not *expicted* to *live*—and—sure I *tould* your Honor so from the first," said O'Brien. "But, then the jantleman was as well as I am this minute, that minute afore—and the *nixt* fell his length on the floor entirely. Well! I set him up again, and for want of better filled out a thimble-full say, of the spirits of wine as they call it, which he got by good luck for the varnish, and made him take it down, and he come to, and I

axed him how was he after it?—Better, says he—That's well, says I, and who will I send for to ye, Sir? says I—But afore he could make answer, I bethought me of your own Honor, and for fear he would say another, I never troubled him, putting the question to him again, but just set the spirits nigh-hand him, and away with me here; I come off without *letting on* a word to nobody, good or bad, in dread your Honor would miss the job."—"Job!"—said Dr Percy's servant—"do you think my master wants a job?"—"Oh! Lord, love ye, and just give his hat. Would you have us be standing on ceremony now in a case of life and death?"—Dr Percy was, as far as he understood it, of the Irishman's way of thinking. He followed as fast as he could to the painter's—found that he had a slight paralytic stroke;—from which he recovered.—We need not detail the particulars.—Nature and Dr Percy brought him through.—He was satisfied with his physician; for Erasmus would not take any fee, because he went unsent for by the patient. The painter, after his recovery, was one day complimenting Dr Percy on the inestimable service he had done the arts in restoring him to his pencil, in proof of which the artist showed many masterpieces, that wanted only the finishing touch, in particular a huge long-limbed, fantastic, allegorical piece of his own design, which he assured Dr Percy was the finest example of the *beau idéal* antient or modern, that human genius had ever produced upon canvas.—"And what do you think, doctor," said the painter, "tell me what you can think of a connoisseur, a patron, Sir, who could stop my hand, and force me from that immortal work to a portrait, a portrait!—Barbarian! he fit to encourage genius!—he set up to be a *Mecænas*! mere vanity!—gives pensions to four signpost daubers, not fit to grind my colours! knows no more of the art than that fellow," pointing to the Irishman, who was at that instant grinding the colours—*asy* as he described himself—"and lets me languish here in obscurity!" continued the enraged painter—"Now I'll never put another stroke to his Dutch beauty's portrait if I starve—if I rot for it in a jail—he a *Mecænas*!" The changes upon this abuse were rung repeatedly by this irritated genius, his voice and palsied hand trembling with rage while he spoke, till he was interrupted by a carriage stopping at the door.—"Here's the patron!"—cried the Irishman, with an arch look—"Ay, its the patron sure enough!" Dr Percy was going away, but O'Brien got between him and the door, menacing his coat with his pallet-knife, covered with oil—Erasmus stopped. "I axe your pardon, but don't go," whispered he, "I wouldn't for the best coat nor waistcoat ever I seen you went this minute, Dear!"—Mr Gresham was announced—a gentleman of a most respectable, benevolent, prepossessing appearance, whom Erasmus had some recollection of having seen before. Mr Gresham recognised him instantly.—Mr Gresham was the merchant, whom Erasmus had met at Sir Amyas Courtney's the morning when he went to solicit Sir Amyas's vote at the hospi-

tal election.—After having spoken a few words to the painter about the portrait, Mr Gresham turned to Dr Percy, and said, “I am afraid, Sir, that you lost your election at the hospital by your sincerity about a shell.”—Before Erasmus could answer—in less time than he could have thought it possible to take off a stocking, a great bare leg—O’Brien’s leg, came between Mr Gresham and Dr Percy. “There’s what lost him the election! saving that leg lost him the election—so it did, God for ever bless him! and reward him for it!” Then with eloquence, emphasis, and action, which came from the heart, and went to the heart, the poor fellow told how his leg had been saved, and spoke of what Dr Percy had done for him, in terms which Erasmus would have been ashamed to hear, but that he really was so much affected with O’Brien’s gratitude, and thought it did so much honour to human nature, that he could not stop him.—Mr Gresham was touched also; and upon observing this, Erasmus’s friend, with his odd mixture of comedy and pathos, ended with this exhortation. “And God bless you, Sir, you’re a great man, and have many to my knowledge under a compliment to you; and if you’ve any friends that are *lying*, or sick, if you’d recommend them to send for *him* in preference to any other of the doctors, it would be a charity to themselves and to me—for I will never have peace else thinking how I have been a hinderance to him—And a charity it would be to themselves, for what does the sick want but to be cured? and there’s the man will do that for them, as two witnesses here present can prove,—that gentleman if he would spake, and myself.” II. 20—28.

The Falconers are evidently the strong features in the work, and afford the most glaring illustration of the mischief of relying on patronage. We have not space to describe the Commissioner,—one of those ‘*not bad men*, but who have an exclusive sympathy with the prosperous.’ His talents and those of his son *John*, are thus contrasted, in a scene which ensued upon his patron’s order, that the said John should be married *outright*.

‘The Commissioner set to work in earnest about the match he had in view for John. Not one, but several fair visions flitted before the eye of his politic mind. The Miss Chattertons, any one of whom would, he knew, come readily within the terms prescribed—but then, they had neither fortune nor connexions. A relation of Lady Jane Granville’s—excellent connexion, and reasonable fortune—but there all the decorum of regular approaches and time would be necessary. Luckily a certain Miss Petcalf was just returned from India, with a large fortune. The general, her father, was anxious to introduce his daughter to the fashionable world, and to marry her for connexion—fortune no object to him—delicacies he would wave. The Commissioner saw—counted—and decided—(There was a brother Petcalf too, who might do for Georgiana—but for that no hurry)—John was asked by his father if he would like

to be a major in a year, and a lieutenant-colonel in two years? "To be sure he would—was he a fool?" "Then he must be married in a fortnight." John did not see how this conclusion followed immediately from the premises, for John was not *quite* a fool; so he answered—Indeed!—an *indeed*! so unlike Lord Oldborough's, that the Commissioner, struck with the contrast, could scarcely maintain the gravity the occasion required; and he could only pronounce the words, "General Petcalf has a daughter." "Ay, Miss Petcalf—Ay, he is a general—true—now I see it all—Well, I'm their man—I have no objection—but Miss Petcalf! Is not that the Indian girl? Is not there a drop of black blood? No, no, father," cried John, drawing himself up—"I'll be d—d"

"Hear me first, my own John," cried his father, much and justly alarmed—for this motion was the precursor of an obstinate fit, which, if John took, perish father, mother, the whole human race, he could not be moved from the settled purpose of his soul. "Hear me, my beloved John—for you are a man of sense," said his unblushing father—"do you think I'd have a drop of black blood for my daughter-in-law, much less let my favourite son But there's none—it is climate—all climate—as you may see by only looking at Mrs Governor Carneguy, how she figures every where, and Miss Petcalf is nothing near so dark as Mrs Carneguy, surely." "Surely"—said John. "And her father, the General, gives her an Indian fortune to suit an Indian complexion." "That's good, at any rate," quoth John. "Yes, my dear Major—yes, my Lieutenant-Colonel, to be sure that's good. So, to secure the good the gods provide us, go you this minute, dress and away to your fair Indian I'll undertake the business with the General." "But a fortnight, my dear father," said John, looking in the glass—"how can that be?" "Look again, and tell me how it can *not* be?—Pray don't put that difficulty into Miss Petcalf's head—into her heart I am sure it would never come." John yielded his shoulder to the push his father gave him towards the door; but suddenly turning back—"Zounds, father, a fortnight," he exclaimed, "why, there won't be time to buy even boots!" "And what are even boots," replied his father, "to such a man as you?—Go, go, man; your legs are better than all the boots in the world." I. 271-274.

Mrs Falconer, the managing, manœuvring, fashionable Mrs Falconer, is only to be *tasted* and understood, by reading the book through. We shall hazard some extracts, however. It is not easy to imagine a scene contrived with more dramatic effect from beginning to end, than the history of the ball to be given by that lady, *if possible* to the *exclusion*, but, at all events, to the mortification of the impoverished, but still *real* laundry of the Percies.—At first there were hopes of their declining.—They accept!—Then it is confidently expected that means of conveyance would fail them.—Lord Oldborough sends his carriage!—

The ball begins—the Percies are not arrived—some *fortunate* accident keeps them away—But, alas!

Soon afterwards, a report reached her, that the Percy family were arrived; that Count Altenberg had been particularly struck by the sight of one of the Miss Percies, and had been overheard to whisper to his friend Colonel Bremen, “Very like the picture!—but still more *mind* in the countenance!” At hearing this, Miss Georgiana Falconer grew first red and then turned pale; Mrs Falconer, though scarcely less confounded, never changed a muscle of her face, but leaving every body to choose their various comments upon the Count’s words, and simply saying: “Are the Percies come at last?”—She won her easy way through the crowd, whispering to young Petcalf as she passed: “Now is your time, Petcalf, my good creature, Georgiana is disengaged.”—Before Mrs. Falconer got to the antichamber, another report met her, “that the Percies had been overturned, and had been terribly hurt.” “Overturned!—terribly hurt!—Good Heavens!”—cried Mrs. Falconer as she entered the antichamber.—But the next person told her, they were not in the least hurt.—Still pressing forward, she exclaimed: “Mrs Percy! Where is Mrs Percy? My dear Madam! what has happened? Come the wrong road, did you? . . . broken bridge—And were you really overturned?”—“No, no, only obliged to get out and walk a little way.”—“Oh! I am sorry But I am so glad to see you all safe! When it grew late I grew so uneasy!” Then turning towards Caroline—“Miss Caroline Percy, I am sure, though I had never, till now, the pleasure of seeing her.” An introduction of Caroline by Mrs Percy, in due form, took place—Mrs Falconer next recognized Mr Percy, declared he did not look a day older than when she had seen him fifteen years before—Then recurring to the ladies—“But, my dear Mrs Percy, are you sure that your shoes are not wet through?—Oh! my dear Madam, Miss Percy’s are terribly wet, and Miss Caroline’s!—Positively the young ladies must go to my dressing-room, the shoes must be dried”—Mrs Falconer said, that “perhaps her daughters could accommodate the Miss Percies with others.” It was in vain that Rosamond protested her shoes were not wet, and that her sister’s were perfectly dry; a few specks on their white justified Mrs Falconer’s apprehensions. “Where is my Arabella? . . . If there was any body I could venture to trouble . . .” Count Altenberg instantly offered his services. “Impossible to trouble you, Count! But since you are so very good, perhaps you could find one of my daughters for me—Miss Falconer,—if you are so kind, Sir . . . Georgiana I am afraid is dancing.”—Miss Falconer was found, and despatched with Miss Percies, in spite of all they could say to the contrary, to Mrs Falconer’s dressing-room. Rosamond was permitted, without much difficulty, to do as she pleased, but Mrs Falconer’s infinite fears, lest Caroline should catch her death of cold, could not be appeased, till she had submitted to change her shoes. “Caroline!” said Rosamond, in a low voice,

"Caroline! do not put on those shoes—they are too large—you will never be able to dance in them." "I know that—but I am content." It is better to yield, than to debate the point any longer," said Caroline. When they returned to the ball-room, Count Altenberg was in earnest conversation with Mr Percy; but Mrs Falconer observed, that the Count saw Miss Caroline Percy the moment she entered. "Now is not it extraordinary!" thought she, "when Georgiana dances so well! is infinitely more fashionable! and so charmingly dressed!—What can strike him so much in this girl's appearance?" It was not her appearance that struck him—He was too well accustomed to see beauty and fashion in public places, to be caught at first sight by a handsome face, or by a young lady's exhibition of her personal graces at a ball. But a favourable impression had been made on his mind by what he had previously heard of Miss Caroline Percy's conduct and character; her appearance confirmed this impression precisely, because she had not the practised air of a professed beauty, because she did not seem in the least to be thinking of herself, or to expect admiration.—This was really uncommon, and, therefore, it fixed the attention of a man like Count Altenberg.—He asked Caroline to dance; she declined dancing.—Mr Temple engaged Rosamond; and, the moment he led her away, the Count availed himself of her place, and a conversation commenced, which soon made Mrs Falconer regret, that Caroline had declined dancing.

Though the Count was a stranger to the Percy family, yet there were many subjects of common interest, of which he knew how to avail himself. He began by speaking of Mr Alfred Percy—of the pleasure he had had in becoming acquainted with him—of the circumstance which led to this acquaintance.—Then he passed to Lord Oldborough—to M. de Tourville—to the shipwreck.—He paused at Percy-Hall, for he felt for those to whom he was speaking. They understood him, but they did not avoid the subject; he then indulged himself in the pleasure of repeating some of the expressions of attachment to their old landlord, an affectionate affection and gratitude, which he had heard from the peasants in the village. Mrs Falconer moved away the moment she foresaw the part of the conversation; but she was only so far removed as to prevent the necessity of her taking any part in it, or of appearing to hear what it might be "awkward for her to hear," considering her intimacy with Sir Robert Percy. She began talking to an old lady about her late illness, of which she longed to hear from her own lips all the particulars; and whilst the old lady told her case, Mrs Falconer, with eyes fixed upon her, and making, at proper intervals, all the appropriate changes of countenance requisite to express tender sympathy, alarm, horror, astonishment, and joyful congratulation; contrived, at the same time, through the whole progress of fever, and the administration of half the medicines in the London Pharmacopoeia, to hear every thing that was said by Count Altenberg, without saying a word that was uttered by Caroline. Mrs Falconer was particularly anxious to know what would be said about the picture in the gallery—she knew that with which the Count had been so much charmed.—When he got into the gallery, Mrs

Falconer listened with breathless eagerness, yet still smiling on the old lady's never-ending history of her convalescence, and of a shawl undoubtedly Turkish, with the true, inestimable, inimitable, little border. Not a word was said of the picture—but a pause—implied more to alarm Mrs Falconer, than could have been expressed by the most flattering compliment.—Mrs Falconer wondered why supper was so late. She sent, to order that it might be served as soon as possible. But her man, or her gentleman-cook, was not a person to be hurried. Three successive messengers were sent in vain. He knew his importance, and preserved his dignity.—The caramel was not ready, and nothing could make him dispense with its proper appearance.—How much depended on this caramel!—How much, of which the cook never dreamed!—How much Mrs Falconer suffered during this half hour, and suffered with a smiling countenance!—How much, with a scowling brow, Miss Georgiana Falconer made poor Petcalf endure!—III. 12—20.

The following matrimonial conference upon the means of settling a daughter, is we think admirable.

"Mrs Falconer, there's one thing I won't allow—I won't allow Georgiana and you to make a fool of young Petcalf." "By no means, my love, but if he makes a fool of himself, you know." "Mrs Falconer, you recollect the transaction about the draught." "For Zara's dress?"—"Yes, Ma'am—The condition you made then in my name with Georgiana, I hold her to; and I expect that she be prepared to be Mrs Petcalf within the year." "I told her so, my dear, and she acquiesces—she submits—she is ready to obey—if nothing better offers——" "If—Ay, there it is!—All the time I know you are looking to the Clays, and if they fail, somebody else will start up, whom you will think a better match than Petcalf, and all these people are to be *sêled*, and so you will go on wasting my money and your own time. Petcalf will run restive at last, you will lose him, and I shall have Georgiana left upon my hands after all." "No danger, my dear.—My principle is the most satisfactory and secure imaginable.—To have a number of tickets in the wheel—then, if one comes up a blank, still you have a chance of a prize in the next.—Only have patience, Mr Falconer." "Patience, my dear, how can a man have patience, when he has seen the same thing going on for years? And I have said the same thing to you over and over—a hundred times, Mrs Falconer." "A hundred times at least, I grant, and that, perhaps, is enough to try my patience you'll allow, and yet, you see, how reasonable I am.—I have only to repeat what is incontrovertible, that when a girl has been brought up, and has lived in a certain line, you must push her in that line, for she will not do in any other.—You must be sensible, that no mere country gentleman would ever think of Georgiana—We must push her in the line for which she is fit—the fashionable line."—"Push! Bless my soul, Ma'am! you have been pushing one or other of those girls ever since they were in their teens, but

your pushing signifies nothing.—The men, don't you see, back as fast as the women advance." "Coarse!—Too coarse! too commonplace an observation for you, Commissioner," said Mrs Falconer, with admirable temper; "but when men are angry, they will say more than they think." "Ma'am, I don't say half as much as I think . . . ever." "Indeed!—That is a candid confession, for which I owe you credit at all events."—"It's a foolish game . . . it's a foolish game . . . it's a losing game," continued the Commissioner, "and you will play it, till we are ruined." "Not a losing game if it be played with temper, and spirit.—Many throw up the game like cowards, when, if they had but had courage to double the bet, they would have made their fortune." "Pshaw! Pshaw!" said the Commissioner,—“Can you double your girls' beauty? can you double their fortune?” “Fashion stands in the place both of beauty and fortune, Mr Falconer; and fashion, my girls, I hope you will allow, enjoy.” “Enjoy! What signifies that?—Fashion, you told me, was to win Count Altenberg,—has it won him? Are we one bit the better for the expense we were at in all those entertainments?” “All *that*,—or most of it . . . at least the popularity ball must be set down to Lord Oldborough's account, and that is your affair, Commissioner.” “And the play, and the play-house, and the dresses!—Was Zara's dress my affair.—Did I not tell you, you were wasting your time upon that man?” “No waste, nothing has been wasted, my dear Commissioner; believe me, even in point of economy we could not have laid out money better, for at a trifling expense we have obtained for Georgiana the credit of having refused Count Altenberg.—Lady Kew and Lady Trant have spread the report.—You know it is not my business to speak—and now the Count is gone, who can contradict it with any propriety?—The thing is universally believed.—Every body is talking of it; and the consequence is, Georgiana is more in fashion now than ever she was.” III. 210—215.

Having, in the above extracts, mentioned *the Clays*, we cannot refuse our readers the satisfaction of their nearer acquaintance in Miss Edgeworth's picturesque description of them:

“*French Clay*, and *English Clay*, as they have been named, are brothers, both men of large fortune, which their father acquired respectably by commerce, and which they are spending in all kinds of extravagance and profligacy, not from inclination, but merely to purchase admission into fine company.—*French Clay* is a travelled coxcomb, who, *à propos de bottes*, begins with—‘When I was abroad with the Princess Orbitella . . .’ But I am afraid I cannot speak of this man with impartiality, for I cannot bear to see an Englishman apeing a Frenchman.—The imitation is always so awkward, so ridiculous, so contemptible. *French Clay* talks of *tact*, but without possessing any; he delights in what he calls *persiflage*, but in his *persiflage*, instead of the wit and elegance of Parisian raillery, there

appears only the vulgar love and habit of derision.—He is continually railing at our English want of *savoir vivre*, yet is himself an example of the ill-breeding which he reprobates. His manners have neither the cordiality of an Englishman, nor the polish of a foreigner. To improve us in *l'esprit de société*, he would introduce the whole system of French gallantry—the vice without the refinement.—I heard him acknowledge it to be ‘his principle’ to intrigue with every married woman who would listen to him, provided she has any one of his four requisites, wit, fashion, beauty, or a good table.—He says his late suit in Doctors’ Commons cost him nothing—for 10,000*l.* are nothing to him.—Public virtue, as well as private, he thinks it a fine air to disdain.—and patriotism and love of our country he calls prejudices, of which a philosopher ought to divest himself.—Some charitable people say, that he is not so unfeeling as he seems to be, and that above half his vices arise from affectation, and from a mistaken ambition to be, what he thinks perfectly French.

“His brother, English Clay, is a cold, reserved, proud, dull looking man, whom art, in despite of nature, strove, and strove in vain, to quicken into a ‘gay deceiver.’—He is a grave man of pleasure—his first care being to provide for his exclusively personal gratifications. His dinner is a serious, solemn business, whether it be at his own table, or at a tavern, which last he prefers—he orders it so, that his repast shall be the very best of its kind that money can procure. His next care is, that he be not cheated in what he is to pay. Not that he values money, but he cannot bear to be *taken in*. Then his dress, his horses, his whole appointment and establishment, are complete, and accurately in the fashion of the day—no expense spared.—All that belongs to Mr Clay, of Clay Hall, is the best of its kind, or, at least, *had from the best hand* in England. Every thing about him is English; but I don’t know whether this arises from love of his country, or contempt of his brother. English Clay is not ostentatious of that which is his own, but he is disdainful of all that belongs to another. The slightest deficiency in the *appointments* of his companions he sees, and marks by a wink to some bystander, or with a dry joke laughs the wretch to scorn. In company, he delights to sit by, silent and snug, sneering inwardly at those who are entertaining the company, and *committing* themselves. He never entertains, and is seldom entertained. His joys are neither convivial nor intellectual; he is gregarious, but not companionable; a hard drinker, but not social. Wine sometimes makes him noisy, but never makes him gay; and, whatever be his excesses, he commits them seemingly without temptation from taste or passion. He keeps a furiously expensive mistress, whom he curses, and who curses him, as Buckhurst informs me, ten times a day; yet he prides himself on being free and unmarried! Scorning and dreading women in general, he swears he would not marry Venus herself, unless she had 100,000*l.* in each pocket; and now, that no mortal Venus wears pockets, he thanks Heaven he is safe.—Buckhurst, I remember, assured me,

that beneath this crust of pride there is some good nature. Deep hid under a large mass of selfishness, there may be some glimmerings of affection. He shows symptoms of feeling for his horses, and his mother, and his coachman, and his country. I do believe he would fight for old England, for it is his country, and he is English Clay. — Affection for his coachman did I say?—He shows admiration, if not affection, for every whip of note in town. He is their companion . . . no, their pupil, and, as Antoninus Pius gratefully prided himself in recording the names of those relations and friends from whom he learnt his several virtues, this man may boast to after ages of having learnt how to cut a fly off his near leader's ear from one coachman, how to tuck up a duck from another, and the *true spit* from a third—by the by, it is said, but I don't vouch for the truth of the story, that this last accomplishment cost him a tooth, which he had had drawn to attain it in perfection.—Pure *slang* he could not learn from any one coachman, but from constantly frequenting the society of all. I recollect Buckhurst Falconer's telling me, that he dined once with English Clay, in company with a baronet, a viscount, an earl, a duke, and the driver of a mail-coach, to whom was given, by acclamation, the seat of honour. I am told there is a house, at which these gentlemen and noblemen meet regularly every week, where there are two dining-rooms divided by glass doors.—In one room the real coachmen dine, in the other the amateur gentlemen, who, when they are tired of their own conversation, throw open the glass doors, that they may be entertained and edified by the coachmen's wit and *slang*; in which dialect English Clay's rapid proficiency has, it is said, recommended him to the *best* society, even more than his being the master of the best of cooks, and of Clay-Hall."—II. 362-368.

With Lord Odborough's character, notwithstanding it is evidently a laboured and a favourite sketch, we confess we are not much captivated or edified; and Miss Edgeworth herself seems to be unwilling to seal it with the stamp of her 'good or evil favour.' It may be said, that it is the more true to nature; but although the *Patron* was necessary to the moral, we think poetical justice required a more decisive preponderance of good or ill, to be assigned to him. Mr Percy describes him as 'a noble mind corroded and debased by ambition—virtuous principle, generous feeling, stifled—a powerful, capacious understanding distorted beyond recovery—a soul once expatiating, and full of high thoughts, now confined to a span—bent down to low concerns—imprisoned in the precincts of a court.' This high-souled minister, early in the history, sends Godfrey Percy to the West Indies, because he fancies the young soldier admires his Lordship's niece; and, at the close of it, he discovers, in the features of a personage very unimportant otherwise, his son, by an Italian lady, whom he had seduced

and deserted in early life ;—a villany perfectly gratuitous, if it were not for the purpose of puzzling our understandings, after the author has laboured to prove that the Patron's vices are those of his situation, and not of his heart.

We are somewhat amused in pondering upon the effect which this character of Lord Oldborough,—its *air of history*,—the plot and resignation,—and *accurately reported* conversation with George the Third at Windsor, will have upon the *Quid-nunc* novel readers in our royal boroughs, where, we are credibly informed, the *Spirit of the Book* is still venerated as an authentic history of an illustrious personage. Some will discover the likeness of Mr Pitt,—some of Lord Grenville,—others of my Lord Castlereagh, to whom the application will the more readily be made, because his Lordship may be supposed to have held some such colloquy, when his faithful colleague was *smoothing the way* to his temporary retirement.—The more loyal will discover, in Mrs Falconer's forging, and sale of commissions, the nauseous detail of Mrs Clarke's plot and correspondence with the Claverings and Fitzgeralds.—In the character of the Chief Justice of England, whose love of liberty, temperance of conduct, elegance of language, and mansuetude of address, secure the esteem and confidence of his country, the *very keen-sighted* may perhaps discover my Lord Ellenborough. For our own part, however, we are inclined to think that Miss Edgeworth had *not* that learned personage in her eye,—but rather that she drew from the stock of her native country, as well she might,—that union of law and literature,—of liberal feeling and suavity of intercourse,—of polished wit and political integrity, of which the Bar of Ireland furnishes more than one illustrious example.

Miss Edgeworth, we are afraid, is somewhat enamoured of *high station*,—else why select for the husband of Caroline, the daughter of the highminded Percy, who spurns at patronage, and deploras the patron; a German,—a courtier,—and a minister in expectation? Count Altenberg is the *favourite* of an hereditary Prince, with the reversion of the office of prime minister in his prospect, *secured* to him *on the promise* of his Highness, whenever his serene father shall be no more! It may be, indeed, that Miss Edgeworth considers this promise as the *best security*, that the holder of it shall *not* be tormented with the possession of that painful preeminence!

For our part, we confess, we think the clumsy *machinery* of majesty, and the cumbrous agency of those superior beings vulgarly known by the name of ministers and favourites, so extremely unlike the simpler and purer taste of Miss Edgeworth's

former fables, that we have been sometimes tempted to doubt, whether this, and some other parts of the work which we shall point out, are the unmixed productions of her pen. We think we know her style better. Miss Edgeworth has hitherto shown an instinctive aversion to bad taste, either in the conduct or in the sentiments of her works. Surely some heavy spirit has occasionally guided her pen,—has obtruded its ponderous *patronage* on her book,—has swelled the bulk of the work, but taken from its characteristic delicacy,—and has distilled its poppies upon pages, which we are compelled to allow are *now and then* prosing and tedious.

As a moralist, Miss Edgeworth has ventured upon a new *proscription*. In a long, and not very edifying conversation, the balance of the argument (after the manner of novelists, when they desire to *betray* their own opinion) is against the practice of young gentlemen marrying the daughters of *divorcées*; and Godfrey Percy decides against a marriage pretty much upon that account. This is no trifling question. In our country, where the freedom of divorce is considerable, little advantage is taken of it, except of late, when our English neighbours have thought fit to participate in the enjoyment of our northern *latitude*. We are proud of this distinction, and would not speak irreverently of that native barrier which is raised against the violators of the marriage vow. But are we prepared, with Miss Edgeworth, to visit on the innocent offspring the sins of their parents? to dishonour and proscribe them? to set our mark upon their race? to forbid their communion with our daughters, their marriage with our sons?—Is youth, and beauty, and innocence, to be doomed to barrenness and disgrace, or, at best, to seek a community of interests with those ‘who have offended likewise?’ Is this very generous? or is it just?—In the range of her female acquaintances, does not Miss Edgeworth know *many* brilliant instances, where this misfortune of birth has prompted the pure and virtuous mind to more constant exertion, to more keen and active search of excellence, in whom the sins of the mother have excited an hereditary expiation in the daughter, and have produced that effect which the sight of wrong, and its attendant misery in others, will constantly operate in cultivated minds?—A strict education, a virtuous example, are, no doubt, admirable preparatives for female excellence—But let us be just. If Miss Edgeworth’s proscription is founded in equity, it must be *more general*. The argument is delicate; and we would fain defer at least the investigation of it; but we may be permitted to add, that of those mothers who *offend, by affording bad examples to their children,*

the instance of the Divorcée will surely *most* operate to deter her offspring from evil, from the misery always attendant upon that state, and the unavoidable disadvantages which those children already suffer in society. But we really cannot persuade ourselves, that the sentiment we are here combating is the genuine sentiment of Miss Edgeworth ;—for it appears to us not to be the sentiment of a generous and feeling woman. The patronizing Spirit has here mixed nightshade with his poppies !

Miss Edgeworth, in a manner rather temporizing we think, than pronounced, insinuates her doubts—her dislike, we may say, to the German waltz ! Of the charms and mischiefs of that mysterious dance, we profess to be incompetent judges. We are told, however, that it has all the *revolutionary symptoms*, and has produced hosts of alarmists in the capital of our neighbours. In this purer region, we are still content with a rigid adherence to the orthodox Highland fling,—the pure pleasures of the Presbyterian reel ! At most, we deviate into a *Border-bumpkin*, and view with jealousy, in the country dances, the occasional introduction of an *allemande*, (another German innovation, we believe), in which the concatenation of youthful arms is somewhat equivocal and alarming.

Our national feelings, therefore, incline us to join with Miss Edgeworth, in adhering to the old constitution of our balls and our forefathers. This is our opinion ; and no doubt it is the opinion of *English Clay*. But then, English Clay must join with us in *tolerating* those who discover no immediate and decisive danger to *all other* people from this indulgence ; seeing that the Germans, Russians, Swiss,—all Europe indeed,—are blessed with constitutions calculated to resist the evil effects of this stimulus, *though ours cannot* ;—and have their competent share of chastity and decorum, whatever the fashionable tourists of our country may report to the contrary.

ART. XI. *Observations made on a Tour from Hamburg, through Berlin, Gortitz, and Breslaw to Silberberg, and thence to Göttenburg.* By ROBERT SEMPLE, Author of Two Journeys in Spain, a Sketch of the Caracas, &c. 8vo. pp. 285. London, Baldwin, 1814.

MR SEMPLE has, by his former works, contributed so materially to the information and amusement of the public, that we naturally regard him with a considerable degree of interest, and hear with concern of any misadventures which may have befallen him. The present volume is principally occupied

with a detail of the treatment which he recently experienced from a British Minister,—one of those extraordinary ambassadors whom the wisdom of our government, of course without any bias from personal or court connexions, has stationed in the vicinity of the Allied Sovereigns during the momentous crisis of the war.

We have more than once had occasion to commend this author for the plain and useful information which his books contain, and for the simple and cheap form of their publication. The work before us, though much less interesting than such a tour, at such a time, might have been rendered,—a defect chiefly owing to the misfortune which we are about to mention,—contains, nevertheless, several valuable notices respecting the countries to which it relates. The journey was undertaken during the suspension of hostilities last spring, after the disastrous retreat of the French, the author having left England in the middle of April: but he remained abroad during the campaign, having returned after the armistice.

The author first made Heligoland, after a very short passage of little more than forty-eight hours; but having the misfortune to strike on the rocks which surround the island, they were obliged to leave the vessel, and land in boats. Being detained by contrary winds in this little island for above a week, he had an opportunity of observing it with sufficient minuteness. The most singular circumstances in its physical situation, are its perceptible decay by the action of the sea on the crumbling rock of which it is composed, and the romantic beauty of the scenery among the cliffs towards the south. Its temporary political importance, however, during the reign of the French system upon the Continent, was far more remarkable. It became the great entrepôt for smuggling, that is, for trade, between the Continent and England. The occupations of the inhabitants continued as formerly to be those of a seafaring life; and the noted avarice derived from their employment in piloting and succouring distressed navigators, had not been diminished by the new importance which their situation of late years gave them. Mr Semple conceives this 'exorbitant love of money' to be greatly increased; and he seems, indeed, to deduce it from recent events, without a precise knowledge of former periods. He also notices the remarkable appearance of all labour on shore being performed by the women—even to the most fatiguing. As the author has on other occasions dealt in sentiment, and in works of fiction, a little of the romantic now and then breaks out here. In surveying the rocks, he is first pleased to fancy that a mass which fell 'not far behind him,' might have overwhelmed him. Then he imagines that 'at some distant period his bones might have re-

‘visited the light;’ and, his mineralogy suddenly coming in to the aid of his poetry, he proceeds to suppose that they would then appear ‘encased in argillaceous schistus, and whitened by the waves;’ and that in this elegant condition they might be ‘carried by the tides to the shores of Britain, and form a subject of speculation and wonder to philosophers yet unborn!’

Among such a race as the Heligoland boatmen, one does not expect to find the accomplishment of music; but, in truth, Germany is, almost as much as Italy, ‘native to’ that delightful art. The boatmen who carried Mr Semple to Cuxhaven, ‘animated by the prospect of a speedy passage, began to sing charming little German airs, in parts, with a propriety and softness that surprised him.’ From Cuxhaven he went up the river to Hamburg; and here he saw in every corner convincing proofs of the popular enthusiasm against France, which pervaded all Germany during the late memorable campaign; an enthusiasm which appears to have first displayed itself in 1809, although the unfortunate errors committed during that campaign, the discord among the three great powers, and the culpable neglect of the common cause by England, rendered it almost unavailing. * Our readers have lately heard so much of the Cossacks, that we shall not dwell upon the account which Mr Semple gives of those he saw in Hamburg—but it is amusing to remark the mania for imitating those savage warriors, in the Hamburg volunteers. Corps were formed with the peculiar pike and whip, but wholly ignorant of the use of either. They galloped all day through the streets, to the terror of the women and children, and the danger of their own necks, but fared and slept like luxurious citizens.

On his way from Hamburg to Berlin, Mr Semple heard rumours from all quarters, of the great battle fought at Lutzen; and its event was, of course, variously represented, according as the accounts came from French or German sources. At one place he saw a deserter from the French armies, a native of Modena, who had been an apothecary, and was carried off by the conscription. This anecdote naturally excites the author’s reflexions; nor do we intend to say a word that can mitigate the hatred so generally felt towards the French military system. But common justice requires us to reflect upon the means by which our Allies recruit their armies; and the history of Frederick II. furnishes far worse instances of violence, than that practiced on the Modenese apothecary; for his kidnappings were prac-

* We have already entered fully into this afflicting subject, in our Number for July 1811, and shown that the liberation of Europe might have been effected in 1809.

tised in foreign states, over whose subjects he could not pretend to have any rights. Every one remembers the history of the Abbé Bastiani, who was carried off while engaged in the functions of his office in the Tyrol; and after serving some years as a soldier, was found to be a *Savant*, in which capacity he was afterwards retained about the Prussian court. The work of Thiebault, formerly noticed in this Journal, † is full of such anecdotes. They are given by that courtly and obsequious historian only as pleasant incidents, arising out of Frédéric's military arrangements. Another instance of our Allies adopting some of the enemy's arts, occurs in these pages. When Mr Semple arrived in Berlin, he found that city illuminated for the 'victory gained near Leipsic,' meaning the battle of Lutzen. The next day, the guns were fired for the same event; and on the same evening, by a whimsical coincidence, the city was in great alarm at the approach of the enemy; the public chest was removed, and the archives carried away to a place of safety. Indeed, our author suffered by this policy of the government. Having demanded his passport for Dresden, he obtained it easily, on paying the customary numerous fees; and no hint was given of the real state of the case. The mails were suffered to depart as usual. Yet all this while the government knew that Dresden was in the hands of the enemy! The following incidents, too, passed in the streets of Berlin, and at a place in the hands of the Russians; which, had it occurred in a town occupied by the French, would have given rise to innumerable commentaries.

'On the evening preceding my departure I met one of my fellow-passengers from Hamburg, to whom I related my intention of going to Dresden. He seemed surprised, which induced me to ask if he knew of any danger. We were alone, and in the middle of a solitary street, yet he only shrugged up his shoulders, and looking about him said, 'People knew not what to believe.' He evaded further questions on the subject, and soon quitted me. The same, or similar answers, were made to my inquiries by the landlord of the inn where I lodged, although he knew perfectly well the state of affairs. An Englishman in similar circumstances would have said at once, "The French are there;" yet was this simple answer not to be obtained by any direct inquiry, and I departed with the ordinary post, relying in a manner on the faith of government.' p. 70, 71.

'We did not arrive at Baruth, a further distance of fourteen miles, until two in the morning. This is the first town on this road in the Saxon territory, and was, as we were told, full of Russian troops; yet to my great surprise not one appeared in the streets, it being now

† "*Souvenirs de vingt ans.*" See our No. for Oct. 1805.

fine moonlight, nor were we challenged, by a single sentinel. At the post-house we entered the apartment of General Barclay de Tolly, who was asleep, and should not have soon found out our mistake but for a single aid-de camp, who was stationed near him. Strange as it may seem, even here the post-master would not inform us that Dresden was in possession of the enemy. He ventured to say, however, that he believed they had got that part of the city which is on the left bank of the Elbe, but that the Russians held the other; and the centre arches of the bridge being destroyed alone prevented the French from being driven out. We were five in company, two of whom were Saxons, inhabitants of Dresden, seeking to return to their own homes. They trusted to this intelligence, and determined to proceed. Captain Faber, of the Prussian artillery, one of our company, was of the same opinion, and I thought there could be no danger in joining them.' p. 73, 74.

He had not travelled far, however, when he found it necessary to change his route, and get into the rear of the Allied army. After beating about for some days to discover their headquarters, and exposing himself to some danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, to prepare for which he destroyed his letter of recommendation to Lord Cathcart, he at length reached the desired spot. The following account of his reception we think it right to extract, that he may tell his own story, upon which almost the whole of the present work turns.

'Owing to the fatigued state of our horses, we did not arrive at Wurtschen until two o'clock. In this village most of the houses were deserted by the inhabitants, not a woman or child was to be seen; the doors were all open, and many of the windows broken or the sashes removed. The Emperor's head-quarters were in a large house, on the side of which facing Hochkirch, are still the marks made by cannon-balls, fired in that battle more than fifty years ago. They have been carefully preserved, and a Latin inscription records and deplores the cause: "*Eheu! Signa prælii Hochkirciensis.*" In the large court-yard, filled with horses and Cossacks, I found a bundle of straw, where I gladly threw myself down whilst my companion went to deliver his despatches. Scarcely had I done so, when the guard flew to arms; every body stood up, and the Emperor passed to enter the house. I beheld a man tall, lusty, well made, although somewhat round-shouldered, and of a countenance rather soft and mild than penetrating or imposing. Yet his troops look towards him as a superior being, or at least believe him to be, as perhaps in some respects he is, the greatest of monarchs. At a subsequent period I beheld his lame and wounded soldiers, in their quarrels with the inhabitants, threatening them with the wrath of the Great Alexander, a name which they seemed to think every European was bound to respect. After I had remained about two hours among the Cossacks, the officer returned, and having directed his servant to show

me the English quarters, we bade each other adieu. Having experienced so much kindness from Germans and Russians, I anticipated at least an equal share from Englishmen. Behold me at length arrived at the point to which, since leaving Luckau, I had been pressing with so much anxiety. Here at last I am sure of an asylum for a short time, and at all events will be enabled to sleep one night in peace and prepare for fresh fatigues. Here I shall learn the truth, and no longer be reduced to wander in uncertainty, as to the real position of the enemy. Full of these ideas I reached a miserable house, such as the village afforded, the head-quarters of Lord Cathcart. He was absent with the Emperor viewing the lines of redoubts, but his household received me with kindness and attention. They set before me bread, coffee, and the little luxury of milk, so difficult to be procured in the midst of a large army. They told me, that there was nothing but a little straw on which I could sleep; but this was more than was enjoyed by a hundred thousand brave men round me, and I had already in my mind cheerfully marked out the corner where I would lie. A great battle was expected to be fought next day. Refreshed by sleep I shall see, perhaps I shall share in that battle. With these thoughts I saw Lord Cathcart arrive; I presented my passports, I related my case, and mentioned that under the dread of falling into the hands of the French I had destroyed a letter which I had for his Lordship, but that I had still one for the Russian Admiral Greig, whom I understood to be with the Emperor. Having examined my passports he informed me that they contained no proof of my being a British subject, that I was avowedly born in America, and asked if I had no farther documents. I replied that my American birth was owing to my father and mother being made prisoners in the American war, and carried into Boston, and that as I had travelled with these passports through Prussia, I could have no suspicion of their being inaccurate, nor was I provided with any other. His Lordship left me, and after some time sent for me again. "It will be proper," said he, "that you go to Gorlitz, which is a large town, where you will easily procure horses and every accommodation for pursuing your journey to Colberg, the nearest seaport now left open to an Englishman. There will be an opportunity this evening; and this gentleman," pointing to a young Russian officer, "will conduct you." Fain would I have expressed my wish to remain at Wurtschen; but under the existing circumstances I felt that it was not for me to oppose so direct an intimation. An hour afterwards I again saw his Lordship on horseback, who asked with much apparent politeness, "if there was any thing else he could do for me." I answered that there was not; when he touched his hat to me and rode off. Soon afterwards, the Russian officer made his appearance, with a common travelling waggon, in which was some straw instead of seats; my portmanteau was placed in it, and we set off. His Majesty the King of Prussia, one of his sons, and two or three of his officers, had placed themselves by the side of the road,

and surveyed me attentively as we passed. Not being aware of their rank, nor as yet of my own situation, I regarded their stedfast looks as singularly ill-bred, until my companion informed me who they were. p. 93—98.

At first Mr Semple proceeded well and quietly with his companion. They passed along the rear of the army; and when night fell, though the moon was obscured by clouds, they could see moving about large bodies of troops; and the roads were filled with trains of artillery and waggons. By the *bivouac* lights they discerned the soldiers reposing, sometimes quite naked, stretched before the fire. During the first day, Mr Semple only observed in his fellow traveller a certain anxiety about his motions; but in the course of the night, having got out of the carriage to stretch his limbs, the Russian officer awoke, and, alarmed at his absence, requested him to seat himself again, about which our author delaying a little, speedily received a summons in such a tone, as 'at once and for the first time discovered' to him the nature of his situation.' In a word, he was in custody, and travelling towards a place of confinement. Arrived at Gorlitz, he was placed in more strict arrest; but while waiting for the chief of the police, after enduring considerable insult from Cossacks and others, he was greatly relieved to see Mr George Jackson, secretary of the English legation, enter; and he explained his situation to this gentleman, who asked him if he remembered once, four years before, having had a passport signed at Seville by the British minister there; and on Mr Semple's professing not to recollect it, told him he could not possibly be the person he pretended. After a night's rest had done away the effects of three days and nights excessive fatigue and watching, and brought back the author's recollection of the *important* circumstance in all its details, he wrote immediately an account of it. But no attention was paid to this; and a hint being given, that Admiral Greig's letter of introduction, which he still kept, must contain some proofs in his favour, he was induced to open it; but it was snatched from him before he could read it; and what became of it he could never learn; nor was it acted upon, although containing of course a clear evidence of his being the person in question.

While detained in Gorlitz, a Frenchman was brought to the same prison; who having been established for some years at Dresden, had been arrested, he knew not why, probably on suspicion of being a spy. In his company, he was conveyed under strict guard on the road to Silesia,—the populace of the towns through which they passed never failing to insult and maltreat them as French spies, or traitors of some other descrip-

tion. Under these sufferings, a very natural and honest reflection seems to have filled Mr Semple's mind ;—he sympathized with the feelings of the mob, who had such good reason to hate the French ; and felt himself in the situation of ‘ a man who in disguise was unwittingly ill-treated by his friends.’ As the road approached the frontiers of Poland, the dress of the inhabitants varied from the German ; and their language, mixed up with Slavonic, became without difficulty intelligible to the Russian soldiers. On arriving at Breslaw, ‘ he first heard the formidable answer given to the guard at the gate,’—that they were state prisoners ;—a fact which, after what had passed, ought not, we think, to have greatly surprised him. The guards being here doubled over them, and their prison being a room with a vaulted roof, contrived, they supposed, for the purpose of overhearing, the author passed his time in singing ‘ the loyal strains of *God save the King*, and *Rule Britannia* ;’—which seems to have produced no other good effect than that of annoying his fellow prisoner. Two more state prisoners were here joined with them, a Frenchman, and a Saxon, who had been arrested without any reason assigned. They were soon conveyed from Breslaw, and found that their destination was the fortress of Silberberg, a remote and mountainous garrison of great strength, in a solitary situation.

It may easily be supposed, from the duration in which he was kept while on this journey, that he picked up little or no information. We scarcely meet with any thing worth noticing, except the mysterious silence preserved at Breslaw, upon the event of the battle of Wurtzen, respecting which it was quite in vain to inquire. After narrowly escaping being stoned to death by the mob in passing through the town of Silberberg, they at length reached the fortress on the summit of the hill. ‘ We passed,’ says he, ‘ formidable rows of pallisades, appearing new cut and sharpened, fresh redoubts, and throngs of soldiers. The winding road led us by a long ascent to the summit of the hill. A deep dry ditch, over which was a drawbridge, still separated us from the body of the fortress. I turned to take a last look of freedom, and saw below me at a great distance a beautiful and fertile country, the lesser ranges of hills which we had passed, and even the plains extending to Breslau ; but already the trampling of the horses’ feet caused a hollow sound on the wooden drawbridge ; we passed under the arched gateway ; and in an instant I saw no longer any thing round me but prison-walls.’ p. 187. And this was what my Lord Cathcart termed sending a man to ‘ Gorlitz,’ which is a large town, where he might easily procure horses,

‘and every accommodation for pursuing his journey to Colberg, the nearest sea-port now left open to an Englishman.’—It was also, we presume, with a view to this fortress, that his Lordship asked—‘with much apparent politeness, if there was any thing else he could do for him.’—p. 96 & 7. To be sure, any thing less resembling ‘*the nearest sea-port,*’ cannot well be imagined.

The first step taken was to confine Mr Semple and one of the French prisoners in a casemate, where the light scarcely entered. He was fed on bread and water, with a little miserable soup and a morsel of meat. They were soon removed to a dungeon both dark and damp, a casemate at the bottom of the ditch. Here he found a new companion in the Abbé Henri, curate and professor at Jena, a Frenchman by birth, but long established in Germany, and treated with some confidence by Buonaparte in the campaign 1806. After several changes of dungeon they were finally settled in one of a very unpromising appearance. The following passage gives some idea of this lodging.

‘The next day we were again removed to another casemate, a true dungeon, being at times so dark, that, except near the window, we could not see to read at noon-day, and situated directly under the drawbridge, over which every cart passing made a thundering noise. Here the damp ran constantly down the walls, and the saltpetre fell on our faces as we slept. Fortunately we had made a great discovery in our first casemate, where a number of large wooden shutters, to fasten on the windows externally, like the dead-lights of vessels, were piled up. These were about six feet long, by four in width, and tolerably smooth on one side, serving very well to spread our mattresses upon.

‘In all our changes, we had taken constant care to carry them with us, and we now found them of the greatest utility, in protecting us from immediate contact with the damp brick floor. By degrees we collected stones, and put under them, thus raising us farther from the damp. We were now allowed to go out for about half an hour every day, to walk in the ditch; and even this trifling liberty was at first delightful. In a short time, however, we found ourselves still exposed to occasional insults from the young soldiers, when they saw us for the first time; and the return from these half-hour excursions became very melancholy, from the cheerful sunshine and the pure air, to a gloomy vault and the door locked. After some time, my two companions, unable to withstand it, fell sick. They became affected with violent pains all over their bodies, which frequently compelled them to moan, and sometimes to cry out aloud in the night. The poor Professor lost all his firmness, and cried like a child. For my part, they told me that my face was marked with a profound melancholy. At length, after many peti-

tions, it was thought necessary to send the chief surgeon of the garrison to visit my companions, and, by his interference, we were allowed the liberty of walking out three or four hours in the day, always well guarded. Lefebre also procured a guitar; and its tinkling sounds were heard within these gloomy walls, for the first time perhaps since their foundation. We began now also to pay attention to the linnets, which, in great numbers, had built their nests in the various crevices of the lofty walls opposite our windows. Every morning they began their songs with the first dawn of light, and soothed us with a momentary delusion of liberty and happiness.' p. 146—148.

On the 4th of June, Mr Semple's loyalty towards the Sovereign seems to have been but little impaired by the treatment he had received through the representative. He had recourse, as upon a former occasion, to a vehement singing of *God save the King*, which exceedingly annoyed his companions, and produced in himself only 'a forced gaiety, followed by a greater depression of spirits,' in so much that he never afterwards had recourse to the same attempt. He got some hints, too, that the renewal of hostilities might throw the fortress into the hands of the French, and give him occasion for 'all the protection which his French friends could afford him.' They seem, therefore, to have agreed together much more cordially. They contributed to amuse each other with singing and writing, for they contrived to get pen and ink, contrary to the strict rules. They had also the benefit of a barber of a grotesque appearance,—being 'a little stout man, heavily ironed, and condemned to imprisonment for life.' But the frightful appearance of 'this desperado, rattling his irons at each movement round the chairs of the two Frenchmen, and flourishing his razor over their outstretched throats,' gave our author such horror, that he preferred allowing his beard to grow until he ascertained that he might safely produce his razors, which he had concealed, under the apprehension of the regulations against knives being enforced. In the dungeon next to theirs was an accomplished and amiable gentleman, a baron, who had been seeking employment in the Russian service, and was any thing rather than friendly to the French. He had been arrested without any accusation; and a Westphalian common soldier was his companion in the cell. He fell ill through the dampness of it, and was permitted to be out in the ditch for a few hours in the day, but not while Mr Semple was there; so that their communication was carried on through the bars of the windows. They were forced to burn fires in the middle of summer; but the pungent smoke was scarcely less intolerable than the cold and wet.

At length, after a month had elapsed, they were removed to a chamber above ground, more roomy and comfortable, but

with the prohibition of any longer walking out. Mr Semple was now, for the first time, examined before the Commandant; and learnt, to his infinite delight, that this step of common justice was taken in consequence of Sir Charles Stewart's representations, which gave him the first glimpse of hope that his letters written on the road had reached their destination, and that he might hope to be one day liberated. In a few days, the Honourable D. Kinnaird and Mr Hobhouse, with Captain Durning, Sir C. Stewart's aid-de-camp, having heard at Silberberg of the confinement of an Englishman, with an active and kind attention, which does them much honour, came to see him, and procured from the Governor, a permission for him to walk in the square of the fortress. He soon enjoyed the same latitude of confinement with the prisoners of war, with two of whom, captains of cavalry, he formed an acquaintance; one a nephew of Mr Perregaux, the celebrated banker, and of Marshal Marmont; the other a Dutchman. The information which he obtained from these officers is well worth extracting.

' Captain Perregaux gave me details of his warfare against the English in Spain. He allowed to them a great deal of national bravery, stating, that they acted admirably as *tirailleurs*, and that the Scots were 'devils' with the bayonet. By these, he no doubt meant the Highland regiments, his prejudices not permitting him to acknowledge the superiority of the English in that decisive weapon. Marshal Marmont, he said, had not lost his arm. It was broken in two places by the bursting of a shell, at the battle of Salamanca; but a skilful surgeon had been able to preserve it. This young man received frequently letters and money from his friends, the head-quarters of Marshal Marmont not being above twenty miles from Silberberg. Among other things, the cross and ribbon of the Legion of Honour were sent to him, which his uncle had had interest to procure. It was pleasing to observe at once a striking trait of national character. He eagerly placed the ribbon in his button-hole, and never afterwards failed to wear it, as he walked up and down among his fellow prisoners. An Englishman would have spurned the bauble, which, however, amongst a people separated from him only by a few leagues, becomes an object of envy, and a powerful engine in the hands of ambition.

' From the other young captain I had numerous details of the ever-memorable campaign of Moscow. His regiment of Hulus had been constantly with the advanced guard under Murat; and out of twelve hundred and fifty men, of which it originally consisted, nearly a thousand had already fallen, or were in the hospital before quitting Moscow. For six days before entering that city, he had eaten horse-flesh, which was his sole food for sixty-two days on the retreat; and had already paid a ducat for a half beer-glass of common spirits. From the day of crossing the Niemen, during the whole of the march,

not a dozen peasants were seen on either side of the route. Every thing was burnt up, destroyed, or removed. At the battle of Smolensko, the infantry alone were at first engaged, the cavalry on both sides lining the opposite banks of the river, in separate squadrons for a long distance, to prevent a surprise on either flank: But in the battle of Mojaïsk, or Borodino, the cavalry had a large part. There he had two horses killed under him: Nothing can be said sufficient to give an idea of the horrors of that battle. The French troops, contrary to their usual custom, fought in a mournful silence. Cavalry and infantry, Cossacks and artillery, all were mixed together in the promiscuous carnage. The battle began at four in the morning, and the last cannon-shot was fired about nine at night. So difficult, however, is it to acquire the knowledge of truth, even from respectable eyewitnesses of great events, that he positively affirmed the French to have remained masters of the field. In proof of this, he alleged that his regiment continued on the ground that night, and was put in march at four o'clock next morning for Moscow. Doubtless, acting as captain of cavalry, enveloped in dust, and in perpetual motion, he could not properly judge of the great movements of the armies, and had mistaken a flank march for a direct advance in front. Yet, it is often on these partial views, that men are most positive in their opinions. At Moscow, the army found cloth, and at first plenty of coffee, chocolate, wine, furs, and luxuries, but little or no flour. Soon every thing became enormously dear. Long before the retreat began, subordination was lost amongst the troops; and it was the general opinion, that Bonaparte had been deceived by an appearance of negotiation, to lose so much time at Moscow. He was in the affair which took place previous to the retreat, in which he thought it extremely probable that the Russians took thirty-seven pieces of cannon, as stated by Beningsen, as he knew of twenty-five. It was a complete surprise; and Murat himself was nearly taken. For a long time his white plume, which, as King of Naples, he always wore in the field, was conspicuous amid hostile helmets and the spears of Cossacks; and it was only by a desperate charge of his adherents that he was saved. It is impossible, by any description, to exaggerate the horrors of the retreat. It was three hundred thousand men put to suffer all that human nature could endure, without entire destruction. His horses all died, and he was obliged to walk in the severity of the cold with his feet nearly bare. He saw forty louis given for a place in a common cart, for a distance of thirty miles; and a General, after making a bargain of that kind, being benumbed by the cold, was pushed out by common soldiers, who had previously occupied the seats, and left to perish on the road. After innumerable hardships, he had with difficulty reached Poland, when his strength entirely failed him, and he lay ill for fifteen weeks at the house of an hospitable curate. From this, when pursuing his route on foot to his own country, the war broke out between Prussia and France; and after various adventures, he had been

arrested and confined in Silberberg. Both he and Perregaux talked with great contempt of the Cossacks, whom they agreed in affirming to be wholly useless in battles, and by no means remarkable for their bravery in skirmishes and single combats. Their great qualities are their cunning; their skill in concealing themselves, and suddenly assembling on given points; the intimate knowledge which they acquire of a country, and their unwearied patience. By these qualities, they surround an enemy's army, as it were by an invisible line, interrupt his communications, and make prisoners perpetually. It is curious to see them make a charge. They advance in large masses; but in approaching the enemy, the bravest only press forward, whilst the others gradually check their career, in proportion to their want of courage. By this means, the whole mass assumes by degrees the rude appearance of a wedge, or of several wedges joined at the base. Should the attack of the foremost be successful, the rest cry "victory," and share the glory; but if it fail, as against regular cavalry it is almost sure to do, they have at least the honour of leading the retreat." p. 166—172.

At length on the 30th of July, orders came to set our author at liberty, after having been eleven weeks in confinement, and above a month of the time in the most odious of dungeons. He says, he ascertained that Mr Merry, Lord Cathcart's private secretary, whose family knew him well, had repeatedly offered to ride over to Silberberg to identify him, but had never been permitted by his Lordship. This, and indeed the whole transaction, will doubtless be deemed a fit matter of explanation by Lord Cathcart. That a mistake may have been committed by the Russian and Prussian officers at head-quarters, in the hurry of such a moment as that of Mr Semple's arrival there—the eve of the great battle of Wurtzen—can easily be imagined; and though its consequences may have proved very painful to an innocent individual, we should not be prepared severely to condemn those who committed the blunder. But making every allowance for the situation of the Prussian or Russian officers, we are not quite prepared to give the same latitude to the British minister; and the suspicion seems all to have originated with him. Mr Semple's passport stated him to be an American born; he says that he gave a full explanation of this circumstance: But it is quite immaterial—for why should not an American show himself at the Russian head-quarters? Lord Cathcart was there as a foreigner himself; and Mr Semple, even if he had been an American, had as good a right as he to be on the spot. Yet from some confused notion of American and enemy being the same thing, Lord Cathcart seems to have procured his arrest. Perhaps it may be thought, that had others been disposed to imprison a person stating himself to be a British subject, the

British ambassador was called upon to have the truth of the matter examined—at all events, there can be but one opinion upon the manner of doing the act. Either Mr Semple's story above extracted, is wholly false,—or every thing that was done, was without Lord Cathcart's knowledge, and he was grossly deceived by the people about him,—or his behaviour was such, as we are unwilling to designate. This charge coming against the noble envoy in a very moderate tone, and preferred by a gentleman of considerable respectability, who gives his name with his accusation, merits at all events a distinct answer. Mr George Jackson, too, seems called upon to explain his conduct; and we trust that those two diplomatists will speedily clear up to the world, the very unpleasant suspicious under which Mr Semple's narrative manifestly lays them.

The author returned to Berlin, and from thence he went to Stralsund, where he embarked for Ystad in Sweden, and came by Gottenburg to England. This route is now so common, that we do not detain the reader with any notice of what Mr Semple observed in the course of it. We have already said, that the history of his detention forms the chief subject of the volume; and whatever particulars we have noted beside this narrative, are so much over and above what he professes to give. We hope soon to hear of him at the close of some new and less unfortunate journey; and exhort him to continue publishing his remarks in a plain manner,—adapted to all readers, and suited to all purchasers.

ART. XII. *Carmen Triumphale for the Commencement of the Year 1814.* By ROBERT SOUTHNEY Esq. Poet Laureat. 4to. pp. 36. London. 1814.

WE have always maintained that the writings of Mr Southey were remarkable, not merely for affectation and bad taste, but for poetical genius of considerable magnitude. Our readers, we are persuaded, will do us the justice to allow, that we have laboured long and zealously to convince them of this truth; and indeed there are not many things upon which we have been used to value ourselves more, than the firmness with which we have always stood ready to assert it, at the point of our pens, against all opposers. We cannot help owing him a little grudge, therefore, for putting us so unmercifully in the wrong, as he has done by this publication. As to the matter of taste and affectation, indeed, it has placed our opinion upon

more unquestionable grounds than it ever stood on before ; but for genius and poetry, we really do not know how to name their names, in the face of such a strange farrago of bad psalmody and stupid newspapers—of such a base imitation of Sternhold and the Daily Advertiser, as now lies before us.

This marvellous falling off of Mr Southey, we are most willing to ascribe to the benumbing influence of that chaplet of Bays, with which the favour of the Prince Regent has recently adorned his brows. The laurel is well known to have the power of warding off the stroke of lightning from the heads which it covers ; and we have long suspected it to possess the analogous quality of rendering them impervious to that subtler fluid, whatever it may be, in which poetical inspiration consists. Nothing else, we conceive, can account for the singular fact, that the odes of our poets laureat are invariably the dullest performances of the year ; and, in general, go many degrees beyond any thing that the very same authors have been known to produce in that sort, before or after the period of their titular supremacy. We laud the Gods, therefore, for the narrow escape which our celebrated countryman Mr Scott is said to have had from this perilous honour—though we think it would have taken more than one branch of laurel to have ‘ subdued *him* to this lowness.’

There is nothing unprecedented, we readily admit, in this misadventure of Mr Southey's. On the contrary, it is so much a thing of course—for the Poet Laureat to make himself ridiculous, that we should scarcely have thought it worth while to record the event, had there not been something in the times and the subject that seemed, upon this occasion, to give him a chance of redemption ; and to excite expectations, the disappointment of which it is not easy to bear in silence. After all, we believe, if Mr Southey had been contented with getting up an ode of the ordinary length, and, after having it set to music, had printed it, in a quiet way, in the newspapers and the Annual Registers, we should have let him slide down the smooth descent to oblivion, without any help or hindrance of ours ; and seen his labours gathered to those of the Shadwells and Cibbers, and his other great predecessors, with as little sensation as on any former occasion. But when the Annual Ode is swelled to nineteen strophes, garnished with an ostentatious title, and printed in a four shilling quarto, with mottoes, notes, and other accompaniments of magnificence, the case assumes a more serious aspect, and seems to call imperiously for our interposition.

The subject is the grand one of the approaching liberation of Europe from the tremendous thralldom of France ; and noble

and inspiring as it is, it is treated by the laureat bard with such inconceivable tameness and sterility, that we have not been able to discover one striking thought, or glowing phrase—one trait of feeling, or spark of fancy,—nay, not even one bold image, or lofty expression, in the whole compass of his performance. To compensate for the want of all these, he shouts vehemently, as is his manner, seven several times, ‘Glory to God, Deliverance to mankind!’—and then proceeds to tell the old story of the war in the Peninsula,—not merely for the last year, which is all that comes fairly within the province of a New-year poet—but for the five last campaigns;—and then, having spent fifteen strophes in praising ‘the Wellesley,’ as he affectedly calls Lord Wellington, and abusing the French in the dullest style, and meanest diction of a newspaper, he proceeds to say a word or two on the exploits of the Northern Princes, and especially of the king of Prussia, whom he ingeniously designates by the name of ‘the Brandenburg.’ He then dutifully congratulates Hanover on the restoration of its old illustrious line—speaks a word of comfort to the injured Hollanders—and ends with an anticipation of restoration and peace.

We are very well aware, that the mere argument or subject of an ode can give but little idea of its merits; and accordingly, it is more to the meanness of Mr Southey’s materials, and the pooriness of his execution, than to the faults of his general plan, that our objections are directed. The reader, however, shall now judge for himself of their fairness. We have said, that instead of kindling, with his mighty theme, to a true lyrical sublimity and rapture, he has handled it in the tame and creeping style of a dull daily paper; and we appeal to any competent judge of these matters, whether he would ever have suspected that a poet had got in among that meritorious race of journalists, if the dullest of them all had taken a review of the Spanish war in such a sentence as the following.

‘The heroic Spaniard first awoke from his trance. He broke his chains; and casting the treacherous yoke off his neck, he called on England, his generous enemy. For he knew well, that wherever wise policy prevailed, or brave despair, the succours of Britain would flow, and her arm be present. Then, too, regenerated Portugal displayed her antient virtue, all too long dormant; and rising against intolerable wrong, that faithful nation called in her distress upon England, her old ally. Her old ally obeyed the call, and her faithful friendship was well repaid.’

The most suspicious reader, we believe, could detect no indication of *poetry* in such a passage as this; and yet it is, *literatim et verbatim*, one of Mr Southey’s finest stanzas—divested

merely of the rhyme, and the slight semblance of metre with which it is adorned in the original;—where it stands as follows.

‘ First from his trance the heroic Spaniard woke;

His chains he broke,

And casting off his neck the treacherous yoke,

He call’d on England, on his generous foe :

For well he knew that wheresoe’er

Wise policy prevailed, or brave despair,

Thither would Britain’s succours flow,

Her arm be present there.

Then too regenerate Portugal display’d

Her ancient virtue, dormant all-too-long.

Rising against intolerable wrong,

On England, on her old ally for aid —

The faithful nation call’d in her distress :

And well that old ally the call obey’d,

Well was her faithful friendship then repaid.’ p. 8.

We may now try another passage by the same test. Is there any thing of the imagery or diction of poetry—any glittering fragments even, or scattered brilliancy, in the following statement ?

‘ In the mean time Spain endured the contest, patient of loss, and profuse of life; and although she saw her cities conquered, her armies scattered in the field, and her strongest bulwarks fallen, she viewed the danger without dismay; knowing, that nothing could ever appal the fortitude of a Spaniard.’

This, however, is but a slight transposition of the following stanza.

‘ Patient of loss, profuse of life,

Meantime had Spain endured the strife ;

And tho’ she saw her cities yield,

Her armies scatter’d in the field,

Her strongest bulwarks fall,

The danger undismay’d she view’d,

Knowing that nought could e’er appal

The Spaniards’ fortitude.’ p. 9, 10.

We may go on to the passage immediately following; which, divested of its metre, would run thus.

‘ Therefore no thoughts of fear debased her judgment or disgraced her acts—and, resigned to every ill, but not to shame, she bore all sufferings and calamities—and bade the people call to mind their heroes of days of yore, St Pelayo and the Campeador,’ &c. &c.

And then, after some more about the Moors, the poet proceeds—

‘ The Moor had reared his haughty crest, fairly, and professing a hostile aim, an open and honourable foe;—but the treacherous Frenchman came as a friend, and Spain received him as a guest.—Think

what your fathers were, she cried—think what you yourselves are, tried in sufferings—and think of what your sons must be, freemen or slaves as you make them.’

And a little after—

‘ Heaven too, to whom the Spaniards looked for aid, bestowed a spirit equal to the time; and they gloriously paid the debt they owed to their valiant ancestors, and gloriously maintained their childrens’ proud inheritance against the power of France. No defeat could move their steady purpose—no horrors abate their constant mind. Hope had its source and resting place above; and they, resigned to the loss of every thing on earth, suffered, to save their country and mankind.’

Now, these are not malignant paraphrases or translations, where mean words are insidiously substituted for noble ones, and a distorted shadow of the original presented, robbed of all its native grace and colouring. They are, with scarcely any exception, the very words of Mr Southey,—and inconceivably little altered, even in their collocation;—as the reader may see by comparing them with the original lines; which we subjoin.

‘ Therefore no thought of fear debased
Her judgment, nor her acts disgraced.
To every ill, but not to shame resign’d,
All sufferings, all calamities she bore.
She bade the people call to mind
Their heroes of the days of yore,
Pelayo and the Campeador.’ p. 10.

‘ For fairly, and with hostile aim profest,
The Moor had rear’d his haughty crest;
An open, honourable foe;
But as a friend the treacherous Frenchman came,
And Spain receiv’d him as a guest.
Think what your fathers were! she cried;
Think what ye are, in sufferings tried,
And think of what your sons must be—
Even as ye make them—slaves or free!’ p. 11.

‘ Heaven too, to whom the Spaniards look’d for aid,
A spirit equal to the hour bestow’d;
And gloriously the debt they paid,
Which to their valiant ancestors they ow’d,
And gloriously against the power of France,
Maintain’d their children’s proud inheritance.
Their steady purpose no defeat could move,
No horrors could abate their constant mind;
Hope had its source and resting-place above,
And they, to loss of all on earth resign’d,
Suffered, to save their country and mankind.’ p. 12.

This is enough—and more than enough we believe;—unless indeed we were to quote the lofty invocation to Germany, in the emphatic words, ‘Up Germany!’—and the dignified picture of that mighty nation ‘breaking its chains upon its oppressor’s head’—or the truly lyrical epithet of ‘upstart,’ applied with so much originality to Bonaparte—or that of ‘ruffian’ to Massena.

The notes are chiefly filled with abuse of the Edinburgh Review; and were no doubt intended to make us very angry, and very ridiculous. If they have not effected the latter purpose, however, any better than the first, we are afraid the learned author will be held to have failed almost as much in his prose as in his verse, on the present occasion. We have on former occasions told Mr Southey the faults of his poetry with the freedom which our profession required—and with more lavish praise of its merits than it has ever drawn from any other quarter:—and these our good services have given him such an antipathy to us and to our calling, that he has called us *asses* in his *Omniana*; and has added, in one of the present notes, that nothing absurd, mischievous, or false, can excite surprise in our writings. Nay, he has actually taken the pains to pore over our political speculations for five years back, and to rake out four or five insulated passages, the tenor of which he thinks has been contradicted by subsequent events,—and these, with a reasonable allowance of derision and reviling, he has now condescended to print by way of annotation and accompaniment to a triumphal hymn upon the deliverance of the world from French oppression, and the general regeneration of human society. Poor Mr Southey! We should really be extremely flattered by the distinction with which he has thus treated us, if we did not feel sensibly hurt at the pain we seem unintentionally to have inflicted, as well as offended in our critical capacity with the gross incongruity of bringing in those little traits of personal irritation, as a sequel to the lofty themes on which the poet was employed, and to which it was natural to think that he had given up all his faculties. For our own parts, when we are seriously occupied with the destinies of Europe, or of mankind, we should think very contemptibly of ourselves, if we could permit the recollection of our differences with Mr Southey to intrude either into our writings or our thoughts.

As for the supposed errors in our political anticipations, which the incredible industry of the *Laurent* has thus gleaned from some of our old Numbers, we certainly do not propose in this place either to vindicate or explain them. That the course of events has not corresponded in all respects with what we at one time considered as probable, is no more, we suppose, than may be said of every one fallible being who has dealt in the hazardous trade of political prediction; and seems to be very unluckily

selected as a ground of reproach, at a moment when the whole world is filled with admiration and astonishment at the strange and unexpected events which have recently crowded upon its observation. With regard to Spain, however—and the degree of praise to which that nation is entitled for its efforts against its oppressors, we unquestionably retain our original opinion. No country, we are persuaded, ever did so little for itself, under circumstances of such excitement and encouragement. It has been liberated entirely by British valour and British enterprise; and though its liberation, by any means, is a worthy subject of joy and exultation, it is impossible to reflect, without regret, that a population of more than twelve millions of brave, zealous, and idle persons, has been found so unavailable for its own defence, that it cannot be trusted even to bar the return of its baffled and vanquished invaders whom our arms have expelled. Had it not been for this unfortunate, and, to us, unaccountable inefficiency of the Spanish force, the army of Lord Wellington might long ere this have joined the Allies in front of Paris, and shared the honours of a contest that would then have been both less sanguinary and less doubtful. We have no doubt of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to the French—nor of their individual bravery; and agree with Mr Southey, and all the world, in admiring the heroic defence which was made by two of their towns against the fearful force of their besiegers; but it cannot be disguised, that, as a nation, they have made no efforts at all answerable to the occasion that called for them: And though Spain has been the theatre of great and glorious exploits against the common foe, the Spaniards have in general been found in the place, not of actors, but spectators.

There seems to us, therefore, to be something quite unreasonable in the vehement admiration which Mr Southey has always expressed for them; and which has led him, on the present occasion, to devote nine-tenths of a New Year's Ode, for which he had most abundant materials in other quarters, to a dull repetition of events that happened among them several years ago. This excessive eagerness and partiality has to us, we will confess, something of a ludicrous character; and appears so entirely without any reasonable cause, that we have sometimes been tempted to ascribe it to two very slight and rather unsatisfactory motives;—one, the circumstance of Mr Southey having been accidentally for a few months in that country, in the early part of his life;—and the other, *our* having unluckily presumed to speak rather disparagingly and despondingly of a race that had been honoured by such a visit. The last, however, we ought to add, is a supposition which we should never have had the vanity to make,

had it not been for the proofs afforded in this performance, of the importance he ascribes to our opinions, and their visible effect on his temper.

On the whole, we cannot congratulate Mr Southey on his *Carmen Triumphale*;—and, high as our expectations were, when we heard that he had ‘forsworn thin potations, and addicted himself to sack,’ we are now satisfied that this diet does not at all agree with his poetical temperament; and advise him to shake off his foolish bays, and return to his fresh water as speedily as possible. We think very favourably of his abilities, when his head is clear, and divested of these incumbrances; and promise ourselves much and frequent gratification from the sober use of his pen. We have read his spirited and honest *Life of Nelson* with very great pleasure; and only hesitate about making it the subject of a review, because we believe it to be already almost as popular as it would be our object to make it. We are delighted also to see that he has announced a *Dramatic Poem*; which we earnestly hope was written before he came to his Laurel and Butt of Sherry.

ART. XIII. *Essay on the Theory of the Earth: Translated from the French of M. CUVIER, perpetual Secretary of the French Institute, Professor, Administrator of the Museum of Natural History, &c.* By ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. E. and F. A. S. E., with Mineralogical Notes, and an Account of CUVIER'S Geological Discoveries: By PROFESSOR JAMESON. Edinburgh, 1813. Blackwood, &c.

IN giving to the treatise here announced the name of an *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, the Editor has taken a liberty that is certainly not warranted by the original. The title of the French work makes no mention whatever of the theory of the earth. The fact is, that M. CUVIER having published, in the *Annales de Museum*, a succession of memoirs on the fossil remains of animals found in the strata round Paris, (of which an account was given in the 20th vol. of this Journal), was very naturally led to extend an inquiry, that became every moment more interesting, to the fossil remains of land animals, wherever they had been found. His subject being thus enlarged, he has united the parts of a most ingenious and laborious investigation, in one work, comprehending four volumes in quarto, under the title of *Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles des Quadrupedes*. To this valuable and interesting book he has prefixed a *Disserta-*

tion, (*Discours Préliminaire*), the same that appears here as an Essay on the Theory of the Earth. We are not sure that the author himself will be very thankful for this change of appellation. The preliminary discourse is a general view of the conclusions derived from certain animal remains, compared with the mineral beds in which they are contained, and with the principles of comparative anatomy. This subject, though of great importance, and of no small extent, is yet of too limited a nature to be regarded as a theory of the earth. A name that would have more exactly described the work, without departing from the conciseness essential to a title-page, might easily have been devised. *Considerations, for instance, on the Fossil Remains of Quadrupeds*, would have been a title much more appropriate.

This translation has been made with singular expedition. The work was received about the middle of last summer; and the translation made its appearance in the beginning of winter. It seems, notwithstanding this haste, to be executed not only with fidelity, but with some degree of elegance; and the editor, PROFESSOR JAMESON, has added notes, besides giving a very distinct and concise view of CUVIER's principal geological discoveries, which cannot fail to be very acceptable to those who have not an opportunity of perusing the large work, and which will be found very useful by those who have.

The Dissertation begins with a sketch of the present condition of the earth's surface. It is known, that the lowest and most level parts of that surface, when pierced to a great depth, exhibit horizontal strata of rock, composed of different materials; and, in particular, abounding with marine productions. Similar strata compose the hills even to a great height. The shells are often so numerous, as nearly to constitute the main body of the strata; and sometimes in so perfect a state, that their most delicate parts are completely preserved, their sharpest ridges, and their finest processes. The levels on which they are now found, are far above that of the ocean, and at heights to which the sea could not reach by the action of any known cause. Every part of the earth, every continent, and every island, exhibits the same phenomenon. We are therefore unavoidably led to conclude, that the sea, at one period or another, has covered all our plains, and has remained there for a long time in a state of tranquillity. The latter circumstance was necessary for the formation of deposits so regular and extensive as those in which many of the *marine exuviae* are contained.

The traces of revolution become still more apparent when we ascend a little higher, and approach nearer to the great chains

of mountains. Beds of shells are still found in these situations, quite as numerous also, and as well preserved, but not of the same species with those in the less elevated regions. The beds which contain them, are not in general horizontal, but are often highly inclined, and sometimes even vertical. In the plains and low hills it was necessary to dig deep, in order to discover the succession of the strata; but here we perceive it by means of the valleys which slow or violent action has produced, and which disclose the edges of the strata to the eye of the observer.

These inclined or vertical strata, though on a higher level, do not rest on the horizontal strata of the plains, but, on the contrary, are situated under them. The level are in fact placed on the declivities of the inclined strata; and when we dig through the horizontal strata in the neighbourhood of the inclined, these last are invariably found below the other. Sometimes, indeed, the summits of the inclined strata are surmounted by the horizontal, and the former are therefore of more ancient formation than the latter. Having, however, been formed, as they must necessarily have been, in a horizontal position, they have been subsequently shifted into their inclined or vertical situation, and that too before the horizontal strata were placed above them.

The sea, therefore, previous to the formation of the horizontal strata, had formed others, which by some means had been broken, lifted up, and disturbed in a thousand ways. This second result is not less obvious, nor less clearly demonstrated, than the first.

Amid the changes which have thus happened, both to the sea and the strata it had deposited, it was hardly possible that the same species of animals should continue to live. Accordingly, not only the *species*, but even the *genera*, change with the strata. The shells in the more ancient formations have figures peculiar to themselves; and they gradually disappear, till they are not to be found at all in the more recent beds, and still less in the seas which now exist. On the contrary, the shells of the recent strata resemble those which still exist in the sea, in such a degree as to appear of the same *genera*. Indeed, in the last formed of these strata, there are some species which the eye of the most expert naturalist cannot distinguish from some of those which at present inhabit the ocean.

Hence it is reasonable to conclude, that a succession of changes in animal natures has taken place, corresponding no doubt to that in the chemical properties of the fluid which they inhabited. When the sea last receded from our Continent, its inha-

bitants, were not very different from those which it continues to support.

When we ascend to points of still greater elevation, and advance towards the summits of the highest mountains, the remains of marine animals grow more rare, and at length disappear entirely. We arrive at strata of a different nature, which contain no vestiges at all of living creatures: Nevertheless the crystallization, and many other characters of these rocks, show that they have been formed in a fluid; their inclined position and their slopes, show that they have been moved and overturned; and the oblique manner in which they sink *under* the shelly strata, shows that they have been formed before them. We are thus brought to the primitive or primordial mountains, which traverse our continents in various directions, forming as it were the skeleton or frame work of the globe.

In the disposition of these rocks, a certain degree of order and regularity is observed to prevail, insomuch that wherever the more recent strata have been dug through, and the external crust of the earth penetrated to a considerable depth, the same order of stratification is generally found. The crystallized marbles never cover the shelly strata, and the granite mass never rests on the crystallized marble. This arrangement is never inverted, and, though some members of the series may be wanting, there is no instance in which, where they are present, they do not preserve nearly the same place relatively to one another.

It is impossible, therefore, to deny that the waters of the sea have formerly, and for a long time, covered those masses of matter which now constitute our highest mountains; and farther, that these waters, for a long time, did not support any living thing.

After this sketch of the natural history of the globe for the ages that are past, CUVIER proceeds to examine the changes which are happening at present on the surface of the earth. There are, says he, four causes in full activity, which contribute to change the condition of the earth's surface. These are, the rains and thaws which wear down the steep mountains, and occasion their fragments to collect at their bottoms;—the streams of water which sweep away these fragments, and deposit them when their current is abated;—the sea, which undermines the foundations of the more elevated coasts, and throws up hillocks of sand where the shore is flat;—and finally volcanoes, which pierce through the most solid strata, and either elevate or scatter abroad the vast quantity of matter which they force up from below.

These are the different causes of change, the effects of which our author endeavours briefly to trace and to estimate. He

seems to consider them, on the whole, as but of small amount, and as inadequate to produce those changes which have undoubtedly taken place over the face of the earth.

He next treats of the astronomical causes of revolution on the surface of the Earth ; such as, the change in the position of the Earth's axis ; in the obliquity of the Ecliptic ; the rapidity of the Earth's rotation, &c. These he considers, and we believe justly, as unsupported by evidence from facts, or from the principles of physical astronomy. To this general remark, we would only beg leave to offer one exception, derived from the spheroidal figure of the Earth. Many circumstances make it probable, that this figure, now so nearly adjusted to that which the centrifugal force, arising from rotation on its axis, would have given to a fluid mass of the magnitude and mean density of the earth, has been acquired by the slow progress and alternation of the waste, and renovation of the strata which compose the earth. If this be true, the original figure of the earth may have been extremely unlike the present ; it may have been vastly irregular ; and in the course of the changes which it has undergone, the axis of rotation may have changed its position, and have passed through a series of variations, that may have affected the distribution of the waters on the surface of the earth, the proportions of heat and cold, and the characters of the animals that inhabited the ocean.

Such causes, however, are not considered by our author as sufficient to explain those changes in the animal kingdom which he has done so much to ascertain. 'The irruptions,' says he, 'of the sea, and its retreats, have neither been slow nor gradual ; the catastrophes have been sudden : And this is easily proved, especially with regard to the last of them, the traces of which are most conspicuous. In the northern regions, it has left the carcasses of some large quadrupeds which the ice had arrested, and which are preserved, even to the present day, with their skin, their hair, and their flesh. If they had not been frozen as soon as killed, they must quickly have been decomposed by putrefaction ; but this eternal frost could not have taken possession of the regions which these animals inhabited, except by the same cause which destroyed them. This cause must therefore have been as sudden as its effect. The breaking to pieces and overturnings of the strata which happened in former catastrophes, show, plainly enough, that they were sudden and violent like the last ; and the heaps of debris and rounded pebbles which are found in various places among the solid strata, demonstrate the vast force of the motions excited in the mass of waters by these overturnings.'

Nothing is more certain, than that all the changes which we discover on examining the interior of the earth, are not to be ascribed to such slow operating causes as are now at work on the surface. Of this truth we are fully convinced, though we are perhaps disposed to ascribe much more to those causes than the French naturalist is willing to allow. 'The necessity,' he observes, 'to which naturalists have been reduced, of seeking for causes different from those which we still observe in activity, is the very thing which has forced them to make so many extraordinary suppositions, and to lose themselves in so many erroneous and contradictory speculations, that the very name of their science, as I have elsewhere said, has become ridiculous in the opinion of prejudiced persons, who, only seeing the systems which it has exploded, forget the extensive and important series of facts which it has brought to light and established.'

The author takes occasion, in a note, to explain the opinion to which he here alludes.

'When I formerly mentioned,' says he, 'the science of geology, I only expressed a well known truth, without presuming to give my own opinion, as some respectable geologists seem to have believed. If their mistake arose from my expressions having been rather equivocal. I take this opportunity of explaining my meaning.'

We have great pleasure in meeting with this explanation; for we had indeed supposed that CUVIER, in the passage here referred to, was subscribing to the opinion which he expressed; and were sorry to think that a science, of which we thought favourably, notwithstanding the mistakes into which its followers had often fallen, should have come under the censure of a critic so judicious and well informed. We are glad to find that in this respect we were mistaken.

'Whence comes it' (says he) 'that there should be so much contrariety in the solutions of the same problem given by men who proceed on the same principles? This may have been occasioned by the conditions of the problem never having been all taken into consideration, by which it has remained hitherto undetermined, and susceptible of many solutions, all equally good, when such and such conditions are abstracted, and all equally bad, when a new condition comes to be known, or when the attention has been directed to some known condition which had been before neglected.'

For our part, though we see in all geological systems great defects, and in some of them great absurdities, we cannot but think that they are steps by which men have approximated, and are gradually approximating to the truth. The discovery that a theory is erroneous, brings us nearer to that which is right; and by successive exclusions, we advance gradually to the truth. Philosophy affords but few instances where opinion has settled

on what is right, before it had wandered through all the suppositions that are wrong.

It has been already mentioned, as one of our author's general positions, that the cause of the destruction of the animals of which the remains are now so curiously preserved, has been something of sudden and instantaneous operation. Of this, however, we do not think that the proof is quite satisfactory; and though the thing may be true in some instances, we believe that in far the greater number it cannot be admitted. The rhinoceros, of which the skeleton with some parts of the muscles and the hide, was found near the banks of the Lena, must no doubt have been frozen soon after its death, otherwise the fleshy parts could not have escaped corruption. The same may be said of the great carcase recently discovered, included in a mass of ice on the shores of the Frozen Ocean. Some local catastrophe may have overwhelmed these, and perhaps a great number of other animals; but we cannot suppose that it has extended to those of which the remains are found in the alluvial beds all over the world. These are so numerous, they are so far scattered, and have so little to do with the effects of ice as a preservative, that we cannot suppose the cases to be similar. The quantity of the fossil bones, is in many instances too great to proceed from the animals of one generation; and must have been supplied from those of many ages, which have fed successively on the banks of the great rivers, and of which the bones have been buried in the mud and sand, thrown out by these rivers on their banks.

That local inundations, or catastrophes, have been very frequent, will be easily admitted, if we ascribe them to the depression of the land, rather than the rising of the sea. The change of the level of the sea, infers a change of level over the whole of its surface; that of the land extends no farther than a particular country. The latter is, of the two, the hypothesis far the best calculated to resolve the enigmas of the mineral kingdom.

The next object, is to show that there is little probability of discovering any new species among the larger quadrupeds now living. It is shown, also, that the larger animals of the old continent, were all well known to the ancients: the observations on this subject, as well as on the fabulous animals of antiquity, are highly interesting, and full of learning and ingenuity. CUVIER treats next of the means of distinguishing the genera and species of the fossil bones of quadrupeds. He observes, 'that the parts of the animal system are so tied together from their nature, that the most certain rules may be deduced by a careful study of

the parts, and by accurate and repeated observation. Any one,' says he, 'who observes the print of a cloven hoof, may conclude that it has been left by a ruminating animal; so that a single foot-mark may clearly indicate to the observer, the forms of the teeth, of the jaws, of the vertebræ, of the leg-bones, thighs, shoulders, &c. of the animal which left the mark.'

'From the mere comparison of observations, where theory is unable to direct, we also procure astonishing results; inasmuch, that when we find merely the extremity of a well preserved bone, we are able, by careful examination, assisted by analogy and exact comparison, to determine the species to which it once belonged, as certainly as if we had the entire animal before us. Before venturing to put entire confidence in this method of investigation, I have very frequently tried it with portions of bones belonging to known animals; and always with such complete success, that I now entertain no doubt with regard to the results which it affords.'

'In this manner, we have ascertained and classified the fossil remains of 78 different quadrupeds in the viviparous and oviparous classes. Forty-nine of these are distinct species, hitherto entirely unknown to naturalists. Eleven or twelve others have such entire resemblance to species already known, as to leave no doubt whatever of their identity; and the remaining 16 or 18, have considerable traits of resemblance to known species: But the comparison has not yet been made with such precision, as to remove all uncertainty. Of the 49 new, or hitherto unknown species, 27 belong to 7 new genera; while the other 22 new species belong to 16 genera or subgenera already known. The whole number of genera and subgenera, to which the fossil remains of quadrupeds, hitherto investigated, are referable, are 36, including those belonging both to known and unknown species. In order to connect these remains with the natural history of the globe itself, it would be desirable to ascertain the particular strata in which each species was found, and to inquire if there were any general laws which connected their position among the strata, with their resemblance to the species actually living on the surface of the earth.' On this subject, CUVIER has made the following observations; 'It seems, in the *first* place, clearly ascertained, that the remains of oviparous quadrupeds belong to more ancient strata than those of viviparous quadrupeds. The crocodiles of Honfleur and of England are underneath the chalk. The lizards of Thuringia are still more ancient, if the slate in which they are contained is to be placed, as some mineralogists suppose, among the most ancient of the secondary formations.'

'The earliest appearance of fossil bones seems to indicate, that dry land and fresh water existed before the formation of the chalk strata. But it is not till we arrive at strata of a far more recent date, that we come to the fossil remains of mammiferous land quadrupeds. We begin, indeed, to discover the bones of mammiferous sea

animals, such as the Lamantin and the Seal, in the shell limestone which immediately covers the chalk strata in the neighbourhood of Paris; but no bones of mammiferous land animals are to be found in that formation, nor till we come to those which lie over this limestone stratum; after which the bones of land quadrupeds are discovered in great abundance.'

'Thus we are led to conclude, that the oviparous quadrupeds began to exist along with the fishes, at the commencement of the period which produced the secondary formations, and that the land quadrupeds did not appear till long afterwards.'

'There is also a determinate order observable in the disposition of the bones of this latter kind, with respect to the strata in which they are found. The genera, which are now unknown; as the palæotheria, anaplotheria, &c. are found in the most ancient of the formations of which we now speak, or those which are directly over the coarse limestone. They are chiefly what occupy the regular strata deposited from the fresh water. Along with them are found some lost species of known genera, but in small numbers.'

'The most remarkable of the unknown species belonging to known genera, as the fossil elephant, rhinoceros, and mastodonton, are never found along with those more ancient genera, but are contained in alluvial formations of a later date, and never in the regular rocky strata.'

'Lastly, the bones of species apparently the same with those now living on the earth, are never found, except in the very latest alluvial depositions, such as are either formed on the sides of rivers, or at the bottoms of antient lakes or marshes now dried up. These bones, though the most recent of all, from being nearest to the surface, are the worst preserved.'

These are the laws, as far as our author's observations extend, which connect the unknown species with the strata in which they are lodged. It is curious to remark a kind of convergency, if we may call it so, both in the animals that inhabited the earth, and in the superficies of the earth itself, to the state in which they are now found. As the land came nearer to its present form, its inhabitants approached nearer to their present condition. Can it be doubted, that a vast number of ages was necessary for bringing about such important changes?

It must, however, be observed, that the extent to which these observations reach is not considerable: It is to the chalk country round Paris, and perhaps only to a part of it—no other tract on the earth's surface having yet been subjected to the same scrupulous and elaborate examination. CUVIER, indeed, gives the preceding results with that degree of diffidence which suits so new an inquiry, and one where the conclusions have not yet been verified by corresponding observations.

He goes on, after this, in another article, to show, that the

extinct species of quadrupeds are not varieties of the species presently existing; and he proves, in a very satisfactory manner, that the distance between these fossil species and the living species, to which they have the greatest affinity, is much greater than is ever found among the varieties of the same species.

The conclusion of this article is highly deserving of notice.

'When I endeavoured to prove,' says he, 'that the rocky strata contain the remains of several *genera*, and the loose strata those of several *species* which have now entirely disappeared from the face of our globe, I do not pretend that a new creation was necessary for calling the present races into existence; I only urge, that they did not anciently occupy the same places. Let us suppose, that a prodigious inroad of the sea were now to cover the continent of New Holland with a coat of earth: this would necessarily bury the carcasses of many animals belonging to the *genera* of Kangaroo, &c. and would entirely extinguish all the *species* of these *genera*, as not one of them is to be found in any other country. Were the same revolution to lay dry the numerous narrow streights which separate New Holland from New Guinea, the Indian islands, and the continent of Asia, a road would be open for the elephants, rhinoceroses, and all the other Asiatic animals, to occupy a land in which they are hitherto unknown. Were some future naturalist, after becoming well acquainted with the living animals of the country in this new condition, to search below the surface, he would then discover the remains of races quite different. What New Holland would then be, Europe, Siberia, and a large portion of America, actually are at present. Perhaps hereafter, when other countries shall be examined, and New Holland among the rest, they may be found to have undergone similar revolutions, and to have made equal changes of their animal productions.'

This is the reflection of a man of great general views, who had deeply considered the subject before him, and discovered what is probably the true relation between the strata of the mineral kingdom, and the fossil remains which they contain. For the productions of such local catastrophes as are here supposed, the rising and falling of the level of the land is a cause much better accommodated than a similar change in the level of the sea.

It is here observed, that among the bones found in a fossil state, those of the human species have never been discovered. Several of those specimens which passed for being remains of the latter kind, CUVIER himself has carefully examined; and the judgment of so able a naturalist must be held as decisive. The fossil bones which SPALLANZANI brought from the island of Cerigo, are of that number; and our author has no difficulty of affirming, that not a single fragment among them ever belonged to a human skeleton. He pronounces the same sentence on the specimen which Scheuchzer called *Homo diluvii testis*.

The next article undertakes to prove, that the population of the world is but recent, and that its present surface is by no means of very ancient formation. In the proof of the last of these propositions, we do not think that our author has been successful, and shall take the liberty of stating our objections to his reasoning.

‘By a careful examination,’ says he, ‘of what has taken place on the surface of the globe since it has been laid dry for the last time, and its continents have assumed their present form, at least in such parts as are somewhat elevated above the level of the ocean, it may be clearly seen that this last revolution, and consequently the establishment of our existing societies, could not have been very ancient. This result is one of the best established, and least attended to in rational zoology; and it is so much the more valuable, as it connects natural and civil history together in one uninterrupted series.’

The argument by which CUVIER endeavours to establish a result which he considers as so certain and important, is, in its form and intention, perfectly logical. To judge of the time in which a certain work has been accomplished, we must ascertain the rate of working, or the quantity of work done in a given time; and if we then can measure also the whole work that has been performed, we may be enabled to calculate the time of the performance with some tolerable exactness. This is the method followed by our author; but in the manner of ascertaining his data, we think great errors have been introduced. These errors affect both the things to be determined, viz. the rate of working, and the total effect produced. The first is made much too great, and the latter much too small; on which account, the time taken up in the action must fall vastly short of the truth.

‘It must be,’ says CUVIER, ‘since the last retreat of the waters, that the acclivities of our mountains have begun to disintegrate, and to form slopes of the debris at their bottoms and upon their sides; that our rivers have begun to flow in their present courses, and to form alluvial depositions.’

Now, in these words, *since our rivers have begun to flow in their present courses*, we conceive that a great error is concealed. Whether the land was laid dry by the sea retiring to a lower level, or by the land itself rising to a higher level, is not material to the present question. While the surface was covered by water to a great depth resting above it, there was no physical agent whatever that could be supposed to cut out or to prepare for the rivers any thing like the courses in which they now flow and discharge themselves into the sea. There is, indeed, no where any physical agent by which this operation, or this great system of operations, can have been effected. Great original inequalities were no doubt left behind by the sea when it retired; but that there should be any system of lines or ca-

nals connecting all these inequalities, with a declivity nearly uniform from the one end to the other, it were altogether unreasonable to suppose. No agent having the least tendency to produce this effect could act on a surface deeply immersed under a fluid, and where the pressure of that fluid tended to preserve an equilibrium in all directions. Chance, or the cooperation of accidental causes, could never produce so steady an effect over a vast extent, and in circumstances so extremely diversified. Let us take, for an example, the basin of any great river; as of the Danube, and its numerous branches. These branches, though they wind from every side through a vast labyrinth, come to join the main trunk, with courses of such uniform declivity, that they are rarely dammed up into lakes, or precipitated into cataracts. How comes it about, that from the Alps on the one hand, and the Carpathian mountains on the other, the waters have found canals by which, notwithstanding the innumerable inequalities that abound in this tract, they are conducted with a regular descent over an extent of many thousand square miles? Among the multitude of agents which Nature employs in her operations, there is only one, the waters themselves, to whom this work might be safely entrusted. These, by occupying the original depressions of the surface, and by rising to such heights as enabled them to form a communication with one another, would require nothing but time to bring the surface into its present condition. Nature herself would furnish the instruments or tools necessary for the work. The running of the waters, the stones, the gravel and earth that they would carry along with them, the masses of ice that would occasionally be formed, would serve to open up a passage to the sea; and the Danube, with its thousand branches, would come at last to discharge its waters, through one main trunk, into the Euxine. In this way has been formed the whole system of valleys now existing on the surface of the earth, and, of consequence, the whole form and shape of the mountains is to be regarded as the work of the waters themselves, determined, in their first operations, by the primitive inequalities of the surface, and modified, during their whole action, by the position and the structure of the rocks through which they had to cut their way.

The waters, it is obvious, were not opposed, in these operations, merely by loose earth, or other unconsolidated materials. They were opposed by the hardest rocks, and were constantly resisted by a power which nothing but the lapse of ages could enable them to overcome.

In the Essay before us, rivers are considered as working only on sand or mud; but the removal of these is a small part of

the task which they have had to perform. They have had the rocks themselves to cut down ; and they clearly express their having done so, when the rock is hard enough to retain, for a long time, the impressions which it has received. A narrow channel hollowed out of the solid rock, of great depth, and no broader than is sufficient to contain the torrent that runs in it, leaves no doubt as to the agent by which it was made, and none as to the fact, that a great length of time has been required. In the estimate here made of the action of rivers, all the operations of this kind are excluded.

In the same manner, with respect to the coasts, the view taken is equally limited ; and it is only those low shores formed of alluvial deposits that come within the scope of the argument.

We must therefore object, both to the rate of working, as our author has stated it, and to the quantity of work that has been performed. From the celerity with which the contention of a river and a tide may throw up a bar at the mouth of the former ; from the rapidity with which the wind may transport hills of moveable sand on a low coast, or with which vegetables, by the stagnation of water, may be converted into peat, we cannot reason at all as to the time which a torrent will take to cut through a rock of marble, of granite, or of silex. Yet the latter are the great operations which the rivers have had to perform ; and they only get the perpetual supply of mud and sand and gravel with which they are provided, by corroding and disintegrating the hard substances that oppose their course.

Such seems to us the fair estimate of the work that was necessary to be performed, before the surface of the land, as it was left by the waters of the sea, could attain the form which it has at the present moment. If there is any other physical agent that can be shown to be adequate to the same effect, we shall be content that the waters should share with it the glory of performing the great work that we have ascribed to them. But if there is no such agent ; if there is no power of any kind that has the necessary force, and, much more, the principle necessary to direct that force, we shall be under the necessity of acquiescing in the conclusion just deduced, and of considering it as one of the fixed and ascertained facts in the natural history of the globe.

The next part of the argument considers the proofs, arising from tradition, of a great catastrophe and subsequent renewal of the human race. It is here assumed, as a point already proved, that the natural history of the globe every where informs us, that the commencement of the present order of things cannot be dated from a very remote period. We have just seen, however, that the argument brought in support of this assertion, is by no

means conclusive; and, that so far as the question is purely physical, and relates to the earth itself, no doubt can be entertained that the present order goes back to a period much beyond the limits of historical record. Our author is of the contrary opinion.

‘It is easy to see,’ says he, ‘that though naturalists might have ranged sufficiently wide within the limits prescribed by the book of Genesis, they very soon found themselves in too narrow bounds; and when they had succeeded in converting the six days employed in the work of creation, into so many periods of indefinite length, their systems took a flight proportioned to the periods which they could then dispose of at pleasure.’

To the charge that is here made, we believe that most Geologists will be obliged to plead guilty; and, though we do by no means think that it is the business of theory to explain the first origin of things, or the events that must have happened during the six days referred to by our author, whether they are to be literally or figuratively understood; yet, we admit that it would be very difficult to suppose that even the series of changes which are the legitimate objects of geological discussion, can be brought completely within the limits of a few thousand years. The concessions even of the most sound theologians admit, that the literal interpretation of the Mosaic account of the origin of things is not essential to an orthodox system of religious belief. We have the authority of the late Bishop HORSLEY to support us in this assertion; which is also admitted by the editor of this Essay, in a preface which is certainly not chargeable with any undue liberality of sentiment. The origin, however, of society, and the renewal, if not the beginning of the human race, we most readily admit, cannot, with any regard to the testimony, either of sacred or profane writers, be carried back to a very remote period. It must be admitted that it goes back no farther than six or seven thousand years; and all that we contend for is, the liberty of placing it somewhat beyond the latest of the dates which have been assigned to it, and to which CUVIER seems desirous that it should be reduced.

‘The Pentateuch,’ he observes, ‘has existed in its present form, at least ever since the separation of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, when it was received as authentic by the Samaritans, as well as by the Jews; and this assures us of the actual antiquity of that book being not less than two thousand eight hundred years. Besides this, we have no reason to doubt of the book of Genesis having been composed by Moses, which adds five hundred years to its antiquity.’

‘Moses and his people came out of Egypt, which is universally allowed to have been the most anciently civilized kingdom on the borders of the Mediterranean. The legislator of the Jews could

have no motive for shortening the duration of the nations ; and would even have disgraced himself in the estimation of his own people, if he had promulgated a history of the human race contradictory to that which they must have learnt by tradition in Egypt. We may therefore conclude, that the Egyptians had at this time no other notions, respecting the antiquity of the human race, than are contained in the book of Genesis.'

Here we must remark, that this learned and ingenious writer, in defending the Mosaic chronology, has employed an argument in which the sound and serious theologian will hardly acquiesce, viz. that MOSES derived his information concerning the origin of the world, and of the deluge, from the traditions of the Egyptians ; and that he could not have ventured to teach opinions concerning these matters, different from those commonly received. This, however, is to form a notion of the Legislator of the Jews, very little agreeable to the character in which he appears in his own writings ; and by no means consistent with the superiority which his religious system undoubtedly possessed above those of the nations by which he was surrounded. We have here an instance of the danger of mixing religious and philosophical opinions with one another, and a proof how readily, as Lord BACON long ago observed, from the union of these two things the corruption of both is likely to ensue ; a fantastical philosophy on the one hand, and a heterodox religion on the other.

Whatever be determined on that point, it seems material to remark, that the deluge, such as it is described by MOSES, cannot well be supposed to have left any proof of its existence among the monuments of the mineral kingdom. Its duration was too short to have allowed such monuments to be produced. The face of the earth was covered by the waters above the tops of the mountains, only for the space of five months, or 150 days ; and, after the end of that time, *the waters were abated*. Now, the increase of the mass of waters, even to the height of 20,000 or 25,000 feet above their present level, and their continuance for five months at that height, if it was attended with no violence, with no tempests nor earthquakes, (and it is not said that it was so attended), is not likely to have produced any marks or vestiges on the surface, which the lapse of a few years would not efface. We are not at liberty to engraft on the sacred text, any commentaries or speculations of our own. A miraculous event must be received just as it is given by the inspired writer. There is no room for reasoning on principles of analogy about what is confessedly supernatural, and placed beyond the sphere to

which analogy extends. The waters, therefore, are to be understood as raised up quietly to the great height at which they stood, and to have continued in that state just 150 days; and, if so, the destruction of land animals, and the deposition of a coat of mud over the surface of the earth, are the only consequences which we can infer with certainty to have taken place. When the waters subsided, the dead carcasses would, many of them, be carried down into the sea, or, where they remained, would soon be consumed, in the midst of the luxuriant vegetation which would quickly cover the earth, during the almost entire absence of the animals destined to feed on it. The coat of mud would be washed down by the rains, or added to the general mass of vegetable mould.

It seems probable, therefore, that this great catastrophe, destined to cut off men and animals, would produce no other durable effect upon the surface of the earth; none certainly that could be supposed to remain distinctly visible, at the distance of some thousand years. We are therefore at a loss to know what the Editor means to speak of when he says, 'the Deluge, one of the grandest *natural* events described in the Bible, is equally confirmed, with regard to its extent and the period of its occurrence, by a careful study of the various phenomena observed on and near the earth's surface.' It would be highly satisfactory, no doubt, if this pious and learned naturalist, would point out any of the phenomena now existing which may fairly be called monuments of the deluge; understanding that deluge to be just what it is recorded to have been, without any such commentaries as have sometimes been applied to it. It must be the genuine deluge of the Scriptures, not that which has been so highly coloured by the eloquence of BURNET, or so nicely analysed by the geometry of WHISTON; much less those reciprocations of the *universal water* so familiar to the followers of WERNER; nor even the torrent, or the *debacle*, of PALLAS and SAUSSURE: It must be the simple and quiet ascent of the waters above the tops of the mountains, their sojourning there for 150 days, and their peaceable retreat. We conceive that such an event could not record itself in any other way than by the deep impression it must make on the minds of the few who survived the general calamity. If we are in an error, we shall be glad to be set right.

The antiquity and origin of nations is a subject of great difficulty, and one where the light is so scanty, that there is no apology for dogmatical assertion. Though we think that there is reason to go farther back than the ordinary computation seems to authorise, we do not suppose ourselves entitled to draw this conclusion with perfect decision. Neither, on the other hand,

can we admit with this commentator, that the age of the human race is, in the work before us, satisfactorily determined by an appeal to natural appearances ; and that the pretended great antiquity of some nations, so much insisted on by certain philosophers, is thereby shown to be entirely unfounded.

We mean not in any degree to blame the intentions of the learned Editor ; but it is impossible to shut one's eyes against the effects which such insinuations as the preceding are calculated, if not intended, to produce. They are calculated to hold up those who do not acquiesce in the opinions contained in this work as objects of suspicion, and as men who cherish notions unfavourable to religion. This, however, is not an interpretation that should rashly be given to mere literary or scientific speculations. The system of COPERNICUS might as well be stated, as it once was, to be inconsistent with the authority of the Scriptures ; and all those who hold the reality of the earth's motion, should be considered as disputing the authenticity of the sacred writings. It is unnecessary to expose the error of opinions, not more hurtful to the interests of science, than contrary to the spirit of religion.

The state of the question seems to be this. — No one, we are persuaded, means to reason in this matter against the authority of the Mosaic history, not even the philosophers whom the editor views with so suspicious an eye : But the Hebrew text having fixed the renovation of the human race to the year 2348 (see BLAIR'S Chronology) before the Christian era ; and all deductions that depend on numbers, or on a series of numbers contained in an ancient manuscript, being subject to considerable uncertainty from the chances of interpolation and corruption ; it is therefore reasonable, in an inquiry into the origin of nations, to state the facts from all different quarters, as far as they are known, supposing them too to be subject to uncertainty from like causes ; and taking care, in the inquiry, to exclude all dogmatism and partiality. It is probable that, in this way, a mean result may be obtained nearer to the truth, than any single one that we are in possession of. The infallibility of the inspired writings does by no means preclude this appeal ; because these writings, especially in what regards numerical expression, must partake of that uncertainty, which passing repeatedly through the hands of ignorant and careless transcribers, has a tendency to produce. It seems reasonable, in such a case, that all the evidence which can be brought forward, should be examined ; leaving it with the great jury of mankind to determine the weight that is due to the testimony of each of the witnesses adduced, and the mean result of the whole united evidence. Why should not an-

tiquaries and scholars do as astronomers and mathematicians are wont to do, where there is a chance of error? They bring forward the observations they have made, or the measures they have taken, ascribing to each of them a weight proportional, as nearly as they can estimate, to its accuracy; and they then take the mean of all, as the result nearest to the truth. This is what we wish to do on the present occasion. Take from all the different sources of information, the best result you can obtain; take no care, while you are doing so, of its consistency with other results, but let each of them answer for itself. When this process is fairly and extensively performed, let the mean be struck as in the cases above referred to; and there is very little doubt that a result will be obtained, which will detect the corruptions, from which neither the texts of sacred or profane historians can always be exempted.

Agreeably to this rule, we go on to state several arguments, leading to results that differ considerably from those of CUVIER, but that appear to us very deserving of attention. With a view of reducing the period of the great catastrophe, so often alluded to, to a date as recent as possible, CUVIER endeavours to take off the force of such facts as would carry back that catastrophe to a period somewhat more remote. MACROBIUS, says he, assures us, that collections of observations of eclipses made in Egypt, were preserved, which presupposed uninterrupted labour for at least 1200 years before the reign of ALEXANDER. It is said, too, by SIMPLICIUS, in his commentary on ARISTOTLE, that some astronomical observations of the Chaldeans were sent by CALLISTHENES to that philosopher, which reached back 1903 years from the year 331 before Christ, at which time Babylon was taken by ALEXANDER; which therefore goes back almost within a century of the common epoch of the Deluge. To both these facts, it is objected, that if such observations had existed, how comes it that PTOLEMY, to whom they must have been so extremely valuable, makes use of none that go back farther than the era of Nabonassar, 747 years before Christ? There is, however, a circumstance, that ought to be taken into account, before the relations of MACROBIUS and SIMPLICIUS are entirely set aside. To an astronomer like Ptolemy, who was endeavouring to settle the mean motions of the heavenly bodies, no observation could be of any use, of which the date was not fixed with very great precision. Now, accuracy of date was a matter in which these ancient observations were most likely to prove defective. An exact reckoning of time, by which the interval between remote events could be correctly measured, was very long of being obtained; and men had observed the heavens for a great while,

before they could mark with accuracy the dates of their observations.

The observations of the Chaldeans, therefore, might be very authentic; as facts, they might be infinitely valuable: but they might be of no use at all to an astronomer, who was merely computing tables of the motions of the sun and the planets. There is many a curious and important observation, both in ancient and in modern times, that would have been rejected as useless by DELAMBRE and BURKHARDT, in the formation of those astronomical tables, by which they have lately merited the gratitude of the scientific world. The same was the case with PROLEMY; and to find that he makes no mention of certain antient observations, affords no argument at all against their existence, or against his knowledge of them.

Again, our author endeavours to invalidate the argument which derives a presumption of the great antiquity of civilization and scientific acquirement in India and Chaldea, from the fact, that in these countries there was great knowledge in astronomy; as, of the length of the year, the precession of the equinoxes, the relative motions of the sun and moon, &c. 1100 or 1200 years at least before the beginning of the Christian era. It is argued, that the beginning of astronomical observation must have preceded that date by many centuries.

‘But to explain all this,’ it is said, ‘Without the necessity of any prodigious antiquity, it may be remarked, that a nation may well be expected to make rapid progress in any particular science, that has no other to attend to; and that, with the Chaldeans especially, the perpetual serenity and clearness of their sky, the pastoral life which they led, and the peculiar superstition to which they were addicted, rendered the stars a general object of attention. They had also colleges, or societies, of their most respectable men, appointed to make astronomical observations, and to put them upon record. Let us suppose also, that among so many persons who had nothing else to do, there were two or three possessed of singular talents for the study of geometrical science; and every thing known to that people might easily have been accomplished in a very few centuries.’

The position laid down here, that a nation may make great progress in one science, which has only one to attend to, seems not very conformable to what has occurred, or to what, from the nature of the human mind, might be expected to occur in the history of science. The time when knowledge has advanced fastest, has been, when it was pursued in many different branches; and nothing seems more certain, than that one science can never make great progress when it stands alone, and is separate from the rest. The astronomer requires the assistance of the mechanic and the optician; if he is destitute of their help, and

if his instruments are very imperfect, there is nothing but time that can bring out any valuable result from his observations. In the absence of accurate instruments and exact observation, it was only great length of time that could make it possible to discover the long periods and the slow motions with which, as far back as eleven or twelve hundred years before our era, we find that astronomers were acquainted. When two observations are compared together, the length of the time between them will stand in the place of accuracy, the errors bearing a less proportion to the whole. If, therefore, we find a tolerably accurate estimate of the mean motions of the heavenly bodies, in the possession of a people not furnished with good instruments, we may be assured that the antiquity of observation has supplied the place of such instruments, and that age has given a value to facts, which, without it, they could not have possessed. In this, we have very little doubt that all astronomers will agree. CUVIER however proceeds,

‘ Three hundred years did not intervene between COPERNICUS and DE LA PLACE, the celebrated author of the *Mecanique Celeste*; yet some wish to believe that the Hindoos must have had many thousand years to discover their astronomical rules.’

But why did so little time intervene between Copernicus and La Place? Why has the progress of science been so rapid in the comparatively short interval that elapsed between these two great men? Precisely because astronomy was not the only science then cultivated; because all the sciences, on the contrary, were coming forward, and advancing together with a uniformity and steadiness of which there is no former example. The labours of every scientific man were felt as an assistance and encouragement by all the rest; a general spirit of activity spread itself into every department, and the powers of the mind seemed raised to a higher level. The ardour and patience necessary to discovery, and characteristic of genius, can hardly be produced without the example and the sympathy of numbers, animated by the same motives, and zealous in pursuing the same objects.

The benefit that one science may receive from the culture of another, even the most remote, cannot be better exemplified, than by the circumstances that have given occasion to the work before us, where the Anatomist affords such valuable assistance to the Geologist, and brings the structure of the animal body to give such important information concerning the revolutions of the globe. The bones of the *Megatherion*, or the *Mastodon*, two hundred years ago, might have given occasion to a new chapter in the *Osteology of the Giants*; but would have added nothing to the stock of real knowledge. In the hands

of a man of science, and a philosopher, they have struck out one of the greatest lights that has yet been cast on the natural history of the globe. It is certain, then, that the moments of most rapid progress in any science, are those in which all the sciences are advancing, and all supporting one another. When they are separate, their progress is unavoidably slow; and nothing can be more fallacious, than to take their rate of advancement in a state of high improvement, as a measure of the progress they might be expected to have made in the infancy of knowledge.

In the prosecution of this argument, an attack is next made, as indeed it could not fail to be, on the antiquity of the astronomy of India. Our author is of opinion, that the proofs which have appeared conclusive in favour of that antiquity, are of little weight, and have most of them been satisfactorily refuted. He quotes particularly the *Système du Monde*, and the Paper of BENTLEY in the *Asiatic Researches*. With respect to the first, it is true, that LA PLACE has shown, that in as much as concerns the mean motion of Jupiter, there is a very recent, as well as a very ancient period, to which the determination of that motion, in the Indian Tables, may be referred. Of course, he refers them to the most recent; and if there were not a multitude of facts pointing to the other, we should think the latter conclusion extremely reasonable. But, circumstanced as things are, we think it can be shown, in a satisfactory manner, that the ancient era is the more probable of the two. As to BENTLEY's argument, it has in reality been refuted by anticipation in the *Astronomie Orientale* more than once. When the astronomical era of the Caly-yug is said to have been computed backward, the question always recurs, How came the mean motions of the Sun and Moon to be known to the Hindoos 6 or 7 hundred years ago, with such accuracy, that in calculating for an interval of more than 4000 years, they should agree with the best tables of modern astronomy? The tedious and obscure argumentation of Mr BENTLEY never brings us nearer to the solution of this problem. Indeed, the number of independent arguments by which M. BAILLY has established the reality of the epoch 3102 A. C. is such, that it seems better ascertained than any date not within the sphere of regular historical record. We cannot now enter more fully on this subject. But though the tide of opinion seems, for some time past, to have set strongly against the high antiquity of the sciences of the East, it does not appear that the main arguments of the Historian of astronomy have ever been refuted. Conformably, therefore, to the principle laid down above, in settling the remotest point to which the history of our sciences can extend, we would re-

gard the Indian astronomy as one fact, and one that must be allowed considerable weight, when the last result is to be obtained. At the same time it must be allowed, that the early date of that Astronomy, and the usual date of the Deluge, may be perfectly reconciled, on the supposition that the former is a fragment of antediluvian science, which had escaped the general destruction.

We conclude with observing, that the natural history of the globe has never made a greater step than by the observations and results contained in the great work to which this Preliminary Dissertation belongs. The industry, the skill, and the enlarged views of the author, are entitled to the highest praise; and in differing from him, as to a few of his subordinate conclusions, we hope that we have not failed in the respect due to a man who has laid science under so many and so great obligations.

We observe, in the passages where Astronomy is treated of, that some mistakes have been committed by the translator. Speaking of the Zodiac in the temple at Dendera, he makes CUVIER say, 'Nothing can be drawn from its division into *bands* of six signs each, as indicative of the colures proceeding from the procession of the Equinoxes,' &c. The term, *procession* for *precession*, we suppose to be merely a typographical error; but to speak of the colures proceeding from the precession of the equinoxes, is inaccurate, and indeed absurd. The French is, "La position des colures resultant de la precession des equinoxes"—the position of the colures produced by the precession; for it is the position of the colures, not the colures themselves, that is affected by the precession. In the course of the same sentence, there is another error. Instead of the words, 'shows how inaccurate were their observations;' it ought to be, 'shows that they had not observed it,' viz. the time in which the beginning of the year travels over the whole of the zodiac. (p. 165.) There occur other inaccuracies of this kind; though, on the whole, the translation is well executed.

ART. XIV. *Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political Character, from the Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole in 1742, to the Establishment of Lord Chatham's second Administration in 1757, containing strictures on some of the most distinguished Men of that time.* Murray, London. 1813.

THE appearance of any authentic memoirs relating to so interesting a period of our history as that mentioned in the title-page of this work, naturally attracts a great share of curiosity.

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sity: And although this publication does not throw any very new lights on the great events of that time, it abounds in characteristic anecdotes of the most distinguished persons who adorned it, and contains the unreserved and emphatic judgments of a contemporary, whose great opportunities of observation were seconded by no common abilities, and a Roman severity of principle that effectually secured him against any bias on the side of flattery or admiration. These curious tracts are understood to be extracted from a manuscript journal of Mr GLOVER, the once celebrated author of *Leonidas*, who, though never placed in any official situation, was unquestionably in habits of intimacy and confidential communication with most of the leading men of that day. In his political friendships, he seems to have been uniformly guided by public principle; and the rectitude of his conduct seems to have commanded the esteem even of those to whom he was habitually, and not very moderately opposed. The character which the author incidentally draws of himself, indeed, and the singular combination which it displays of a detailed knowledge of affairs, with a fierce and misanthropic intolerance of political profligacy, form no slight part of the interest which unquestionably belongs to this little work.

The narrative commences with the negotiations between the court and the popular party on the retreat of Sir Robert Walpole; and gives an entertaining picture of the *spirit* and *patriotism* which actuated the leading men of the opposition. Our author characterizes the Duke of Argyle very fully and very happily.

'The Duke of Argyle was a man of considerable parts and wit, though by no means so great as appeared from an happy and most imposing manner of speaking in public, where a certain dignity and vivacity, joined to a most captivating air of openness and sincerity, generally gave his arguments a weight, which, in themselves, they frequently wanted; and many would go away charmed with his speeches, and yet be extremely at a loss afterwards to discover that strength of reasoning which they imagined at the hearing to have influenced them so highly in his favour. To style him inconsistent, is by much too gentle an appellation; for, though from the time he first had a regiment, being under twenty years of age, through the whole course of his great employments, he was never known to sell a place, or even to make those advantages which were universally esteemed allowable and blameless; yet he was in his own person a most shameless prostitute to power, and extremely avaricious: he indeed would sell nothing but himself, which he continually did with every circumstance of levity, weakness, and even treachery. p. 8, 9.

After mentioning his Grace's appointment to the Ordnance, and his sudden resignation, from some offence taken at the King and the ministry, Mr Glover adds,

'The true reason (in my judgment) was the treatment he received at

court not answering his ambitious views, and perhaps not agreeable to his rank and dignity. His views were, to have the sole command of the army; which reminds me of one of Lord Orford's bold and unguarded expressions, "That there were two men who wanted the sole management of the army, the King and Argyle; but, by God, neither of them should have it." p. 11.

We are then made acquainted with the plans of opposition in 1743 and 1744, and the treaty which terminated in the admission to power of the Bedford junto; and these, though including all his personal friends and political favourites, are stigmatized in a way which may enable the reader to judge how his enemies are treated. He speaks, indeed, in the beginning, of 'the weight of Waller's talents and experience, the virulent eloquence of Pitt, the party strength of Gower and Cotton among the Tories, the keen and lively parts of Cobham, and the industry and social arts of Dodington; all which, united upon honest and disinterested views for their country, must have speedily rendered the opposition not only formidable, but dangerous to Pelham: such, however, was the prostitution of Bedford, Chesterfield, Gower, Pitt and Lyttleton, a party founded on the base desire of pecuniary emoluments, partly on the more extensive views of procuring the whole ministerial power to themselves, that they peremptorily insisted on coming into employment without any stipulations whatever. Lord Cobham was at one time so provoked at this infamous conduct, that he had thoughts of withdrawing himself from their councils; and to Sir Francis Dashwood, from whom I had my information, made use of the following expressions: "Damn these fellows! they mean nothing but themselves! Will they stand by us? By God, we will have no further concern with them." But his resolution did not hold.' p. 24, 25.

After a rapid account of the insurrection under the ill fated Charles Edward, he mentions the bitter tears shed by the late King, when forced, for the first time, to receive Mr Pitt as his councillor. 'Mrs Waller,' he adds, 'told me that she stood near the King on the occasion, and saw him shed tears.' These gracious drops do not seem, however, to have softened the heart of this stern and vindictive censor; for it is almost immediately after, that he presents us with the following short and pithy character of that illustrious monarch.

'A weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, who, seated by fortune on a throne, was calculated by nature for a pawnbroker's shop, and was easily reconciled to a set of men willing and able to gratify his low avarice, in his ideas a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice he made them of his resentments and his prerogative. Hating Mr Pitt, he preferred him. The ministers, who had hurled back his favours in his face, he restored not only to employment, but to his confidence, and the sole power of three kingdoms. Among so great a number, Lord Harrington was the only one he did not forgive, and whom he was permitted to disgrace.' p. 32, 33.

In another passage, he calls him 'a mean, spiritless, covetous, prejudiced, undiscerning prince;' and adds, 'that his avarice sometimes tempted him to actions repugnant to common honesty.' In illustration of which he tells the following story.

On the death of his father, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered him the late king's will, in the Council-chamber: He thrust it into his bosom, walked out, and secreted it ever after. It happened that the Dutchess of Kendall, mistress to King George the First, had a duplicate copy of the will, in which was a legacy of fifty thousand pounds to her daughter, afterwards married to the Earl of Chesterfield. That nobleman consulted Mr Joseph Taylor, an eminent attorney, and Member of the House of Commons, on the means of recovering this legacy. Mr Taylor acted with so much spirit, that, rather than have the will brought into the Ecclesiastical Court, the king thought proper to pay the legacy, which he otherwise intended to keep for ever in his own pocket, as he had done till that time. This is an incontestable fact. What other legacies might have been in the will, I pretend not to ascertain. It was said there was some devise of money or jewels to the king of Prussia.' p. 40, 41.

The events of the German wars, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conduct us to 1748, from which there is a chasm to the death of Mr Pelham in August 1754. Some interesting financial anecdotes are then told, illustrative of his character. These are followed by the disputes concerning the Ohio territory, and the Hessian and Russian subsidies. The loss of the Militia bill in the House of Lords, the disastrous campaign of 1756 in America, and the capture of Minorca, bring us, in a rapid and indignant narrative, to the origin and concoction of Mr Pitt's second ministry; the whole history of which is interspersed with anecdotes extremely characteristic of the proud and aspiring temper of that extraordinary person.

During the whole sessions, Mr Pitt found occasion in every debate to confound the ministerial orators. His vehement invectives were awful to Murray, terrible to Hume Campbell; and no malefactor under the stripes of an executioner was ever more forlorn and helpless than Fox appeared under the lash of Pitt's eloquence, shrewd and able in Parliament as he confessedly is. Dodington sheltered himself in silence.' p. 51.

At this Murray, the Solicitor-general, insisted on being made Chief-justice, and left the House of Commons to take the title of Lord Mansfield.

Fox, one of the Secretaries of State, resigned his employment some time before, convinced that Murray would not alter his determination, and unwilling as well as unable to bear a part any longer in an administration sinking under the weight of national calamity and universal indignation. The Duke of Newcastle, the most trifling and incapable, yet of all men the most ambitious, struggling to the last for the continuance of power, offers the seals first to Lord Halifax, then to the Earl of Egmont. Them he finds as averse to enter a falling edifice as Fox

was to remain there. At length he applies to Pitt through the channel of Lord Hardwicke, who presents a *carte blanche* for the admission of him and his friends into the highest employments of state under the Duke. Pitt, with a haughtiness confounding the meanness of Hardwicke, rejects the proposition, and disdains all union of actions or counsels with Newcastle. Thus driven to despair, that minister resigns his employments likewise, leaving his master naked and helpless like himself." p. 60, 61.

The king then sent the Duke of Dorsetshire to request Mr Pitt to propose his own terms; and immediately all his friends are convened to consult upon the measures to be adopted. At a meeting, which Mr Pitt himself was prevented from attending by a violent fit of the gout, Mr Glover informs us, that he drew up certain propositions or resolutions, embracing the chief principles or measures on which he thought the new government should insist; which having been approved of by the gentlemen present,

Mr Townshend entreated that he might communicate these propositions to Mr Pitt, without concealing the author. Their first interview was on the Monday following. Townshend frankly declared, that his sentiments upon the present conjuncture were contained in a short paper composed by an old acquaintance of Mr Pitt's; and on his inquiring who it was, mentioned my name. He was in bed, and so helpless with pain, that Townshend read the paper to him: he gave his assent, excepting to no part, assuring him that that paper contained his sentiments likewise. One circumstance, minute indeed, but serving to illustrate his character, must not be omitted. Mr Townshend told me, that when he came to the fifth article, which ascribes Pitt's exaltation merely to calamitous events, without any compliment to his abilities or merit, he shrunk back;—Townshend perceiving his pride was hurt, interposed a manly comment, that whatever esteem the author might have of him personally, this was not an occasion to make compliments, but to state facts and argument. Pitt soon recollecting himself, answered, "I understand my friend perfectly,—I agree with him entirely." p. 67, 68.

A still more characteristic anecdote, though relating to an earlier stage of the negotiation, is given in a subsequent part of the work.

After the Duke of Newcastle's unsuccessful application to Pitt, Fox undertook to be an emissary; and meeting Pitt on one of the landing-places of the staircase in Leicester-house, accosted him with saying, that he came from the King, who was very desirous of taking Mr Pitt into his service. "You, Sir?" replies Mr Pitt with a look which implied the utmost aversion and contempt; "are *you* come from the king?" Fox persisting to have some more explicit answer, was told by Mr Pitt, with a haughtiness peculiar to himself, that "he had none to give him." Must I understand, rejoins Fox, that you refuse to send an answer, because it is through me? "Sir," says Pitt, "when his Majesty shall condescend to signify his pleasure to me, by

any one entitled to my confidence and esteem, I shall not be wanting in expressions of duty to his Majesty, and devotion to his service." This was the substance of their conversation; the words may differ, and I sincerely believe are rather weakened by my relation.' p. 69, 70.

There is still another trait which illustrates, in a striking way, the temper of the court, and its ministers.

Parliament met before the new rulers had actually accepted their offices—

'The King's speech being prepared by Mr Pitt, the most remarkable part of which was the recommendation of a militia; and the addresses of the two Houses were settled likewise; one, left to the care of Mr Pitt, the other, to the Duke of Devonshire. Lord Temple was at this time confined to his bed with a fever, and was accidentally informed, that in the meeting of the Lords, consulted in drawing up their Address, the Duke had consented to the insertion of a clause of *thanks to his Majesty for having brought over his electoral troops*. Lord Temple knowing that such a clause was not in the Address of the Commons, and provoked at the Duke of Devonshire's acquiescence, without the privity of Mr Pitt or himself; signified, by a message to the Duke, the day before the Houses were to meet, that if the clause stood, he would come down, sick as he was, and singly oppose it. The Duke of Devonshire replied, about one o'clock the next day, that he was sorry for the accident; but that it was too late, and not in his power to make any alteration.

'I was at the House of Lords that day, where Lord Temple, just risen from a sick-bed, and with a blister on his back, made a most manly and spirited speech against the clause, and was seconded by no one Lord, except Earl Stanhope. Temple was obliged to return home immediately after his speech, and the Address, with the clause of thanks, passed *nem. con.* Almost at the same instant the Address of the Commons passed without such a clause, *nem. con.* likewise. Upon this success in the House of Lords, the King plucks up his perverse spirit, and insists on the *recommatting* of the Address in the Commons, a proceeding extremely unusual, that the same clause of thanks might be inserted. Mr Pitt at once gave him to understand, that he would not only oppose any such attempt, but would also refuse the seals, in case it were made. The King gave way to Mr Pitt.' p. 75, 76.

No one can read, without interest, the sketch which is here given of the trial and sacrifice of Byng; innocent or guilty, as our author justly remarks, equally the occasion of dishonour to his countrymen. In several conversations with Pitt after his second resignation, Mr Glover's advice to him against a coalition with the exploded Duke of Newcastle, though not followed, was manly and spirited. The history of the negotiations and intrigues which led to that coalition is not among the least interesting parts of the work;—but we can only afford to insert the character of that ambitious nobleman, which concludes the singular publication before us.

'The Duke of Newcastle was a man, of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard; of parts and conduct which generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt; of notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and the lowest: Yet, insincere without gall, ambitious without pride, luxurious, jovial, hospitable to all men; of an exorbitant estate, affable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours indiscriminately to all his adherents; he had established a faction by far the most powerful in this country: Hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power. Nor was he less indebted to his experience of a Court, a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negotiation with the most distinguished popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master.' p. 105, 106.

We would recommend our readers to compare this little volume with the celebrated Diary of Lord Melcombe. In point of acuteness, candour and information, they may perhaps be fairly compared; but we hope there are not many of our readers who will hesitate in deciding between the characters, or even the lots of the two authors. For, though we may see the one struggling against adversity, in unpensioned retirement, and the other abounding in public wealth, and crowned with the degrading rewards of his profligacy; yet, upon looking a little farther, we find the former elevated by conscious rectitude and patriotism, and the latter grown grey in corruption, and at last, as he is well described in these Memoirs, 'sinking under the dismal certainty of losing his place, without a remnant of public character, or the least consciousness of public virtue to assuage his wounded spirit.' Yet, the picture which Mr Glover gives of himself, and his feelings, is far from being very amiable or attractive; and a tone of misanthropy, which repels our affections, is combined with a despondency which would repress even the most meritorious exertions. There is no little eloquence, however, though of a dark and gloomy character, in the following remarkable passage.

'I am now in the 46th year of my age: The ardour of youth is abated;—the mind grown stronger by experience, familiar with ill-fortune both to myself and my country, guarded against the delusion of popularity, and above the pride resulting from the occasional countenance and *unsought* confidence of men in high station, of which I propose to make no further use, than to delineate with accuracy and truth the causes of this nation's fall, which my ill-boding judgment foresees to be inevitable.

'To paint folly in the various shades and colours of hope and fear, of exultation, dejection, resentment, and rage, in a vain, dissolute, and refractory people, presuming still on an imaginary supe-

priority, yet obstinately blind to its own defects and weakness ;—to describe subjects without subordination, laws uninforced, magistrates without authority, fleets and armies without discipline in the midst of an unsuccessful war ;—to set forth the supineness of an effeminate gentry, the corruption of a servile and dependent senate, the ignorance, incapacity, timidity, rashness, pride, and ambition, holding sway by turns at some periods, at others jarring and encountering to the utter confusion of administration, under a doting, mean, spiritless, covetous, prejudiced, undiscerning Prince, whose decisions, like those of chaos, serve but to embroil the fray ;—to display a scene of this nature, and know it to be a representation of the land one inhabits, at the same time to exhibit truth pure and untinctured by passion, requires that unconcern which despair alone can produce in the human mind. It is enough to have lamented, and beyond the means of a private station to have opposed, the impending calamity. When the measure of popular vices and follies is full, and co-operating with selfish and ambitious rulers renders a nation *contemptible*,—an honest individual who can assuage his aching heart with indifference, may stand justified not less to his own conscience, than to the unmeriting herd.' p. 39-41.

This volume has been made public, chiefly with a view to solve the problem which has hitherto foiled the ingenuity of the world.—Who was Junius ? The editor wishes to convince us, that that mysterious personage was no other than Mr Glover. The late edition of Junius's letters by Mr Woodfall, has cleared the field of most of the former competitors for that title, and has shown that if the honour really does belong to any of them, farther proofs must be brought forward before he can be permitted to enjoy it. We confess that no one appears to us so likely to make good his claims as Mr Glover, though we are far from saying that there is yet any thing like clear evidence in his favour. In the present case, the style affords no very certain criterion. As it is impossible to institute a fair comparison between the unstudied contents of a Diary not written for publication, and the laboured productions of a writer striving at once for fame and for concealment ; yet we may observe, that the private and miscellaneous letters in Woodfall's edition, are not superior in style to the Memoirs now before us ; and that the general tenor, diction, and cast of this little work, has frequently even more of the spirit of Junius, than those unstudied but undisputed productions of his pen. The poetical works of Glover, of course, are not a standard by which we can judge. But we can trace many points of resemblance between the character of Glover, as drawn by himself, and that which we must suppose to have belonged to Junius. The same noble and haughty spirit of independence ; the same despair of the republic, and general despondency about national affairs ; the same apparent readiness to

attribute all equivocal actions to the worst motives; the same belief in the responsibility of the Crown, and contempt for Royal personages, united with attachment to the monarchical form of government.

The editor has himself started a doubt, whether we can reconcile the intimacy between George Grenville and Mr Glover, to the declaration of Junius, that he had *no* personal acquaintance with that gentleman. Allowing them to have been the same person, it is certainly possible that Junius may have found it *convenient* to make such an affirmation; though it appears to us rather to exceed the bounds of a '*justifiable use*.'

The friendships, both of Junius and our author, were so entirely directed to measures, not to men, that any difference, or even opposition, in their partialities at different periods, would not absolutely preclude the supposition of their identity. There is one contradiction of this sort, however, which is so very remarkable as to afford, we think, strong presumption against it. Having occasion to speak of George Townsend, (afterwards Marquis of that name), Mr Glover expresses himself in the following terms of warm, and, for him, unexampled approbation.

'Some detail of his history will prove no interruption to a subject unfolding events, where he bore the part of an able, active, disinterested senator, whose domestic and public virtues, severe as I am on others, experience, not less than affection, prompts me to believe, will remain, in every situation, uncorrupt and unblemished.'

And, after giving a sketch of the early part of his life, he proceeds:—

'In his person, demeanour, and sentiments. he is the most manly of human beings; wit, humour, and an uncommon faculty of caricature with his pencil, render him agreeable to his friends, and formidable to those he dislikes. May time, which impairs every external grace, produce no such change in his virtues, as may ever throw upon my pen, the melancholy obligation of altering this character.'

It is amusing, indeed, to observe, what cautious provision is introduced in this passage against the day when his friend should become his enemy. But throughout the whole of these Memoirs he speaks with uniform regard of this favoured individual; and though it may be thought by some that he was not quite justified in his sanguine expectations, it is difficult to believe that, having once entertained such sentiments, he could speak of the same person with the rancour which we find in the following passage of Junius. 'I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. I have served under the one, and have been forty times promised to be served by the other. I don't think it possible to characterize the one, without having recourse to

‘ the other ; but any body who knows one of them may easily obtain an idea of the other. Thus now, Suppose you acquainted with the Chancellor,—take away his ingenuity, and a something, that at times looks something like goodnature, but it is not,—and you have the direct and actual character of the Peer ;—a boaster without spirit, and a pretender to wit without a grain of sense ;—in a word, a vainglorious idler, without one single good quality of head or heart.’

One other presumption against the claims for Mr Glover, we think it but fair to mention. In a private letter to Junius, Woodfall writes as follows. ‘ I have no connexions to warp me ; nor am I acquainted with but one person who would speak to me on the subject (his vote for the City), and that gentleman is, I believe, a true friend to the real good of his country ; *I mean Mr Glover*, the author of *Leonidas*.’ Junius’s answer to this does not appear ; but it is evident from what we have just quoted, that Mr Woodfall, who seems to have been well acquainted with Glover, had no suspicion of his identity with his great correspondent.

We are told, in the preface, that these *Memoirs* are only part of a collection now in the possession of the immediate descendant of their author. If that author was really Junius, it is natural to imagine, that farther evidence of the fact must be contained in the subsequent part of the journal ; and for this reason as well as others, we earnestly hope that the whole, or as much as it may be safe and prudent to print, may be speedily laid before the public. What we have just perused, we confess seems to us to render it more probable that Junius was Glover, than that he was any one of the other persons for whom that honour has been claimed. It is needless, however, to add, that we have no grounds as yet for more than a mere *conjecture* ; and that there can be no room for a rational *opinion* on the subject ; till that mysterious author be connected with some known individual, by proofs or presumptions of personal and exclusive application.

POSTSCRIPT.

We take this opportunity of correcting a mistake in our account of Professor *Legendre*’s *Elements of Geometry*. In vol. XX. p. 81, it is said, that the distinction which the author has made between *Principles* and *Definitions*, which we considered as so superfluous and embarrassing, was confined to the second edition. This is not the fact. It is exactly the same in both the first and second.

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